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INTRODUCTION.

I. MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE, 1675-1678.

IN the first section of this volume the selections from the general correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond are continued from the point at which those printed in Volume III of the present series of the Ormonde Papers terminated. It will at once be noticed that although the space occupied by this section is little less than that devoted to the corresponding section of Volume III, the period embraced by the correspondence here printed is much shorter than that covered by the earlier volume. This disparity is due to two circumstances. In the first place, to the entrance of the Duke of Ormond, in 1677, on his third and last tenure of the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his consequent resumption of residence in Dublin and of direct concern with public affairs in Ireland; in the second, to the fact that the final period of Ormond's public activity attracted, as was natural, a comparatively slender share of his biographer's attention, with the result that the correspondence preserved at Kilkenny between the years 1677 and 1685 has suffered less than any other portion of the Duke's papers from Carte's liberal interpretation of the licence given him for the purposes of his book.* Of the great mass of the Ormond papers which found their way to Oxford, only those volumes of the Carte collection numbered 38, 39, 40, 45, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 216 and 217 relate to this period; and a large portion of their contents are duplicate drafts or contemporary office copies of the documents still at Kilkenny.†

The eighth and last book of Carte's *Life of Ormond*, which embraces the years from 1677 to the Duke's death in 1688, is, accordingly, much the shortest of the whole work; and this for obvious reasons. It deals with a period which, by comparison at least with the two earlier of Ormond's Viceregal terms, was one of civil peace and social calm. Irish affairs, which

* See the Preface to Carte's *Life of Ormond*, and see also the Introductions to Vols. II and III of the present series.

† See Russell and Prendergast's Report on the Carte Papers at the Bodleian Library. Oxford (Thirty-second Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Record Office, Appendix I).

during the great struggle between King and Commons in England had exerted a powerful influence on the greatest issues of British constitutional history, and which, owing to the social confusion created by more than ten years of war, and by the ensuing Cromwellian confiscations, had demanded a large share of the attention of English Ministers after the Restoration, had at the time of Ormond's arrival in 1677 resumed in a large degree their normal provinciality, and no longer provided the stage on which imperial dramas might be enacted. And although at the moment of Ormond's return there were many outstanding questions, social and financial, which demanded attention, and which the Viceroy intended and earnestly desired to deal with in the Irish Parliament, these were almost at once obscured and obstructed by the development of domestic politics in England. The orgy of religious fanaticism produced by the monstrous perjury of Oates and his fellows completely diverted the attention of ministers in both islands from the questions which most called for their solicitude. Thus it comes about that the history of Ormond's last viceroyalty is the history not so much of domestic reforms as of the repressive measures against the Roman Catholics which were loudly demanded from England and which the Irish Government were obliged to enforce. And thus it is that both the concluding portion of Carte's work and the section of the Duke's correspondence belonging to the same period are occupied with matters which, however fierce the passions they aroused, had little to do with any of the great social problems upon which the development of Irish society depended. Hence it results that the instalment of Ormond's correspondence now published is valuable rather for the light it throws on a period of violent religious excitement in Great Britain than for the information it affords on those questions of Irish administration with which we should naturally expect it to be most fully occupied.

Ormond's principal correspondents during the early years of his last viceroyalty were his two sons, the Earls of Ossory and Arran, by one or other of whom his interests were continuously represented at Court; Sir Henry Coventry, the Secretary of State, who, until 1680, was responsible for the conduct of the Irish business of the English Privy Council; Sir Cyril Wyche; Sir William Temple; the Earl of Longford; Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church; and, most important of

all perhaps, Sir Robert Southwell, Clerk of the Privy Council in England, and the intimate and life-long friend of Ormond. Southwell's letters are presented in a connected sequence in the second section of this volume, and are separately noticed in the second section of this Introduction. In Ireland Ormond's chief correspondents were two members of the great family of the Boyles. Of these, Michael Boyle, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin, appears in the character of Ormond's most active and capable assistant in the Irish Government, and Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery, in that of the severest critic of the Lord Lieutenant's official actions. Other correspondents of importance whose names occur less frequently are the Duke of Lauderdale, the Earls of Danby, Shaftesbury, Essex and Burlington, Viscount Granard, and Sir Robert Howard. The letters of Lauderdale and Granard chiefly relate to the military expedition to the West of Scotland in 1677-78; Sir Robert Howard's communications with Ormond refer, among other more official matters, to the pecuniary interests of Nell Gwyn in Ireland.

Ormond arrived in Ireland to take up the duties of the Viceroyalty with a resolution to summon a Parliament in Dublin at the earliest possible moment. No meeting of the Irish legislature had been summoned by any of his three predecessors in the Government, and eleven years had elapsed since the dissolution of the only Parliament called in Ireland during the reign of Charles II, a Parliament which had assembled during Ormond's previous tenure of power. Alike in relation to the agrarian settlement of the country, as defined by the Act of Settlement and Explanation; to the regulation of the revenue, which had for years been the source of endless difficulty and the subject of serious speculation; to the provision of adequate defences against external attack; and to the King's anxiety for an Irish subsidy; the assembling of Parliament was urgently required. Ormond lost no time in procuring the preparation and approval of the Bills to be submitted to it, of which the principal was a Bill for the Confirmation and Settlement of Estates—a measure the preparation of which caused no little excitement among all who had an interest in Irish land. It was settled that the Irish Parliament should meet in Dublin as soon as the English Parliament at Westminster should be dissolved, and

the Viceroy even got the length of suggesting the designation of Sir John Temple, the Solicitor-General, as Speaker of the House of Commons in the new Parliament, to the early meeting of which Ormond still looked forward as late as September, 1678. "The Bills in order to the calling of a Parliament" he wrote to Danby, "were transmitted the latter end of July, and though, I suppose, some time has been lost that might have been saved, yet I know not why it may not be possible to return them so that still a Parliament may be called in November to sit before Christmas.*

But the scene was quickly and gravely altered by the fever of excitement and alarm aroused in England by the pretended revelations of Oates and Bedloe and their infamous comrades in perjury. In spite of the urgency of financial matters all idea of calling a Parliament was thenceforth abandoned, and no favourable opportunity of summoning the legislature recurred during the remainder of Ormond's seven years' tenure of the Government, a period which practically synchronised with the remainder of his master's reign. The rest of the correspondence for the period covered by this Report is practically filled with communications relative to the so-called Popish Plot, and to the measures to be taken for the safeguarding of Protestant interests in Ireland. The same topics form the main burthen of the numerous letters of Sir Robert Southwell which follow the general correspondence.

Probably no one in the long list of his predecessors in the office of Lord Lieutenant had had greater experience than Ormond of one of the most difficult of all difficult positions in the service of the Crown. In his first Viceroyalty he had been called on to defend by force of arms the title of his master to the kingdom entrusted to his charge in the face of an almost universal repudiation of that title. In his second term of office he had been confronted with the impossible task of reconciling the conflicting claims of rival interests to the ownership of the soil of Ireland, and had been assigned the thankless duty of "determining which party must suffer in default of means to satisfy all." He was now in a position in which it was impossible that he could satisfy anyone. He stood alone between those who, infuriated by the inventions of the informers, clamoured for strong measures against the

* p. 205.

religion of the majority of his countrymen, and the unfortunate victims of their fury. But he was absolutely without support. Urged by the English Ministers at Whitehall to violent courses, for which he could see no justification, he was equally subject to incitements to the same methods from those in Ireland who dreaded a confiscation of the estates in the possession of which they had not long been quieted. While Shaftesbury declaimed at Westminster against the Lord Lieutenant's want of zeal against the Papists, Orrery was busily employed in supplying Ormond's enemies at Court with innuendoes to the like effect. Orrery, whose large interests in the South of Ireland, joined to important English connections, enabled him to exercise much influence on Ministers at Whitehall, had ever since the Restoration been openly or covertly opposed to Ormond's policy. As the principal representative of the views of the extreme Protestant party he had done his best in Ormond's previous administration to thwart all measures of conciliation, and had been largely instrumental in procuring the Lord Lieutenant's recall from Ireland in 1668. From the day when Ormond returned to Dublin in 1677 Orrery appears to have been engaged in similar intrigues with a like object. Several letters in this volume testify to the strained relations which existed between the two men; and there is an accent of bitterness seldom manifested in Ormond's letters in some of his allusions to the "Charlatan of Munster." That the Viceroy felt deeply the embarrassments created by this opposition appears very plainly in a letter addressed by him to Orrery's eldest brother, the Earl of Burlington, in which Ormond deploras both the opposition given by Orrery to the Bill for the Confirmation and Settlement of Estates and the advantage the latter had taken of Oates' plot to insinuate a want of zeal on Ormond's part for the safety of "the British interest and the Protestant religion."*

Among the earlier portions of the correspondence are several letters and documents bearing upon the rising of the Covenanters in the West of Scotland, for the suppression of which considerable reinforcements were despatched from Ireland. Throughout the reign of Charles the Second a large force appears to have been continuously maintained in Ulster; and it was from the troops stationed in Carrickfergus and other northern forts that Viscount

* p. 266-7.

Granard, who commanded the army in Ireland, was directed by Ormond to find a force capable of seconding the preparations made in Scotland under Lauderdale's direction to overawe the Covenanters. The communications which passed between Lauderdale and Granard and their respective subordinates afford not a few details of the condition of affairs in the West of Scotland at the commencement of that struggle with the Covenanters, which, under the successive direction of the Dukes of Lauderdale, York, and Monmouth, so long occupied the zealous energy of Graham of Claverhouse. A 'memorandum, and instructions concerning the disorders in the Western Shires' gives particulars of the arrangements made for the co-operation of the Irish with the Scottish military forces. A 'warrant for establishing a horse post between Edinburgh and Portpatrick,' together with an 'agreement for a packet boat between Portpatrick and Drogheda,' with a view to facilitating communications between Edinburgh and the North of Ireland in connection with the military preparations, are documents interesting as illustrating the cost and tediousness of postal communication between Scotland and Ireland at that period.*

A considerable, and it may perhaps be thought disproportionate share of the correspondence, is devoted to a matter which appears to have been regarded by the Government of Ireland as one of first rate importance, viz., the defence and fortification of the harbour of Kinsale. Throughout the seventeenth century Kinsale occupied a position of consequence which it can hardly be said to have since maintained. At the beginning of the century it had been the scene of the landing of the Spaniards, under Don Juan de Aquila, sent to the assistance of O'Neill, and of the prolonged siege by Mountjoy and Carew. Thither Prince Rupert had come on the morrow of the execution of Charles I with a force of sixteen frigates, and there he had proclaimed Charles the Second King with all solemnity. And at the Revolution Kinsale was the port selected by James the Second for his landing when the deposed Monarch embarked at Brest. During the frequent apprehensions of trouble with France, which marked the reign of Charles II, it was to Kinsale, in virtue of its situation and its facilities as an anchorage for a large fleet in those days, that the Irish military authorities

* pp. 62, 66-69, 71-76, 79, 88-89, 96, 99-100.

looked most anxiously as the most vulnerable point in their defence against possible invasion. Cork had not at that time the pre-eminence among the southern cities of Ireland which it has long since attained, nor were the great natural advantages of the harbour at the Cove, the modern Queenstown, at that time adequately appreciated.

In the earlier period of Charles' reign, and of Ormond's responsibility for the Irish Government, the importance of Kinsale had been emphatically asserted by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, a nobleman whose authority as an influential representative of the English interest in the South of Ireland was second only to that which had been exercised a generation earlier by his father, the great Earl of Cork. In 1667 steps had been taken to fortify the promontory of Rincurran, which overlooks the harbour, and "upon information that the Duke of Beaufort, Admiral of France, was preparing for a descent at Kinsale . . . his Majesty was pleased to order the immediate construction of Chares Fort, capable of receiving 200 guns; accordingly the first stone being laid by the Earl of Orrery, and the works with all possible diligence and expedition at an expense of £80,000 completed, were planted with requisite artillery and munitions, stores, and habiliments of war provided."* Robert Southwell, father of Sir Robert Southwell, on whose property the fort was erected, was appointed Constable at the same time. By 1677, however, the works at Rincurran, which had been neglected in the interval, had fallen into great disrepair, and a complete reconstruction was found to be necessary. Large ordnance which Orrery "had got back out of his Majesty's ships and planted at Rincurran," had become unserviceable from neglect and much of their gear had been stolen.† Arrangements were accordingly made by Ormond, soon after his arrival in Ireland, for the reconstruction of the fort, and a large sum of money was provided to meet the necessary expenditure, though it was not an easy matter to raise ready money. "If but a reasonable part of what the revenue yields," the Viceroy wrote to Southwell, "had been applied to the use of the kingdom, as it might have been, we should have been in a better state than we are to resist an invasion, or suppress an insurrection; I am designing the fortifying the harbour of Kinsale, and do hope out of unbegged scraps of the revenue to

* 'Annals of Kinsale.' See *The Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale from 1652 to 1800*. Edited by Richard Caulfield p. li. † p. 103.

set to the work next month.”* Ormond took a constant and close interest in the progress of the works, and himself visited the place in the course of the construction of the fort. This, however, was a protracted and apparently an ill-managed business. Though large sums were spent, the fortress can hardly have been so efficient as it was expected to be, since Thomas Phillips, reporting in 1686 on the condition of Irish fortifications, declared that “the new Blockhouse or Charles Fort, being situated on the side of a hill, can no way be made tenable without great cost and charge,”† and estimated that an expenditure of £23,000 was required to secure the place from surprise.

Among the more personal interests of Ormond at this period a considerable place was occupied by the education of his ultimate heir, the eldest son of the gallant Ossory, and afterwards 2nd Duke of Ormond. Lord James Butler‡ was in 1677 a lad of still tender years; but at a time when it was the custom to go to a university at an age not much beyond that at which a boy is now sent to one of the great public schools, the problem of the destination of a boy of fourteen was necessarily the subject of much family concern. Several letters on the question passed between the father and grandfather of the boy, for whose support Ormond appears to have undertaken to make adequate provision; and Arlington, who was married to the lad’s maternal aunt, was taken into council as to the relative advantages of an education abroad under the superintendence of a governor, and residence at Oxford. It was ultimately decided to send the youth to Christ Church, where he was placed under the direct supervision of Dr. Fell, then Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, a don whose letters to Ormond and Sir Robert Southwell give a pleasant impression of his character and do something to rebut the undesirable innuendo contained in a well-known epigram. Lord James had for his college tutor the accomplished Henry Aldrich; afterwards, in his turn, Dean of Christ Church himself, and for his private tutor and governor Peter Drelinecourt, subsequently Dean of Armagh, a son of the French refugee minister, whose discourse on

* p. 102.

† Ormonde Report, Vol. II., p. 325.

‡ The boy is styled ‘my Lord James,’ and ‘my young Lord’ throughout the correspondence, though the heir of a nobleman bearing the courtesy title of Earl would not nowadays be so distinguished.

"Death" is curiously linked with one of Defoe's satirical pieces. Dr. Fell's letters give some insight into college life in the Oxford of that day. "The personal expenses of a nobleman here," so the Dean of Christ Church writes to Sir R. Southwell, "you fully understand from my Lord Courcy's account; the accession which will be made by the salary of the governor, the wages and diet of servants, the keeping of horses and other equipage, you will without difficulty compute, the rates of this place being much the same with London. Our accommodation for lodging is such as I think will be very convenient. For the furniture of my lord's ante-room and bedchamber I presume it may be best to send hangings from London, our rooms being so high that they will receive either six, eight, or ten foot hangings; the governor's apartment and the chambers will be best provided here. My great concern is that the servants be such whom much leisure will not spoil."* Drelincourt, as Sir Robert Southwell's letters show, did not prove the most discreet of governors, and the young undergraduate's career was not entirely free from anxieties; but Ormond's interest in his grandson's welfare was vigilant and unceasing throughout, as his correspondence in the next volume of this Report will serve to testify.

II. LETTERS OF SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND, 1677-1685.

Of all Ormond's correspondents in the latter part of his long career the most intimate and confidential was his close friend and faithful supporter, Sir Robert Southwell, who during the last stage of the Duke's sojourn in Ireland was resident in England, and upon whom Ormond mainly depended for private advices of those developments of English politics which so closely affected his position as the King's representative. For such a part Southwell's official situation at this time peculiarly fitted him. He occupied the post of Clerk of the Privy Council down to the close of the year 1679, and was thus in a position to know much of what was going on among the courtiers at Whitehall, and of the intrigues of the politicians at Westminster. His frequent letters at this time, which commence directly after Ormond's arrival in Ireland, in September 1677, form a practically continuous diary of politics

* p. 319.

for upwards of two years. At the end of that time Southwell's resignation of his office at Whitehall, followed very shortly by his departure from London on a diplomatic mission to Berlin, removed him from the Court. The Clerk of the Council to Charles the Second was a very different person to his successor under George the Fourth, and the letters of Sir Robert Southwell have neither the characteristic cynicism nor the literary felicity which give point to the diaries of Charles Greville. But they furnish a chronicle almost as minute, and intrinsically not less scandalous. Of the general character of this portion of Southwell's letters the Memorandum on Public Affairs printed at the end of this Introduction, forms a very fair specimen.

Apart from the consideration of Ormond's personal situation, and the bearing of the movements of parties at Whitehall upon the affairs of Ireland, the main interest of the earlier portion of these letters lies in the account they give of foreign affairs, in which Southwell, who had more than once acted as a British envoy to different European Courts, was closely interested. But from October 1678 onwards, Sir Robert's letters are almost exclusively filled with the details of Oates's Plot and the proceedings in connection therewith both at the Privy Council and in Parliament. So much has been written of late years on the subject of the Plot that there is no occasion to summarise here the incidents which the correspondence now printed presents with so much detail. It cannot be said that the letters contain any new facts which sensibly modify the view which history has long since passed on the Plot and all connected with it. They do not afford, for example, any fresh clue to the mystery of the death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, whose fate has quite recently been made the subject of careful investigation by more than one writer. But students of the period will find that Sir Robert Southwell's comments on the developments of Oates's accusations as they were unfolded from day to day do much to illuminate one of the most extraordinary episodes in the history of English politics.

The letters of Sir Robert Southwell from 1677 to 1785 are scattered through Ormond's general correspondence, where they occur in their proper chronological sequence. But inasmuch as their counterpart, the letters of Ormond to Southwell between the years 1672 and 1678, have been printed consecutively in the late Sir John Gilbert's report on the Ormonde Papers (vol. II,

pp. 259-308) from a transcript preserved at Kilkenny,* it has appeared convenient to print Southwell's letters here in connected sequence as a separate section of this volume. They may thus be read consecutively and more readily compared with Ormond's replies to them.

III. OXFORD LETTERS, 1675-1684.

This section consists mainly of copies of letters of recommendation addressed by the Duke of Ormond to the governing body of the University of Oxford. They are, for the most part, in favour of persons who for one reason or another required some kind of dispensation in connection with the completion of their academic course and the conferring of degrees. They are written, of course, in Ormond's capacity as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. The volume at Kilkenny from which they are taken covers only nine out of the nineteen years of the Duke's tenure of the Chancellorship, to which he was appointed in 1669, at the instance of Archbishop Sheldon, who had resigned the office in that year, and which he held until his death in 1688. Although they are purely formal documents and cannot be said to bear upon the general history of the period within which they were written, yet they illustrate the development of the University system and its methods of government, and add some facts of interest to the history of the University of Oxford in the 17th century. A few letters of a similar character but relating to degrees in the University of Dublin, of which institution Ormond was also Chancellor, have found their way by some accident into the Oxford letters. These have been reproduced with the rest, but have been printed in italics in the Report.† One or two entries having no direct relation to either University also appear in the book‡.

IV. HOUSEHOLD CORRESPONDENCE. 1675-1684.

Besides being appointed Lord High Steward of England on the occasion of the coronation both of Charles II and James II, the Duke of Ormond held the office of Lord Steward of the Household from the Restoration until his death. The "Household

* The originals of the Duke's letters are preserved at the British Museum, among the Southwell Manuscripts, where they are catalogued as Addit. MSS. 21,484.

† See pp. 601, 611, 625, 634.

‡ See pp. 613, 617.

Letters" here printed consist of documents relating to the business of the latter office, though in the case of the "Oxford Letters" they cover only a portion of the very long period of Ormond's Stewardship. They are purely official and formal documents; but they throw considerable light on the arrangements of the Royal Household in the Court of Charles II. As in the case of the "Oxford Letters," some documents have crept into the Household volume which have no relation to the other entries in the book. These have been printed in italics in the Report.* Among them are some references to the Court of the Regalities and Liberties of Ormond's Palatine county of Tipperary.

V. IRISH WOOL LICENCES AND LICENCEES, 1678-1681.

This section contains a list of the licences issued in connection with the wool trade, and the amounts paid in respect of the same, together with the names of the licencees for the years 1678-1681. The book from which these entries are taken affords no clue to its origin, and it does not appear to what office it belonged.† It is a brief and fragmentary register, the precise form of which appears from the extract printed at pp. 665-6 of the Report. It has not appeared expedient to print the whole register in full. Its scope is sufficiently indicated by the summary of names and figures, which gives the names of the licencees and the amount paid for the licences for each quarterly period from September, 1678, to September, 1681. A "memorandum respecting wool exports," dated February 23rd, 1677-8, and printed in the first section of the Report,‡ appears to indicate that the register is a record of an endeavour which was made at this time to check the export of wool abroad, and was part of that jealousy of the Irish wool trade which throughout the seventeenth century was continuously manifested in England. The memorandum sets forth that "the mischief and prejudice done to the clothing trade of England by exporting wool from Ireland to foreign parts under the pretence of shipping it for England is great and manifest, and also the bringing from England into Ireland fuller's earth or clay under the notion of tobacco pipe clay which is brought as ballast, and as such it goes with wool to foreign parts contrary to Acts of Parliament

* See pp. 644, 649, 650.

† pp. 665-666.

‡ pp. 116-117.

both in England and Ireland." By an Irish Act of 13 Elizabeth, cap. 2, passed in the Parliament held by Sir Henry Sidney it was felony to ship wool out of Ireland without licence. But it was alleged that notwithstanding this provision, and that the condition of such licence bound the licensee to land the wool in England only and not at any foreign port, "yet still both wool and clay are carried in great quantities for France and Holland, and certificates obtained or procured in the names of the customers that such wool was landed in England." Measures were accordingly taken for the more effectual prevention of this traffic, and it was perhaps in connection with the precautions then devised that this register of wool licences was devised.

This Report and introduction has been prepared by Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, who desires to acknowledge the assistance rendered him in the work of transcription by Messrs. J. F. Morrissey and T. J. Morrissey of the Irish Record Office. Mr. Falkiner is also responsible for the index.

MEMORANDUM ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS,*

BY

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1679, April 19.—The chief intent of this paper is to let your Grace see how the public affairs influence your own, and to make such conclusion from both as may be reasonable. There is now spread an universal demand of reformation, which the sober men limit to things moderate; but there are more who are unreasonable, and many, I fear, have no limits at all. Popery is the handle of this reformation, and the arguments deduced from it are become irresistible. And though some think all will be over in a month with the Trial of the Lords, yet others are of a different opinion. Our real insecurity as to France is dreadful unto all, and most impute our present quiet as to him but to our present divisions, which do his work at our own cost, whereas his anger might perhaps unite us. So that, while this insecurity governs, Popery must be prosecuted, which is thought a perfect limb thereof; and therefore in all probability we have many leagues to sail upon that tack.

Ill politics breed and produce ill humours among men, but when there is superadded an arrear of another nature unto Heaven, there must be a time of audit expected. If there were a due inspection, balance and discharge in this particular much might be hoped, or if a true measure were taken of the others, and the proportionable remedies in time applied, some good fruits might arise; but the fate is nothing is done till the whole College of Physicians prescribe, and which is worse, though all at length be swallowed, it seems done more to humour them than in any confidence of their physic; and the chemists who cry up and undertake extempore cures and deride all others, they are the men of value; and what this hath already done and may produce looks but melancholy. This already is most visible, that whoever is of highest estimation among the people, or in either House of Parliament, if he go or be called to secret consultation, and especially if he touch at preferment, he is immediately looked upon as a man infected and lopped off from the body where he had credit before. So that your inclination to particular ways or

* This memorandum not occurring in its natural place in the manuscripts at Kilkenny was overlooked in preparing the transcripts for the press, and is therefore printed with this Introduction.

expectation of remedy by particular men is grown impracticable. And till there be a resignation to the public sense there is no likelihood of satisfaction. And although this will doubtless prove very irksome, or may be thought also very unsafe, unless it were done with such vigour and spirit and even cheerfulness as to gain credit that none took more pleasure in it than himself, and thereby govern the opinions that are predominant, yet what other way is left I cannot imagine. For if things should break out with resentments, upon the sense and dread of what might follow (especially before many great things are reformed), there could no party be made able to look the others in the face, scarce a handful against a multitude. And this is to my apprehension the case in general.

As for the particulars to be amended, the discourse in infinite ; but these are some :—

1. To secure prefixed times of Parliament, that so the Government which is tripartite may not stand on one single foot at the pleasure of a favourite.

2. To find out some expedient how to save the Protestant religion from the ruin it must have in the heir presumptive ; and by how much the difficulty of barring right by laws do occur, by so much are things carried to the prejudice of *pr* (Queen) ; and in the meantime *lq* (Duke of Monmouth) is the favourite, and neglects none of those measures that may make him such.

3. That there may be a greater circle to the Church of England, and how far this may run to the allowing the present right of the Bishops is uncertain. They have lost ground by their contention for the Earl of Danby.

4. That the Militia of the kingdom be made formidable, the trust of them put into confiding hands, the power of them in the Crown limited to the King's life. No manner of guards but what in turns are taken from the Militia, and no other soldiers left but some in the garrisons, and special care into what hands the garrisons are trusted.

5. That great inspection be made into the Fleet and the commanders thereof ; the methods of the Navy Board amended ; a Lord High Admiral to be named instead of Commissioners ; that somebody may be made accountable, things being now carried on as they say only by immediate orders from His Majesty to Mr. Pepys.

6. That all public money, but especially the Customs for the Navy, be appropriated to particular uses of government.

7. That the Council be reduced to such a number and so composed as not to need any Cabinet of such model as hath been before.

The present constitution in the Treasury is thought but temporary. The Earl of Essex has been wonderfully blasted by his late friends for meddling therein ; but he will by degrees wear it off, and fails not in some other points to gratify them, and particularly in some of their reflections on the state of Ireland, which hath of late been made a great theme in the House of Lords ; not because things are in disorder and the Government in confusion, but because they are in peace and plenty, and the office of governor thought to be a sort of Golden Fleece. Hence it is that the avarice and ambition of some give countenance to the malice of others, and their malice not being without hopes of reward is the more active and implacable. Therefore to see how things work to your Grace's detriment it may be fit to observe many things, as well remote as near at hand.

The common people of the city did not only flock to the water-side as the Lords of the Tower passed and repassed to judgment, but flocked into boats, following them with shouts and outcries, showing them halters and making of gallows ; and such a noise was raised at their landing near the House of Lords that the House issued orders to the Lord Mayor and Bailiffs of Westminster to suppress such tumultuary courses ; the Lord who made the motion taking notice that in case they should see any reason to free those lords upon their trials the same tumult might fall upon them. One of these shouters was brought by a constable to a magistrate in the city, who dismissed him on easy terms, being told by his friends he should have a care what he did, for that his noise might do as much good to persuade Whitehall as all the speeches in the House of Commons. So that this very dangerous symptom seems rather to have root and encouragement than to come by chance ; and though it relates to the general case it is applicable to particulars as occasion shall serve.

I am told that there is a club of the different adventurers and their associates that meet in the City, where many things are brewed and fomented and prepared for the lords which desire

to speak upon the subject of Ireland, and I am assured by *n e* (Mr. Penn) in particular (and in friendship) that there is so much defamation thrown upon all the actions of *f h* (Ormond), and in particular such rage at the prodigious grants he has had from the King and the public in Ireland, that it is here in meditation by the Bill now on foot in the House of Lords to inspect his case in particular and to tear his fortune in pieces. Whether *m n* (Earl of Orrery) who is coming hither will interpose for a mitigation of this *f h* (Ormond) can best judge; or whether *p y* (Lord Ranelagh) does not make his court to *l q* (Duke of Monmouth), *r e* (Lord Shaftesbury), *h n* (Halifax), etc., (who all dined lately with him) upon this account more than any other is easy to conclude.

My Lord Roberts is now also come up, who will give in to their sense, and public fame may send him over as a strict reformer. *R e* (Shaftesbury) his business is to make as many places void as may gratify those that concur to gratify him; and so perhaps *f z* (Essex) may have Ireland held up to him for quitting pretensions here. Then others of an inferior *classis* are kept in heat and expectation (as my Lord Strafford, etc.) on purpose that they may keep the wound always open. And so little is *f h* (Ormond) secured by the favour or other considerations of *i u* (the King) that all these are the men whose favour is courted by him at any rate. And the new *q z* (Secretary) and *p b* (Duchess of Portsmouth) are the hands that would pull them in and do negotiate reconciliation, in hopes thereby to save their estates, which in the end will certainly fail them.

It was lately said that the Lord Rochester, having a mind to be Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, had got some adherents to prepare articles against the Lord Ranelagh; but your Grace knows how many ways this noble lord can turn to defend a blow. But if it be true that in four new articles against the Earl of Danby he is also involved, he may feel the weight of a secret committee and the angry members of the House of Commons who are appointed to prosecute this great Earl, who hath at last delivered himself up to a trial. And this is the matter which many think will make the public case much worse. For as he has already at the Bar of the Lords imputed his withdrawing to those powerful causes which he could not resist, and which his friends publicly own was by the King's command twice repeated, so he may for

6. That all public money, but especially the Customs for the Navy, be appropriated to particular uses of government.

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help open the way when it shall be thought a fit season to present it. And thus your Grace has a view of our things and of our thoughts, and it is possible that every day may present a new scene to heighten or abate our fears. But the best will always help itself.

I could wish that *gi* (Fitzpatrick) would be persuaded to go and travel with what speed he can. For if it be left to your Grace to clap up suspected persons and your Grace leave him out there will be a cry raised upon it. And if the Irish business be handed among the Commissions after the Lords are weary of it, 'tis not like to fare much better; and as *fh* (Ormond) has imputation enough on this account, so *ce* (Lord Chancellor) much more, it passing current that *gi* (Fitzpatrick) has over him an ascendant in all things. And I am afraid that a petition of Barrett's, lodged as I hear in the House of Lords by way of appeal, will bring some trouble to him. So that I do not only wish that *gi* (Fitzpatrick) were in his travels, but that his grant of quit-rents were vacated by his own resignation thereof unto His Majesty, and to be so signified immediately by your Grace to prevent any more reflections, or a rougher way of rending that business, which will certainly be broken in pieces.

CORRECTION.

The letter from the Duke of Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry, printed at pp. 123-125, and dated March 1, 1677-78, was transcribed in error from a misdated copy in the collection at Kilkenny. The letter will be found under its proper date at pp. 132-133.

THE MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE
MARQUESS OF ORMONDE, K.P.,
PRESERVED AT
KILKENNY CASTLE.

LORD CLARE to the DUKE OF ORMOND.

1675-6, January 15. Hague.—I think it a long while since I had the honour of kissing your Grace's hand, but it was some satisfaction to me to have my Lord Ossory here these six weeks past to wait on him. Upon Sunday in the afternoon they sailed from the Brill, and the Prince went almost out of sight of land with them, having that day dined aboard their yacht. I hope they are landed ere this in England, the weather being very fair. Admiral Tromp went with my Lord Ossory to see the King. It is certain that Brisak is relieved by Monsieur Turenne, and some say the Confederates are beaten, at least they retired. We are preparing of some troops to stop the Swedes from overrunning the Elector of Brandenburg's Country, where he is now entered with an army of 18,000 men and a great train of artillery.

I am, my Lord, with all duty and imaginable affection,
Your Grace's, etc.

Copies des lettres de Milord Clare à D. Michel de Morales
traduites del'Espagnol.

1675-6, January 15. Hague.—J'espere que lundy sur le soir, vous serés arrivé à Londres, et que vous n'aurés point perdu du temps, hier j'eus lettres qu'un Comte est venu d'Irlande en cette cour là et qu'il traite pour ce trouppeau. mais je croy que de sa bonne volonté il ne trouvera point d'autre qui l'achete.

Nostre traitté ne se doit pas emporter par débats ny par opiniatreté et ainsy si vous voyés qu'il se fait quelque deliberation ou scrupule là dessus ne poursuivés plus ny pour vostre

vie nelevés la poussiere, mais trouvant seureté de vos deux marchands que l'on pourra se fier entierement à l'entremetteur. Je serai bien aise que devant eux vous preniés avec luy une conference de tout, et il ne faut point douter que je n'en tire les vaches encore qu'il auroit mille Acts de Parliament contre cela, parceque asseurement le Roy ne s'en fasschera point contre moy puisque. Je scay bien que cette prohibition estoit plus du goust d'un party du Parliament que de celui de S. Majeste, et si en cette conference vous ne voyés clairement que l'on atteindra au but que l'on se propose, quittés le tout a fait, puisque par la faveur de Dieu nous nous passerons bien d'Eux. J'espere que vous m'ecrivéz avec tous les couriers et que vous serés fort exact.

L'on dit que le Comte de Hamilton est venu en cette cour là pour lever des gens en Irlande; ecrivés moy ce que vous en apprendrés, ou de Milord Douglas, avec tout ce qui se passe en cette cour sans perdre d'ordinaire.

J'ay dormy cette nuit avec Milord d'Ossory à bord de son Jacht, et le dimanche au soir ils firent voile, vous devés donner Yacht, et le dimanche au soir ils firent voile, vous devés donner à entendre au troisieme marchand que ce n'est pas l'interest du Comte que vous poursuivies vostre proposition et ainsy que vous ne la communiquiés ny à luy ny à personne si ce n'est à son maistre.

Vous pouvés dire au Grand Chambellan que j'envoye communiquer à S. Excellence l'affaire, et prenés le temps propre pour luy monstrier le papier, mandés moy reponce sans delay puisque vous scavés que l'on ne doit pas differer et que j'ay besoin de songer à mes affaires icy, et ainsy vous tascherés de scavoir du troisieme marchand ce qu'il dit ouy ou non sans perdre un moment, et qu'il n'y ait plus de paroles de cela; le pasturage du troupeau à destre aussi bon qu'on le donne à aucun d'Angleterre tant boeufs que vaches. Dieu vous garde.

2nde Letter :

1675, January 22. Hague.—Don Michel : le Prince portit ce soir pour la Gueldre, et moy je demeure esperant vostre lettre toutefois, Jay envoyé mes chevaus au quartier, et tous les soldats sont bien logés là, Je suis dans le mesme estat que vous m'avés laissé et je ne dois me presser pour rien esperant de bonnes nouvelles de ma femme et de mon navire.

Depechés le plutot quil sera possible la reponce de ce dont je vous ay chargé observant ce que je vous ecrivis dans ma derniere de n'elever pas la poussiere, et que vous consultiés avec un marchand drapier dans la rue del'Eglise de St. Paul al'enseigne du lut et du toñ, Monsieur Bédoinfield,* comment habiller les soldats ou le meilleur marche quil donne des draps de couleur orangée et des deschausses bleus, je luy ay escrit cela en particulier ici l'on a acheté pour 22 francs chaque habit outre les souilliers une chemise boudrier et bandonliere, etc.

* Brother of Sir Henry Bedingfield, a close friend of Jeffreys.

Chaque jour me paroît un mois jusqu'à ce que j'auray receu vostre lettre et nouvelles de la jeune fille, je ne me puis resondre de sortir d'icy jusqu'alors encore qu'il m'importeroit d'accompagner son Altesse à son voyage.

Dites à mon Cousin Al: qu'il vienne icy au plutot quil pourra avoir soin de sa compagnie et de son Regiment son valet de la vallin de Magennis luy a derobé cent Ducatons et tout son linge, s'il a esté entre ceux à la Brille Je ne scay si on l'attrapera. Capt. Lee* est venu icy et s'en retourna ce matin avec une Commission de commander les quatre compagnies qui sont avec Jario Smit est Lieut.-Coll. de Lilleston et Auselm de Disni, Bellos et Salsbury Mayores, le tout va presentement beaucoup mieux et pour vostre vie ne laissés pas de m'écrire de tous les ordinaires de ce qui se passe en cette Cour.

Suit icy un postscript.—J'ay grand besoin de vostre reponce je sortiray de tout commerce avec ces gens icy si vous reuissés dans vostre dessein.

Tous nos hauts officiers s'attachent a cette heure a moy et disent que si je n'estois icy qu'ils ny trouveroient rien d'avantageux, etc., puisque aussy bien ceux qui sont encore sur pied que ceux qui sont reformés ont peine d'estre satisfaits de leur ordonnances sur la Prov. de Zelande et beaucoup d'autres choses.

3e Lett.

1675-6, February 4.—Aujourd'huy j'arrivais icy dela Prov. d'Utrecht où j'ay laissé son Ase. a la chasse dans le plus beau pais que j'ay jamais vû et particulierement mon palais sur le bord de la riviere du Rhin, et je me contente fort de ce que vous me mandés et nous nous divertirons bien en ce pais cy encore que ces messrs. meprisent le service, Le Prince me donna hier des ordres pour le retour de trois compagnies qui sont avec Majr. Fario, devant estre logés dans Amersford qui est un beau lieu ou l'on donne des logements à tous les soldats, J'ay envoyé l'ordre, par le Capt. Lee qui me paroît bon garçon, je parleray avec Levi de ce que vous m'écrivés.

Demain j'auray ma Patente et prendray le serment de servir fidellement aux Etats, et suivray le Prince en Gueldre; mais je vous ecriray plus au large avec le courier de mardy et que vous n'oubliés pas de me donner de tout ce que se passe en cette Cour et de levées Francoises en Irlande j'enverray aujourd'hui la lettre a vostre Lieut., la compagnie c'est en très bon estat, il luy manque seulement douze hommes.

Envoyés moy la reponce de Beddingfield touchant les habits j'en ecris aussy a mon Lieut.-Coll. de chercher qui les vend à meilleur marché et de me le faire savoir puisqu'il ne magree pas j'en pourray trouver icy qui les habilleront, Representés à Milord O'Brien and a tous le bien que moy et nous autres trouverons icy, j'espere neantmoins de tirer des gens de là

* Perhaps Andrew Lee, who was later Lieutenant-Colonel of Clare's Regiment in the Irish Brigade.

encore que je me sois estably en ce service, je serois bien aise que les lettres que j'ay escrites à mon Cousin fussent brulées et prenés le pouvoir et les instructions que je vous ay données dans vostre maison, et dites luy qu'il sera bon de les bruler toutes et que pour luy donner satisfaction vous les prenés de luy pour les bruler en sa presence.

Escrivés moy par les ordinaires de ce qui se passe en cette Cour, et ce que vous pourrés scavoir du gouvernement et des amours puisque le Prince sera bien aise de le scavoir et il n'est pas necessaire que vous fermiés vos lettres ny que vous usiés de ceremonties. L'on dit icy que le Comte d'Arlington va gouverner l'Irlande et plusieurs autres choses.

Les Estats nous donnent des armes et a ceux qui les acheterent on leur rendra l'argent cela avec les habits est de quelque consolation au pauvres capes, avec tout ce que le monde dit du mauvais traitement des soldats icy nous nous y trouverons tres bien et la faute a esté aux ignorants qui sont venu icy sans faire des conditions.

Le 4 de Feb., 1675.

Ce qui suit est un PS. :

Aujourdhuy j'ay parlé à Levi et je t'ecriaray avec ce courier sur cet affaire, vous dirés a mon Cousin qu'il m'envoye l'ordre du Roy par une lettre du Secretaire pour solliciter cet argent, puis vous pouvés luy dire de vous meme qu'il ne seroit pas bien que je m'opposasse aux interets du Prince, sans que le Roy me le comondât en m'envoyant sa lettre au Prince et aux États et lettres del Ambassador van Beuning au Pensionaire Monsieur Fagel, et de cette maniere je solliciteray l'affaire ainsy qu'il aura son effet et Levi trouvera caution de l'Etat pour l'argent, en echangant la propriété de la debte avec celui qui avancera l'argent, encore que dans trois ans il ne le recevrait pas del Estat.

Et j'ay accordé avec quelqu'un pour habiller le regiment a 22 francs par soldats chemises et tout puisqu'il sera trop tard de l'esperer de delà, venqué. Je croy que nous marcherons de bonne heure en Campagne ou au moins jusqu'en Brabant.

Ayés soin que le Lieut.-Coll. vous envoie quelque garçons a vos compagnies, Amsterdam sera le meilleur endroit pour les débarquer, ce n'est pas plus de cinq heures de son quartier Amersford, J'ay perdu l'adresse que vous m'avés donnée à celui que vous scavés et ainsy envoyées moy un autre puisque j'ay brulées vos lettres sans me souvenir de l'adresse.

4e Lett.

1675-6, February 12.—Don Michel : j'ay receuës toutes vos lettres et cette derniere du 9 de ce mois, et moy je n'ay pas manqué de vous escrire presque à tous les jours des postes depuis que vous estes party dicy.

Monsieur Levi a donné les ordres necessaires pour traiter avec mon Cousin, may aussy je vous ay ecrit affin que l'on envoyât ordres pour le solliciter, et je m'oblige qu'il tiendra

son effet, puisque Levi estant content il avancera six mille livres et trouvera le reste a Amsterdam pour le payer incontinent à mon Cousin moy obtenant des Etats qu'ils en fassent leur propre debte avec les Juifs ce que je feray indubitablement, si le Roy me le commande par son secretaire de le solliciter, m'envoyant en mesme temps des lettres du Roy Aux Etats et au Prince leur faisant connoistre le dessein de payer cet argent à mon cousin et en faisant quelque compliment au Prince, et mon cousin aussy m'ecrivant instamment que je le sollicite puisque sans tout cela je ne dois point me mesler des affaires qui ne servient pas du goust de son Altesse.

Il n'y a rien de nouveau depuis ma dernière si ce n'est que tout va bien icy, et que presentement il n'y a point dans le monde des soldats qui sont mieux traittés que les nostres. Je vay demain suivre son Altesse en Gueldre et encore que vous ne recevrés pas de mes lettres par tous les ordinaires vous ne devés pas pour cela laisser de m'escroire toutes les fois. Je trouveray icy des habits pour le Regiment puisqu'il est trop tard de les attendre de Londres.

Dites a la fille que je luy baisse les mains divertissés vous bien avec elle puisque vous en souffrirés assés en retournant à l'armée, encore que chez l'Ambassadeur on commence me semble a se repentir qu'ils vousont laissé partir d'icy nous avons beaucoup parlé de vous et L'Ambassadeur mesme me parla beaucoup et qu'il vous ecriroit, etc. Je n'ay plus du temps à vous dire d'avantage.

J'ay receues lettres de ma femme et mon navire est à Rotterdam

5eme. Lett.

1675-6, February 6-15.—Don Michel : j'ay receué la vostre du 12 de ce mois vous vous estes bien conduit en toutes choses. Je n'attendois rien moins de vostre prudence, la verité est que ce cousin a beaucoup d'un fou et maintenant qu'il a brulé les papiers, vous brulerez aussy bien ceux que je vous ay donnés ils. S'en repentiront comme je croy plus que nous autres, j'ay deja parlé au Prince touchant les levées qu'ils font pour la France encore qu'il soit en Gueldre, et que je me suis arresté icy pour depescher les habits mais aujourdhuy. Je vay voir les gens en leurs quartiers et a suivre son Altesse, vostre Lieut. a receu del argent ces jours passés et la compagnie est en bon estat, Je ne scay comment me defaire de l'Enseigne, le Secretaire me l'ayant recommandé et L'Ambassadeur icy, toutesfois je seray bien aise de trouver quelque moyen pour cela. Ils nous donnent sans doubte les armes a la depense del Etat et l'on rendra l'argent a vous autres qui les avés deja achetés, La somme de 8400 francs. Nous est donne pour habiller le Regiment mais cela. N'est pas si prest pour satisfaire à quelque marchand à Londres qu'il nous voudra donner des habits puisque l'on fait icy difficulté d'accepter la lettre d'Echange et l'envoyant aussy. Je ne pretend pas de vous lasser d'avantage de ces marchands encore que nous ne trouverons point de si bon drap icy, mais ils seront

tres propres en casaques de couleur orangée tirant sur l'or, et fourrees de bleu beaucoup de boutons d'argent des hautes deschausses et des bas d'angleterre tous bleus et des chapeaux avec des galons du bleu et d'orange et des grands bandriers fort larges. Lavallin est en rage pour s'en retourner à Londres et plusieurs autres Capitaines souhaitent de mesme. Le Regiment de Collier est sur la repartission de Zelande avec celui de Disni mais tout se paye bien et toutes nos compagnies sont fortes peu nous manque à chacun excepte Lavallin qui n'a pas cinquante hommes mais mesme entre ceux là plusieurs Anglois qui sont icy sur le pied libre. Le Comte de Hovory se va marier avec la Comtesse de Dona. L'on nous donne pour acheter des drappeaux, et l'on nous donne 90 francs pour acheter des charrettes et trois francs par jour au Capitaine pour nourrir ses chevaux ne manqués pas de m'ecrire toutes les semaines.

Levi a déjà donné son pouvoir à un autre pour traiter del affaire comme j'espere que vous aurés déjà vû et l'aurés negocié conformement a ce que le dit Levi et moy avons marqué. J'ay recuës lettres de ma femme et de mon vaisseau arrivé en Zelande. J'espere que le Grand Chambellan se trouve bien et avec beaucoup de santé.

Endorsed in another hand 'sans nom'

Il y a encore une lettre mais qui ne parle que de l'affaire de Levi et de son cousin pour la sollicitation del'argent que Messrs. les Etats devoient au Roy et elle est sans date et sans nom.*

COUNTESS OF ARRAN† to EARL OF ARRAN.

1675-6, January 22.—My dearest, My mother, Jugg, and my selfe are here waitting in ye dineing room for ye arrivall of Comte Hamilton, soe I cou'd not goe up for gilt paper, soe I am faine to make use of John's. He burns to writte to your Lordship. Ye children are well, only Jeamy hath a litle cold and is something out of order. I desire you to send 6 bottles of white Muskidine or old Malega to baithe ye litle childe's leggs to strengthen them. Ye Monsieurs are now come and say you intend to come backe soone. I hope you brother's businesse will quickly be at an end, and if my deare Lord will but remember a litle of his own concerns then I hope we shall meett merrily. I am, my dearest, Yours, D.A.

Postscript.—My mother presents her service to you.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1676, January 24, S.N. Hague.—I received this week the honour of two letters from your Grace by Captain Lee and another gentleman, but both upon the same subject,

* Endorsed :—*Copies of the Lord of Clare's written to D. Michel de Morales in the year 1675, translated out of Spanish into French.* The orthography of the original has been followed in these transcripts.

† Dorothy, daughter of John Ferrers of Tamworth, second wife of Richard, Earl of Arran. See Vol. III. of this Series, p. 452.

which was that of their late misfortune here, which I thought a very great one, since I began to believe it undeserved. It seems to appear so now by the confession of Captain Platt and the flight of Captain La Valyn, their two accusers, of whom I am forced to believe more ill upon this occasion than I could have imagined mankind capable of, which was by forging accusations upon counterfeited letters to offer at taking away, not only the employments and honours, but the lives of several gentlemen, only to advance one of them to be major and revenge the other upon some little quarrel between them. The Prince himself confesses he believes this forgery, which is come out within these ten days, and so not unseasonably for these gentlemen's coming over; yet his Highness says he is sure there was intelligence between some officers of that regiment and the garrison of Maastricht, and that a troop of horse from thence attended them several days in their march, so that, though Mr. Skelton spoke to him from the King, yet I found he was unwilling to give them a discharge in the usual and honourable terms they desired, but said if they would have a trial by a Council of War they should. What the gentlemen have by Mr. Skelton's advice resolved on I cannot tell, having not seen them since. He left this place upon his journey towards Vienna, but that day Captain Lee dined with me, and seemed unresolved what to desire. When I hear further of him I shall do him any service I can, both from the opinion of his innocence and from the very great deference I shall ever have for any of your Grace's recommendations; otherwise I avoid concerning myself in anything that passes among these troops as having been levied without His Majesty's permission and in a measure against his commands, and thereby lying out of the protection of his Ambassador here. I am very sorry to find what your Grace is pleased to tell me of your ignorance in some of those things which pass here and seem to concern you so much, yet I doubt not but you know as much of them as you desire. I am sure your Grace has as much part as you please in all my despatches to the Secretaries from hence, finding they are still communicated to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and the resolutions upon them taken there, which makes me not trouble your Grace with accounts of matters already known. I will only say that upon the whole matter the Campaign seems to go on as fast as the Treaty, on all hands, and if it begins before the other ends, I believe the Prince of Orange will certainly bring it to a battle, and that must give measures afterwards. I beg your Grace's pardon for this interruption, and you believe that I am ever with equal passion and truth, your Grace's, etc.

THOMAS WHARTON to ORMOND.

1675-6, February 17. Edlington in Yorkshire.—The last post I had notice of my Lord John's happy marriage, and

addition of honour by the King's bounty, in both which I thus soon congratulate your Grace, and am, I think, as much delighted in both as those that may say most to your Grace upon that subject. I hope that you will not now repent that my Godson has not married sooner, since he has stayed to so good purpose, and that your Grace will now find him what I always hoped and expected, a serious young person when it would become him to be so, which from this time forward I presume he will, and am confident your Grace will have great comfort in him. I am sure I wish it, and that your Grace may have all the happiness imaginable long continued to you and yours. Your Grace has sometimes been inquiring of me whether I was like to be a grandfather, therefore I now acquaint your Grace that we have a young Thomas, who I hope may live to have the same affections for the serving of yours, that I am sure the old Tom has to that honour both to your Grace and yours.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1675-6, March 13. Duncannon.—I gave you an account in my last that notwithstanding my Lady Donegall* was then in an angry fit, I sent your letter to her in hopes that it might appease her. What concerns my sister since her coming to Kilkenny I know my mother gives you constantly an account of. My nephew and mother-in-law got safe here on Saturday last, and this air has already wrought a great amendment in James which makes me keep him here, though the wind is contrary, and like to continue so until after the full. My mother had sent her coach to Ross to carry him back again, but the surgeon informing me that such a journey by land would do him a great deal of prejudice, I sent back the coach. Besides, if my mother-in-law goes back to Kilkenny, we shall never get her here again.

The discourse I have had with the officers has wrought some good, for their companies already appear much fuller than they did.

I believe if you would make Gowran part of what you will settle upon my brother, the mother would be sooner reconciled, and it would very much please my sister. My uncle Matthew says it's worth about 3*l.* per annum.

SAME to SAME.

1676, March 25. Kilkenny.—My mother commanded me to write this and give you my sense of my brother John's condition as to his health, which truly I should not have given you else, since I can give no better a one than that I take him to be in danger of a deep consumption, if he is not in one already. My opinion is that a speedy

* The mother of the lady whom Lord John Butler had just married. See Vol. III. of this Series, pp. 342, 364-5.

journey into France is the only way left for his recovery. The difficulty my mother is under now is how to find a fit person to go along with him, for his disease has made him so peevish to his servants that they dare not speak to him. She desires you would think of somebody and send your answer with all convenient speed. I find Tom Fairfax will not be proper.

We are afraid that next post we shall hear that Abel Ram's English correspondent is broke; if so I shall break; but I am of a less desponding humour than my uncle Mathew, and therefore hope that I shall neither receive or have occasion to write any more letters upon such melancholy subjects.

HENRY NOWELL* to ORMOND.

1676, March 29th. Castletown, Isle of Man.—Having formerly made bold (by letter) to beg the favour of my Lord of Derby to give me leave to come over for England now, against his Lordship's happy arrival there from his prosperous travels, to pay him that part of my duty I am happily obliged unto, and having as yet received no return of his Lordship's good pleasure therein, which I believe the want of a convenient opportunity hath occasioned, and now in regard the season cometh on: I am therefore emboldened to beg that honour from your Grace to grant me your favour to come over for England for the space of two months only, which, besides the discharge of the duty incumbent, will be of great furtherance (I hope) to recover me of my health, that I have much wanted, both this winter and spring, and during my absence I have pitched upon Receiver Stevenson to be my deputy, whom I nothing doubt but he will with much ability discharge the place till I return, so that your Grace may be favourably pleased to grant your approbation of the same, the which I humbly crave by the first return. It having pleased God to remove the former falconer, Thomas Norris (whereof I formerly gave your Grace intimation), and there being none as yet deputed in the place, and also the season of the year now requiring the usual care and providence to be taken of the falcons about the island, and lest that any inconveniency might arise either to the hawks themselves, or to the deterring of them from the places where they accustom to resort, by shooting about those places which now requireth a restraint, I have therefore for the preservation of my honourable Lord's game, made bold to employ one Richard Parker in the service, until your Grace's or his Lordship's pleasure should be declared therein, allowing him for his pains and care therein such reasonable fee as his good service from time to time shall merit. And I cannot also omit but give your Grace an account that there is of late an eagle coming into this isle, which is a fowl that very seldom (and scarce in an age) cometh here, it being a place where never any such birds

* Governor of the Isle of Man, 1673-1677.

useth to breed, and that there is all possible care taken for to preserve her here, it being observed to be very lucky when any such is seen in the island.

JAMES KEARNEY to EARL OF ARRAN.

1676, April 19.—My Lord, I received your Lordship's of the 14th, with the enclosed petition of the prisoners.

As for Edward Butler, he was convicted of treason, but was reprieved, and procured his pardon; the fees due to the officers of him were reduced to £1 16s. I have last week given him a year's time for the payment of it, he giving security.

Gerald McShane was four times indicted for stealing of cows and sheep, was found guilty of three of the causes, and saved by the benefit of clergy; and at the request of several of the country, who represented him to be a notorious thief, the rule was that he should enter security for his good behaviour, or transport himself; and when others under the same rule were content to transport themselves, he refused to go, and so continues in gaol; the fees due of him to the ordinary and the rest of the officers are £3 16s.

Teige Harney was indicted for burglary and felony, acquitted of the burglary, but found guilty of the felony, and saved by clergy; his fees to the ordinary and officers 20s. 6d.

John Ryan, indicted of felony and acquitted, but, being represented to be a notorious thief, the same rule was left upon him as upon Gerald McShane, and he refused to transport; his fees 14s. 9d. William Oge Burke, acquitted of felony, reputed to be a great thief; his fees 14s. 9d. Philip Lenan, found guilty of petty larceny; his fees 14s. 9d.

James Purcell, indicted several times of several offences, as burglary, felony, etc., but acquitted; yet being represented by the country as a bad member, he is to enter security for the good behaviour, and to appear next assizes; his fees £3 5s. John Carroll, the like rule; his fees 14s. 9d. William Spellane, acquitted of felony; his fees 14s. 9d. Philip Ryan, acquitted of several felonies; his fees £1 9s. 6d. Teige Kenny, knew none such in gaol, but will inquire. Nicholas Stevens, acquitted of felony; he is presented by the Grand Jury to be of bad fame, and therefore is to enter security to appear next assizes, and in the interim to be of good behaviour; his fees 14s. 9d. Dermot Banane is set at liberty. Thomas Low; none such in gaol. Terence Doherty, being of ill fame, is to be sent to the house of correction to work till next assizes. Walter Sinnur, he and Gerald Sinnur (I think Walter's father), severally indicted for felony; Gerrott found guilty, but saved by benefit of clergy, and Walter acquitted. At the special instance and engagement of Walter, Gerrott was set at liberty, to bring in the officers fees in all £2 5s., for which he stands committed.

I understand that eight of the said prisoners agreed with a lieutenant of the regiment of the Duke of Monmouth to transport with him to France, but am not yet certain which of them goes.

The course I always take at the end of every assizes is to learn which of the prisoners are absolutely poor, and unable to pay their fees, and such I discharge; and for such as pretend to be unable when I find they have goods in the country, and friends to be bound for them, I offer them their liberty, they giving me security to pay their fees within a year, or half a year, more or less, as I see their condition; for at the end of every assizes I pay the Attorney General, Marshal, and Criers fees for them, though I may never receive it from most of the prisoners. And I never leave in gaol any for fees but such as I find sufficient evidence that they are able to pay it, and if I should set all at liberty that pretend to be poor, as I did (I assure your Lordship) more than any four, I believe, of the like employment in Ireland, I contract the cry of the country upon me that such lenity doth increase thievery; their fees bring the greatest punishment of most of them. The calendar book of the last assize shall be copied out, and sent by the next conveniency to your Lordship or Mr. Smith, and whatever your Lordship is pleased to direct about the prisoners shall be dutifully observed.

EDWARD NELTHORPE to GEORGE MATHEW.

1676, May 2. London.—I shall ever preserve a grateful sense of those noble favours you are pleased to heap upon me. All your civilities command my observance and resentment. But you have lately outdone my hopes, surprising me with that public and generous act, the patronising a concern which some envied and others undermined. Could I forget or despise so much goodness, I were the unworthiest person alive. But sir, the necessity of my affairs obliges me to desire the continuance of your friendship. The spring coming on, my servants are busy in hastening goods to foreign markets; on that the fortune and success of the manufactory depends; if my effects be seized in Ireland nothing but ruin will follow upon it. This I am threatened withal, every post alarming me with the news of Sir John Temple's endeavour to secure his moneys that way. Should he attempt and succeed in his design others will be encouraged to use the same course, and I dread the fatal consequences. But because Sir John is your particular friend, out of pure respect to you, that nothing by my means or on my account should happen to cause any misunderstanding, I have this post written to Mr. John Morphy, of Waterford, merchant, to become security for me to Sir John Temple, and advised him the same. That so being secured his money by a third person of known ability and reputation he might no longer intend anything against the manufactory, nor put you upon the uneasy task of denying a friend, and defending my estate against his demands. This is an expedient so fair and rational as leaves me not in doubt of his acceptance, and shall I beg two words from you to second my offer and incline him to compliance. Mr.

Morphy is debtor to me considerably more than the sum I owe Sir John Temple, so I am confident he will not refuse me.

Most of our creditors have signed, and if such a misfortune should happen to me in Ireland as the seizure of my effects, besides the ruin it menaces that affair withal, it would also have a malign influence against it. You only have power enough to protect my estate at Clonmell from such a disaster.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1676, May 6. Dublin.—To add to your other misfortunes in this match of my brother Gowran's, you will find by the state of the case I herewith send you how fatal an error has been committed in suffering the recovery upon which all my Lady Donegall's and most of my sister's interest depends; we have found a patent passed upon defective titles since the entail which secures Inishowen, out of which the £1,000 is to be paid for my sister's portion, and the estate in England will come to her after her mother's death, if the like error has not been committed in passing the recovery in England. I desire you would give a copy of this state of the case to Sir Will. Hicks to have the opinion of the lawyers there how the defect may be rectified, and that you would advise about it and send me an account of what is thought of the matter privately, for I believe I could make a very good composition with this Earl of Donegall in behalf of my sister if we would let his mother and he only try it out by themselves. I wish I had some understanding and relying person to advise me upon the place how to proceed in this great and difficult concern, for though her mother has now of late behaved herself like a madwoman, as may appear by a late letter of hers to her daughter, to advise her not joining with her may of the one side be thought undutiful, and on the other side joining with her, if the recovery proves not good she ruins herself. I confess I ever thought my late Lord Donegall's will extravagant, and his Lady's jointure unreasonable. Pray let me have your advice in this affair, for though at this distance, and I confess circumstances occurring here may alter the case much, I had rather have it than trust to advice upon the place.

I don't doubt but your £5,000 per annum out of the quit rents will be punctually paid you for the future. Sir Charles Meredith* says he will serve you in that as heartily as Sir James Cuffe† can. What you have done about the £2,500 that was in dispute I know not, but will, when informed, solicit the matter; if Mr. Sheridan, who is one of the farmers, be now in England, he will serve you in this business if you have a mind to part with it, or if he be come away if I have instructions from you I will deal with him, or by his means with him and partners. If your answer does not find me here, I shall soon after come to town.

* Sir Charles Meredith, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer 1674-1687, and again from 1689-1695.

† Sir James Cuffe, a Commissioner of Revenue 1675-78. See p. 25 *infra*.

ORMOND to EARL OF ESSEX.

1676, May 13. London.—When I have congratulated your safe arrival (of which I had notice by yesterday's post) I am to ask your pardon for presenting you with a copy of my answer to my Lord of Ranelagh's speech and paper, the one pronounced in October, and the other put into the Council in March last. My paper was read and heard with more attention than it deserved yesterday, and I am told (for I absented myself whilst it was debated on) that His Majesty will declare that he is fully satisfied that there has been no mismanagement of his Irish Revenue in the time of my government, and that an entry to that effect shall remain in the Council book. The like approbation will be of the carriage of the answers. Hence it must follow that my Lord of Ranelagh was mistaken, or that the King has himself applied the revenue in the proportion the paper mentions to other uses than those of the Establishment, and I think it will prove so; but it cannot be, I suppose, thence concluded that the revenue was mismanaged because some payments necessary to the Government, as those in the Establishment, may have been made though they were not foreseen when it was made, and consequently could not be comprehended in it. I shall pray your Excellency that no copy may be taken of the paper I send you, because I know not how the dispersing of it may be understood.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to MAYOR, SHERIFFS, etc.,
of Kilkenny.

1676, July 10.—After our hearty commendations, we have caused two several proclamations to be lately imprinted, dated the 30th of June, 1676, one concerning the enrolment of the patents, the other concerning the payment of money commonly called lapse money, of which said several proclamations we send you herewith a certain number, requiring you to cause the same to be forthwith proclaimed and publicly fixed up in all the markets and other public places throughout that county, that so all persons concerned may take notice thereof. And we require you by the next post after your receipt hereof to signify to the Clerk of the Council the day of your receipt of these our letters. And so we bid you farewell. From the Council Chamber in Dublin the 10th day of July, 1676. Your loving friends,

Essex.

Art. Granard.

Char. Meredith.

Wm. Gore.

Ol. St. George.

Hen. Midensis.

Jo. Byse.

Wm. Flower.

Thos. Radcliffe.

RALPH BATHURST* to ORMOND.

1676, July 15. Oxford.—Our Act being now passed, it is time I should give your Grace an account of the letter you

* Ralph Bathurst (1620-1704) President of Trinity College, Oxford, 1664-1704, Vice-Chancellor of the University. He resigned the Vice-Chancellorship, 9th October, 1676. See Oxford Letters, *infra*.

were pleased to send in my favour for appointing a new successor. I communicated the contents to Dr. Clarke, who will be ready to serve your Grace and the University to the best of his power. We shall agree upon the time of my resignation as may best comport with both our affairs, before the next vacation be expired. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for all my failings in so difficult an employment, and return my most hearty thanks for your protection of the University, and particular favour to myself.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1676, September 4.—I am now reconciled to my Lady Essex, but at first my keeping the yacht so long put me under her displeasure. I find the whole matter concerning Lord Ranelagh's miscarriages is left to be tried by his Excellency here, which I am afraid will signify little as long as the other stays in England, and has such countenance given him there. I have been put to so much trouble about my brother's debts and the £1,000 portion; and, having had the spleen to a great degree, I design to go this afternoon to hunt with my Lord Chancellor at Blessington, and for two or three days to hunt and settle my own business in the County of Carlow. I should be glad Major Feilding and Mr. Nye were sent hither speedily and my brother's will with them, for I have now no power to receive any money, either of the £1,000, or my sister's own fortune, and I hear there will be very soon a good sum; this I desire my sister may know. I sent for my uncle Mathew to come to town as soon as I arrived here to deliver unto him the writings my mother put into my hands, and to have him solicit your business of the £5,000 per annum, and that of the prize wines, to both which I believe he will give you this post a satisfactory account, for the Farmers seem very ready to serve you in both.

ORMOND to GEORGE MATHEW.

1676, September 5. London.—I have received yours of the 29th of the last, but it was upon the way to London, so that I have not had time to consider all the parts of it, or the papers that came with it. I can only at present say that if provision for allowance to be given to the new Farmers for the quit rents they shall pay over to me, or that I shall receive, be not made in their patent, both the King's Council and Sir James Shaen have been wanting in what they undertook to me. But however that is, I should think that when the right to those quit rents is owned to be in me, and that I and no other can justly collect them as long as they are mine, there should be no great difficulty in coming to a clear understanding and agreement with the Farmers. I shall before the next post, look over the notes you sent with my wife, and give you my sense of them. and of those now transmitted.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

September 20. Dublin.—The post being ready to set sail, I have only time to say that I have this morning received yours of the 14th, with the two inclosed papers, to which I could give credit, though the consequence should be the first of your guesses. I confess I have been, and still am, in some difficulty to comprehend how it happens that men who at least seem to be so opposite in other things come to agree in their sentiments about Sir James Shaen's proposals, and against a Parliament here. I have been warned how dangerous it is to promote the one or undervalue the other; but as it is, I think, impossible to give any rational account why I should be fond of a Parliament here for any other reason than the securing of this kingdom, where all my fortune is, so I am not so great a master in the art of compliance as to give in to projects I neither understand or have belief in.

PROPOSAL FOR A COLLEGE FOR THE ISLE OF MAN,
BISHOPS OF ST. ASAPH* AND SODOR AND MAN† to ORMOND.

1676, September 23. Chester.—May it please your Grace: Whereas we, Isaac, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Henry, Bishop of Sodor and Man, have jointly contributed our pains and purse for the procuring and purchasing of the annual sum or salary of three-score pounds, yearly and every year to be paid by two equal portions unto an able reader of academical learning in the Isle of Man, where a college or gymnasium is intended by the present Bishop of Man (and he is already in some forwardness to that purpose), which said salary is to be paid by his Grace, James, Duke of Ormond and his heirs, for the use aforesaid, until the sum of six hundred pounds (which the said James his Grace hath already received from the hands of the Right Reverend Father in God, Isaac, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph aforesaid, for that sole end and purpose) be repaid unto the trustees of the same.

And whereas Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, in the County Palatine of Chester, Esquire, and William Banks, of Winstanly, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, Esquire, were elected and appointed trustees for the receiving and paying of the same unto such a reader as it from time to time should become due.

And whereas the said Mr. William Banks is departed this life not having fully executed, and Mr. Thomas Cholmondeley has not yet assumed the said trust upon him.

And whereas we, the Bishops aforesaid, have with joint consent elected, approved, and appointed William Gostwyke,

* Isaac Barrow, uncle of his more celebrated namesake. He had been Bishop of Sodor and Man from 1663 to 1671.

† Henry Bridgeman, Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1671-1682.

This proposal for a College in the Isle of Man seems to have been a revival of a project for a University entertained a quarter of a century earlier by the seventh Earl of Derby. See Moore's *History of the Isle of Man*, vol. i. p. 366.

Master of Arts and Fellow of Trinity College, in Cambridge, to be our first reader in the academical school aforesaid (with the consent and approbation of the Right Honourable William, Earl of Derby), who hath been at a great expense of pains and time and money in pursuance of the said undertaking, and still continues to be so.

We, the Bishops and founders of the academical school aforesaid, do humbly entreat the said Duke that his Grace will be pleased to pay or cause to be paid unto our said reader, William Gostwyke, the sum of twenty pounds (there being ten pounds already spent in drawing the instruments for settlement thereof), being the first half-year's salary due from the 25th of March last past, he producing the Bishop of Man's licence for his instructing and teaching of youth in the academical school aforesaid, and certificate of his performance of the same.

And that his Grace will vouchsafe to accept the single acquittance of the said William Gostwyke for the said £20, and the Bishop of Man's and the said William Gostwyke's joint acquittance for all such future payments as shall accrue until the trustees have the estate settled upon them for the end and use aforesaid. Your Grace's most humble and obedient servants,

Isaac Asaph.
Henric. Sodor.

ORMOND to GEORGE MATHEW.

1676, September 24. London.—Ever since I received yours of the 29th of the last I have been in expectation of hearing again from you about the settlement of the future payment of the quit rents, and the setting of the prize wines. Concerning the latter you can expect no instructions from me, having no other measures to take but by information from thence, wherein I find a very considerable difference in the computation that you sent me bringing the clear receipts above charges in the year 1672 to £2238, and the present Farmers affirming to me in their letter of the 2nd of this month that they could not find that in any one year of three it yielded more than £1725, not accounting the charges. It is true they do not say what years those were that they chose to compute, and that if it was the years of the war both computations may be right, and yet they ought to give more than they offered. All I can is, if they will be brought to deal for one year, I think it will be better to let them have it at their own rate than at this time to put it into a way of collection, considering how near the vintage is and how hard it will be to find and instruct collectors in the several ports; but if the computation you sent me be true, as I suppose it must be within a little, because Bucknall came to a conclusion with me upon the demand of defalcations as upon the matter verifies it, then I think it will be better to lose something this year than to give them £500 a year advantage during their farm of the revenue. Something any farmer will get,

but that sum I take to be too much, and besides, there is all the probability in the world that this winter will produce a general peace, which will infallibly improve that duty. I have not yet received the draft of a letter you told me should be sent by the farmers for the settlement of the payment of the quit rents for the time to come, in expectation of which I have forbore to procure that whereof I sent you a copy, nor have I had any letter from you since that of the 29th of the last.

JOHN DANVERS to EARL OF OSSORY.

1676, October 18.—Advice from all parts confirming your Lordship's designing to come into these seas, I should be forgetful both of my duty to your Lordship and myself, if I should not request your Lordship to remember that you have here a faithful and humble servant to whom no greater discomfort in this world could arrive than not to have a berth reserved for him near your Lordship's person, if your Lordship, according to former applications, have not otherwise disposed, to whose pleasure I shall always submit. Here is news come to-day from Leghorn that the *Scanderoon* merchant is returned thither from Algiers, whither, notwithstanding her having the new pass, she was forced in by those Corsairs, and had goods to the value of 250,000 dollars taken out of her, and all the Italians on board made slaves. Captain Trevannion and Captain Carter both present their humble service to your Lordship, heartily wishing themselves at home that they may have the honour to wait upon your Lordship out again.

From on board His Majesty's ship *Yermo*, in Genoa Mold.

THOMAS OTWAY*, Bishop of Killala and Achonry, to
EARL OF ESSEX.

1676-7, January 22.—Though we are far from your Excellency's eye, yet we are near your care, as we with all thankfulness acknowledge in your Excellency's appointing us a Marshal to reprove the insolencies of the Tories. I am forced to be a petitioner to your Excellency for the few Protestants of these parts, that they may be saved from Scotch Presbyters who ramble up and down to debauch the people in their religion and loyalty, which are as much more dangerous than Tories as our souls are more precious than our goods. It seems the Scots in Ulster have their classes (or as Hugh Peter more aptly deciphered them—their cl-assizes), who, like the Jesuits have their missions to gain people to their presbytery, as they to the papacy. Two of these Geneva calves (Cleveland bulls is too big a title for these sucking presbyters) were lately sent straggling into these parts, one named Hendry, of Grogstown, in the County of Donegal, the other Hallyday,

* Thomas Otway, (1616-1693) consecrated Bishop of Killala and Achonry 1670, translated to the See of Ossory 1680.

of Raphoe. Hendry held forth within two miles of me to the great peril of the apron-strings, which were much endangered by the deep sighs of the waistcoateers. At this distance from the scene of affairs I know not what toleration His Majesty allows them, but I was confident no part of it permits them to wander up and down to pervert his subjects, whereupon I apprehended Hendry and found about him many scandalous papers against prelacy, the common prayer, and the ceremonies, which I thought unworthy of your Excellency's view, being but their old Crambe. I found one malicious paper against His Majesty which I have, with a letter likewise found with him, sent to your Excellency, by which your Excellency will see some of their employers, agents, and harbourers. With their pocket instruments they ride up and down the country like martial evangelists, with sword and pistols, as if they came, not to prate down, but storm our religion. They are impudent beyond sufferance; Hendry after he had left me to be his silly herd—that he would not only come to the assizes, but preach there. Halliday told the minister who questioned him for his conventicle in his parish, that he might preach anywhere, and that he would go to Dublin and preach in your Excellency's ear. I know I shall be railed at lustily for what I have done; but let them talk on, I will take care that they shall never justly charge me for betraying episcopacy to presbytery, or the English interest to the Scots, which is aimed at by this faction. I most humbly beg your Excellency's commands for prosecuting of Hendry, if your Excellency thinks fit, and to know whether I may not indict him for sedition for his rambling preaching contrary to law, and for his seditious papers.

Copy.

GEORGE MATHEW to ORMOND.

1676-7, January 31. Thomastown.—Since my last letter to your Grace of yesterday's date, we had the surprising news of my dear Lord Cahir's* sudden death at his own house by means of a surfeit of claret, which he took within two miles of his residence, and is to be interred to-morrow at Clonmel. He was never to be reclaimed from that vice of drinking, otherwise a very pretty man. His lady is gone some five months with child, and if it proves not to be a son, I am doubtful what will become of that estate, which moved originally from my Lord's house, and is held of the manor of Knockgraffon. And in as much as it can certainly be made out to be invested in the King by those late acts of settlement and explanation, I fear someone may beg it from the King, and place deficiency upon it, in case my Lord be not earlier than others in getting the King's grant upon the like account, or for himself in the right of his proviso in case my niece has not a son.

* Piers Butler, 6th Baron Cahir. Lord Cahir was a nephew-in-law to the writer of this letter, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Toby Mathew. The title descended to Theobald, son of Edmund Butler, and grandson of Theobald, 3rd Baron.

The next relations to my Lord of Cahir of the male line are not (I presume) capable to inherit, being not declared innocent, and for that reason have lost their own patrimony called Knockenanemy [or Knockananomagh], near Clonmel, which I presume my Lord knows.

I wrote to my Lord, desiring he would withdraw his prohibition from my commenced site for some houses belonging to him in Clonmel, that of the middle row chiefly, which your Grace would have pulled down. When recovered, he may dispose of it then as he pleases, and if to the Corporation the obligation will be the greater. All things are now so far agreed upon with that of Kilkenny, that on Wednesday they have appointed to sign and seal the deeds.

MICHAEL BOYLE,* Lord Chancellor of IRELAND and Archbishop of Dublin, to ORMOND.

1676-7, February 10.—May it please your Grace: The enclosed, which are copies of papers sent up by the Bishop of Killala (and taken out of a Presbyterian preacher's pocket), with a letter of his own, will inform your Grace of the continued practices of that sort of people against the King and Government, notwithstanding anything that is pretended by them to the contrary, and notwithstanding the many favours extended to them by His Majesty. It is not for me to take occasion from hence to offer my weak thoughts upon this subject, since I am more than confident that His Majesty takes his measures in these cases from the best counsel in the world; but I must needs acknowledge to your Grace that it sticks mightily with me how they can be credited in anything they promise for His Majesty's safety and advantage, since, by the articles of their beloved Covenant (which is the great charter of their religion, and unto which they seem as great bigots at present as ever I know them formerly) they are engaged by a religious vow to advance their Covenant by all the industry they can, and that the most famous leaders amongst them have positively declared and published in print, that the Covenant, being a public and a national oath, all persons that shall succeed in public places and political capacities in the Kingdom are obliged to pursue the thing covenanted for, and that obligation is for ever to remain and abide, and by no human act to be absolved or made void. And how destructive the Covenant is to the very being of the King, and of the present Government, I need not paraphrase. What may be farther discovered out of this matter I am not yet able to foresee, but I am well assured that the Lord Lieutenant will pursue it as far as it will go. The two missionary presbyters are sent for already into Connaught, where I hope the Bishop of Killala has secured them, and upon the first intimation of their being in custody I know his Excellency intends to send

* Michael Boyle. Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, 1661-1663; Archbishop of Dublin, 1663-1678; and Primate, 1678-1702. Boyle was also Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1665-1686.

for those classical presbyters in the North mentioned in Boyd's letter; your Grace shall receive a further account thereof if it comes to anything. I should have acquainted your Grace with this matter by the last packet but that I did not think it good manners to prevent our Lord Lieutenant's account thereof unto His Majesty in the first place. I pray God preserve the King, and bless your Grace and all yours.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1676-7, February 27.—Your Grace's of the 10th, with the enclosed letter from the Bishop of Killala to his Excellency, and the Presbyterian doctrine taken out of the preacher's pocket*, I received on the 17th inst., at a time when the business of the House of Lords concerning those Lords now in the Tower was at the hottest, so that I could not well till now acknowledge the receiving of them or my obligation to your Grace for communicating them to me. I am since informed that those seditious fellows have upon the matter made their escape, the penalty of the bonds taken for their appearance being inconsiderable, as perhaps the parties to them may be. I wish the good Bishop had been less witty and more wary. It is plainly observable that since the commitment of the lords and the prosecution of the pamphlets which asserted that this Parliament was dissolved, the Nonconformists of all sorts have been disappointed in their expectations, and that a proportionable dejection of spirit has seized them, and we have a very hopeful prospect of a good session of Parliament, not, I think, to be endangered unless we think ourselves too sure and so grow negligent, or too strong, and so presume too far upon that. I hope this calmness there, if we carry it to the end, will have good effects there, as I presume the contrary expectation made those itinerary presbyters so busy at that time. The ordinary transactions of this time and place your Grace receives from other hands, where if anything shall happen worth your knowledge of another nature it shall be imparted to you.

E. NELTHORPE to G. MATHEW.

1676-7, March 17.—I have your acceptable lines telling me of your readiness to patronise the manufactory at Clonmel. I have desired Mr. White to wait upon you and discourse that affair, and desire the favour of a few lines to the Duke of Ormond to alter the lease and transfer it to Mr. Nic. White, to whom I have sold it, and so, if you would please to afford him your assistance, I doubt not but the manufactory may own its preservation from your assistance and protection. As for the town of Clonmel's pretences, I find they are but upon weak foundations as to their own title, saving their hopes in the

* See page 17, *supra*.

favour and grace they may find from the Duke. But were their title much better, the least hint from you would suspend all my solicitations, and when they write again I shall give an answer according to your method, being no more than what becomes one under so many obligations.

JUSTIN M'CARTIE to ORMOND.

1676-7, March 17. Paris—I have once since my coming hither given your Grace the trouble of a letter, but I know not whether it came to your hands. And now, my Lord, I must importune you again, for I am so alarmed at the bill I hear that has passed the House of Commons for the recalling of us out of the French service that I know not what to do unless your Grace can by your interest get me particularly excepted, which is the only hope I have that can prevent my ruin, having been at vast expense to equip myself for the field, besides a certain disappointment of making my fortune, which I am in a good way of doing if I were permitted to continue here. I beseech your Grace, if nothing can be done in this business, at the least that I may have your advice how I shall carry myself, for without it I shall not stir.

ORMOND to EARL OF ESSEX.

1677, April 20. London.—My Lord: There has been so much contrivance during the time of your government to do me ill offices with your Excellency that I cannot doubt but that on your leaving it and my succeeding at least the same art will be continued. But I shall so much rely on your Excellency's justice, when all circumstances shall be known to you, that I shall not doubt but that you will believe that as I have been so I always resolve to be, your Excellency's most faithful and most humble servant.

ORMOND to GEORGE MATHEW.

1677, April 20. London.—The King's purpose of sending me to serve him in the government of Ireland is now no longer a secret, His Majesty having intimated so much by a letter which goes by to-morrow's post to my Lord Lieutenant. I cannot certainly say when I shall be ready to move that way, nor whether my Lord of Essex will stay for my arrival or come over sooner and leave the sword in the hands of justices, but I think it very necessary for you to hasten to Dublin, where you will see which course he will take. If he resolves on the latter, there are many things, as well ordinary household stuffs as provisions, which may be of use to me, and which he will rather part withal than transport about, for which his servants may be treated with. If he shall stay for my coming he will then think fit to remove, that the castle may be prepared for me, and in that case also your being upon the place will be

necessary for the same purpose. But you are not to make any proposition till you hear again from me, though you are to receive any that will be made to you by any officer of his Excellency's. Dublin is likewise the likeliest place where you may raise money to transmit to bring me off from hence. The £2,500 due on the last farmers I cannot hope to get yet. The bills for £500 are received.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1677, April 24. Dublin.—It was with mighty cheerfulness that we received here the report of your Grace's return into this Government; whether it be so or no we have yet no assurance. However, we exceedingly pleasure ourselves in the belief of it. The discourse of it was so public that our Lord Lieutenant was pleased to take notice of it to me, and he very generously declared himself thus unto me: that he knew not whether any such thing were in designation, but if it were, that he was so far from repining at it, that he was much satisfied in your Grace succeeding him; and that he was resolved while he continued here upon the place that he would hold a stricter correspondence with your Grace than hitherto he hath done, and that he would give your Grace as perfect an account of the affairs of this kingdom, and particularly of the condition of the revenue, as he was capable; and this he gave me leave to assure your Grace. Thus your Grace may see how all parties here are pleased with your return. I wish they may be all so in England, but it is a vanity to hope it; such honours are seldom conferred without the emulation of several pretenders. I pray God increase your friends and lessen the number of those that are not so.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1677, April 28. Dublin.—Since mine to your Grace by the last packet I have received the honour of your Grace's by Colonel Vernon. What concerns the lawsuit between your Grace and him I am yet ignorant of, but I presume the debate thereof being carried on so agreeably, the conclusion is not likely to be so fatal as between him and Sir William Petty, who have already opened the lists and begun the combat before the castle gate in the face of the sun and people, but where it will determine no mortal can foresee.*

By your Grace's letter, and by some discourse with Colonel Vernon, I suppose I may now without any disguise wish your Grace all happiness in a long enjoyment of His Majesty's favours, and particularly of this kingdom, where (I hope) your Grace will find as many hearts as voices to receive you;

* This was not the only duel between Col. Vernon and Sir William Petty: another was arranged in London in 1679. See Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's *Life of Sir William Petty*, pp. 176 178.

wherein no m^{an} can have a louder share and a deeper sense of that satisfaction which we shall all enjoy under your Grace's conduct than he that ever was and ever will be etc.

SAME to SAME.

1677, April 28.—Your Grace has such a perfect and experienced knowledge of the condition and government of this kingdom, that it were a great impertinency and presumption to say anything to your Grace upon that subject; but the difficulties that are most likely to press you being such as shall be put upon you out of England (as your Grace well knows) rather than any you shall (in probability) meet upon the place, give me leave to hint unto your Grace two or three of them, which I have observed since your Grace's recess from hence, and which, in my opinion, have made the Government somewhat easy; your Grace may make what use of them you please.

1.—That no letters from the King for any grant, etc., are to be allowed and proceeded on by the Chief Governor, unless they have first had the approbation of the Lord Treasurer of England. There is (as I suppose) some private instruction to this purpose; what restraint this puts upon the Chief Governor your Grace can best judge.

2.—The Lord Treasurer hath in some matters of money underwritten the King's warrant with his own name only, and without the privy signet; which is not thought a legal authority sufficient to justify the Chief Governor either for payment or discharge of the King's money, if ever he should be called to an account for it. Besides, if such a letter should come unto your Grace, either you must pursue it or refuse it. If the former you do that which perhaps you cannot answer; if the latter you will give occasion of some difference or jealousies which may be very inconvenient. This I know hath been pressed upon our present Chief Governor in two or three instances, but he hath always (as I believe) waived them as insecure and unjustifiable.

3.—I have heard by a very good hand that the Lord Conway (who it is said was once upon the expectation to come over our deputy) declared it as his opinion that the Lord Treasurer of England hath as good authority, even by virtue of his office, to dispose of the King's revenue in Ireland, as of the revenue of England. If this should become a received opinion this Government would indeed be uneasy, and the consequences may be fatal.

4.—Another thing which hath of late subjected this Government to great inconveniencies is the contracting in England for concerns of Ireland, and the allowing of defalcations upon those contracts without the knowledge or privity of the Chief Governor here, who, being upon the place, must certainly understand them best, and would doubtless be the best husband for the King's advance, since the lessening of that must necessarily conduce to the uneasiness of the Government.

I doubt it is much easier to reflect upon those things than to remove them; but perhaps while your Grace is there upon the place, where you may discourse freely, matters may be better adjusted and made smoother than by the debate of letters at a distance.

As to the business of the revenue, which, indeed, is the great business of this kingdom, your Grace will receive an account thereof from another hand.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1677, April 28. Newmarket.—I have your Grace's of the 17th inst. with all possible satisfaction, finding the continuance of your friendship and favour to me so fully expressed. As to my Lady Donegall's pretention and solicitation here, I ever thought it useless, for that if her case was equitable and just and within the rules of Chancery she would not fail of relief there without a letter from the King, and if it was not, it was not fit for him to grant it, nor could your Grace under less penalty than that of perjury obey it, if I am not mistaken in the oath of a Chancellor. But that good lady abounds in her own sense, and is very apt to lay unkindness to her daughter to my charge, which prevailed upon me to send your Grace that letter. If my following the King hither and the hurry that ordinarily attends such removes had not hindered me, I had myself informed your Grace that by the post of this day sen- night His Majesty sent a very gracious letter to my Lord Lieutenant intimating his purpose of recalling his Excellency to attend his service here, and of sending me to serve him once more in that Government. The time of his Excellency's remove is left to himself, that he may fit himself for his journey, and for his reception here, so that till a return from thence I cannot say when I shall begin my journey thither. But I am in the meantime preparing myself for it, though to this hour I know there are frequent consultations how to prevent it. His Majesty was pleased in a discourse he allowed me with him to recommend to me a reconciliation with my Lord of Ranelagh, and the encouraging him to employ the very good ability he is master of in his service. His Majesty found no difficulty to dispose me to obey him, finding myself, as I believed, very fully vindicated from any reflection his Lordship had endeavoured to cast upon me, and that recorded in the Council books here: and that there might be no occasion of clashing betwixt us, I besought His Majesty to direct that my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Ranelagh, and I, might meet, that upon consideration had of all the disputes betwixt the contractors and my Lord Lieutenant and of the despatches sent from his Excellency and the Council touching the accounts, the King would direct how they should be proceeded in, in case they should not be closed before my arrival there. To this His Majesty assented, and here again told me that when he should be returned to London he would

give an order for that meeting. But there are things of so much higher concernment to be thought of in order to the meeting of the Parliament on the 21st of May, that it is possible that affair may be delayed till I may have received from your Grace what you may judge fit for the King's service in that matter of accounts, or in anything else you shall think proper for me to propose before my going. His Majesty returns to Whitehall on Monday, the last of this month, just three weeks before the Parliament is to sit. From thence your Grace shall hear frequently from [me].

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1677, May 1. Dublin.—Our Lord Lieutenant, having of his own accord discoursed with me some months since about the unreasonableness of my small allowance by the Establishment as Chancellor of Ireland*, which at the time he much declaimed against, he hath (as he tells me) written this week to Mr. Secretary Coventry about it. I shall not trouble your Grace with an account of the particulars of the matter, and how unkindly (perhaps unfaithfully) I have been dealt with therein; but I have desired my cousin Fitzpatrick to acquaint your Grace therewith at your better leisure. But upon this occasion I thought this a convenient season to employ the bearer, Mr. Muschamp,† about it, and rather at this time than hereafter, for several reasons, if your Grace approves it, but principally that he may give your Grace the best information that he can in such particulars as your Grace shall think fit to demand of him in reference to the present state of affairs in this kingdom. I shall not take up any more of your Grace's time, but shall pray for your happy arrival unto us.

SAME to SAME.

1677, May 5. Dublin.—Before I received the honour of your Grace's of the 28th of April, which came to my hands yesterday, I did by several letters offer to your Grace's consideration some few things, which, being adjusted there before your coming over would (as I supposed) contribute something to your Grace's quiet in the government of this kingdom; particularly in a letter enclosed in one to my cousin Fitzpatrick, without a subscription and in a disguised hand, which I doubt not you have received. I likewise employed Mr. Muschamp to attend your Grace to give your Grace the best satisfaction that he can, to which your Grace shall be pleased to enquire of him; I have very little to add at present. That which concerns my Lord Ranelagh's accounts will be observed to your Grace by Sir James Cusfe, a person very diligent and fit

* The Lord Chancellor appears to have received £1000 as the yearly fee of his office, and £809 17s 6d. as a special annual grant by a patent dated May 15, 1666. See Smyth's *Law Officers of Ireland*, p. 35; and Vol. III. of this Series, p. 376.

† William Muschamp, one of the Commissioners of the Irish Revenue.

for business, who I know is as well able as he is willing to perform your Grace many services. As to my Lord Ranelagh's payments upon his contracts, that which will most concern your Grace is the pay of the Army for December, 1675, which Sir James Hayes assures me will be completed with £7,000; and which he hath some hopes of compassing within few weeks. The former arrears to the Army, according to his contract to be satisfied, we have not yet any good prospect of, though I understand they are compounding for them by some inferior instruments. The two years enlargement of time for collecting his Grace's arrears is that which may seem most plausible, but withal may prove most troublesome to the generality of people, and very injurious to the present Farmers, if it be not restrained by some convenient limitations. But this is so fully represented to His Majesty by our Lord Lieutenant's report in that matter (which I know will be shown unto your Grace) that I need say nothing upon that subject. Perhaps it may not be amiss for your Grace to know His Majesty's pleasure as to the Presbyterians in the North, and likewise as to the conventicles in this City; that they in the North are a numerous rabble is very well known to your Grace, and that they will never want discontented factionists to enflame them upon all overtures of trouble cannot be much doubted while they are so near in neighbourhood to Scotland, and that the most violent and most discontented of that kingdom have the freedom of coming over hither when they please and without being taken notice of; and that they have a settled Presbytery in the Lagan* is very certain, but whether a more rough proceeding with them than is already exercised, or the hopes of overcoming them by a compliance and an easy hand is a subject too tedious to be debated by a letter. Though upon the whole matter my humble opinion is (with submission) that there hath been a great mistake in the managers of that weighty affair, which your Grace shall be informed of at your better leisure.

As to the conventicles in this city they are divers, and those very public; and the more scandalous because some persons of quality and some who gain their fortune at the bar of the Four Courts do frequent them too often, and without the least disguise or apprehension. Your Grace knows my sense in this matter, and therefore you will not (as I presume) look upon those unlawful meetings in the very eye of the State as the effect of any negligence in me; but if His Majesty's pleasure were once fully understood in this matter, this mischief would be easily remedied.

I find that it was promised to our now Lord Lieutenant that no patents relating to the affairs of Ireland, or to any particular office or employment here, should be passed under the Great Seal in England; but it hath not been very punctually observed, though they have not been so frequent as formerly.

* One of the five 'meetings' or presbyteries in Ireland at this time. See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii., 205, note.

EARL OF SALISBURY to ORMOND.

1677, May 29.—The adjournment of the Parliament making me think it proper to apply myself to the King for my liberty,* I assure myself of the honour of your Grace's friendship, so much as to beg your advice and assistance in order to the obtaining it, and have therefore sent a servant of mine with full instructions to your Grace with my desires, if you will please to allow him the liberty of speaking with you, it being too tedious to trouble you with in a letter, and he being one I can freely trust in any concern.

ARTHUR PODMORE† to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1677, June 6. Dubl'n.—Dear Brother: The last night's packet being not yet gone off gives me opportunity sooner than I expected to own the receipt of both yours dated the 29th of the last month, and to acquaint you I have made as much enquiry for the time as could be, to find out the accommodation you desire. Choice of lodgings are to be had, but few that will also provide diet. The most convenient place I have yet met with is in St. Bride's Street, at one Mr. Gibbs's, a gentleman, and a very neat house, with a garden that stands well for air, besides the convenience of his having no children. There you may be provided at forty shillings a week; if you approve not of that, Mr. Wormington has a fair brick house with good rooms in St. Nicholas Street; the back part has a way to the city wall, and the view and air of several gardens adjoining, he says you may have room there and provision for your Lady and servants at your landing, and provide otherwise afterwards if that should not be to your liking. Your resolution as to one of those places be pleased to signify by the next return, because I have promised to conclude or break off with them as you shall direct. Mr. Bowyer does not, nor has of late, set any lodgings. I have seen your note, and shall comply with it. Pray forget not your promised kindness for me to my Lord Duke when you see occasion. You will from my Lord Lanesborough hear of his Grace's money affair for his transport, and be pleased to hint my former request to Mr. Clarke concerning the books Mr. Morgan is to deliver on my account.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT LANESBOROUGH‡.

1677, June 9.—I think the last I had from your Lordship was of the 26th of May what [means] have been made use of to frustrate the King's intention of sending me to that Government I cannot tell, but have reason to believe that they have been as many and as skilful as could be found out. Yet at

* James, 3rd Earl of Salisbury, had been committed to the Tower in February, 1676-77, for supporting the proposition of the Duke of Buckingham "that the last prorogation of Parliament was null and void in law."

† Arthur Podmore was a Messenger of the Privy Council.

‡ Sir George Lane, Viscount Lanesborough, was Principal Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant, 1665-1678.

length my Commission* is under the seal and in my possession, so that nothing now stays me but the fitting my instructions to the present conjuncture, the completing of my equipage and the [fit]ting of things for my reception, all which will, I hope, be finished so that I may remove hence about the beginning of next month, which I desire your Lordship to let my Lord Lieutenant [know] because he seems to be desirous to know the time of my departure hence.

There was no ground at least on my part for the intimations [from] hence that the war was so far declared betwixt my Lord Treasurer and me that one of us must fall. It is true he took something I had done more unkindly than I think he had reason for, and thought it designed more to his prejudice than was any way intended by me or anybody else that I know; but I take all to be now well betwixt us, and do hope we will, as befits us, co-operate in our several stations to the good of the King's service; and this I may the more easily expect, for my Lord of Ranelagh and I are upon so good terms that he [often] discourses freely with me, and gives me useful assistance [in] things that relate to the office.

I have this morning spoken with your son of that part of your pretension which you have devolved to him, and put him into the best way I could think of to make it effectual to him. [That] which concerns yourself as Secretary of State is in Mr. Secretary Coventry's hands, and on this day sevensnight he told me the King, upon his exposing it to him, gave him a good answer. What account he has given you I know not. You will easily judge that it is not now my part to move, or as far as I can prevent, to suffer, an increase to the King's charge, when I know how much the public concerns do want a considerable sum to put them into a tolerable condition. But if the question come to be betwixt the justice and reasonableness of [your] pretences, I can and will then speak as I ought.

ORMOND TO SIR JOHN TEMPLE†.

1677, June 9.—It is certain no man might better have been dispensed with in the ceremonial part upon occasion of my return to that Government than yourself, having given me so many and so effectual demonstrations of your friendship and care of my concerns, which I find continued in yours of the 22nd of the last, and which you shall find I am very sensible of, as often as occasion shall be offered.

My Lord of Ranelagh having visited me twice and discoursing with me of the affairs of Ireland, and more particularly of what related to his office, I took occasion to tell him I was desirous that before my going hence it might be determined how much longer I was to receive the £5,000 a year

* Ormond's patent as Lord Lieutenant was dated May 24, 1677.

† Sir John Temple, Solicitor General for Ireland, 1660-1689, and, temporarily, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, 1661, is the person addressed. His father, Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, 1640-1677, was still alive at this date.

assigned me on the Irish revenue. He told me that he was informed out of Ireland that my Lord Lieutenant was upon the examination of that account, and would determine it before his remove. If that be so the matter is as I would have it, but if it be not so, it will be, I fear, impossible to know that it is not so, and then after to have time to settle it here before I begin my journey, which I design shall be about the 4th of July. If it cannot be done here, I must at least before I go get it put into the most equitable way before I go, but sure I am I will not in this or any other case be my own judge.

There are here unconsidered as yet divers despatches from my Lord Lieutenant, relating to the accounts of the late Undertakers. I shall desire before I go that the points in difference may be determined, that the Commissioners of Accounts may know distinctly what to allow and what not, and that I may not be put to representations which may be suspected to proceed from some other motive than the King's service, and the indispensable duty of my place. Upon our last discourse I gave my Lord Ranelagh a touch upon the subject. He told me that now the Vice-Treasurer's accounts for the future were to be taken in the ancient manner by those officers and judges formerly Commissioners of Accounts, but how the contractors were to account, or before whom he did not fully instruct me. I would be glad you would do me the favour to inform me.

Copy.

ORMOND TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1677, June 12. Windsor.—Having had notice of your son's purpose to pass over to you, I thought I could not better than by him acknowledge your Excellency's* kindness and favour upon occasion of His Majesty's making choice of me once more in his service for the Government of Ireland. Considering my age, I am like there to act the last public part of my life, and shall endeavour therefore to make it the best, that so I may in some measure redeem all the errors of ignorance and inadvertency I may have been guilty of. For others I shall want humility to own, and this advantage I have, that my carriage heretofore in that Government hath been exposed to so strict, not to say malicious examination, that I am reasonably well instructed and warned for my future deportment, a benefit which I doubt was not intended me, or foreseen by some of the inquisitors. There is no circumstance attending the honour His Majesty lays upon me that satisfies me more than that I find my Lord of Essex is not displeased at my succeeding him, and does not misunderstand the part I had in obtaining the succession; but, on the contrary, all things have passed betwixt us upon the occasion as they ought to do betwixt men of our condition and professed friendship. With this as with what I believe will not displease you I shall conclude my letter.

Copy.

* Temple was at this time Ambassador at the Hague.

ORMOND to DR. JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1677, June 16. London.—Having not had the satisfaction to see Oxford since I had the honour to be Chancellor of the University, I would most willingly pass that way in my journey for Ireland, but that it falls out that my being there must be about the time of the Act, or at the farthest a day or two after it ends, and how far my appearance there at such a time may disturb the exercises and other solemnities I cannot judge without your Lordship's assistance and advice, which I beseech you freely to afford me, for as I would by no means inconvenience them, so I would as little be wanting in anything that might show my respect to them and the value I put upon their electing me to be Chancellor.

Two things there are that straighten me in point of time. One is that I must cast my journey so as to be at Chester the 17th of July, else I shall be put to pass the Welsh mountains with a train of coaches. The other is that till my arrival in Ireland the King will pay two Lieutenants, and I would be glad that should be for as short a time as may be. Your Lordship, when you have advised with whom you think fit, will be pleased to let me have your sense with the freedom of a friend.*

Copy.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1677, June 19. Lanesborough.—I shall presume before you leave London to put your Grace in mind of a business which I did formerly acquaint you, and of which your Grace did then very well seem to approve. It was to have some authority from the King for settling a Commission of Defective Titles, or something like it, whereby persons who discovered any flaw in their estates might, before Commissioners authorised to receive them, produce the defects of them and compound upon a rate not exceeding so many years value for new letters patents. This, my Lord, would, I am confident, in the first place incite all who suspected any flaw in their title to come in and declare them, would produce a considerable benefit to the King, and more contribute to the settlement of the minds of people in that kingdom than any other single Act can do, and by this the King will have a benefit which informers and discoverers do as yet chiefly entitle themselves unto. If your Grace shall approve of this hint, you will, I am sure, put it into such a method as may make it practicable; and since I believe it tends to a public good I wish, I confess, that rather your Grace than any other person whatever should be the promoter of it.

I here expect your Grace's commands to wait upon you at my Lord Devonshire's, which I shall no sooner receive but I shall obey, and all others you shall honour me with.

* Ormond's visit to Oxford was paid on August 4, 1677, and lasted two days. See the description of the proceedings in *Carte's Life*, ii pp. 466-7.

CAPTAIN JOHN BAXTER to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1677, June 21. Dublin.—Yours of the 16th inst. I have this day received, and have made some inquiry of those shops you mention at the drawbridge of the Castle, which are made use of at present, the one by a barber, the other by a person unknown to me, and I am informed that those shops were formerly disposed of by the Constable of the Castle, of which you shall have a further account.

ARTHUR PODMORE to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1677, June 23. Dublin.—Dear Brother: I have yours of the 16th, and have acquainted Mr. Wormington with your intention to make his house your quarter for some time, which he says shall be ready to receive you. Mr. Sommers was paid the half-year's salary for Bermingham's Tower before I could get it at the Treasury, though I was forced to give an allowance for it, and he showed me the copy of a letter to you wherein he owned the receipt of that sum. For the two pistols on Sir Richard's Rooth's account, as soon as I have so much money to spare he shall be paid them also, though I have no money of Sir Richard's in my hands, or near that sum of yours, having paid the note you sent on Mr. Clarke's account. Captain Baxter showed me yours about the two little shops by the drawbridge of the Castle, and he being to make a step to Kilkenny, desired me to enquire about them and give you an account. Mr. Robinson tells me the Constable of the Castle pretends a right to those places, and that for the present the best of them, consisting of two small rooms, is held by the widow of a sergeant,—that was killed at sea—where she sells bottled drink. The other is in the hands of a soldier of the regiment, who keeps in it a barber's shop; but whether they came in by the Constable or Sir William Flower, Mr. Robinson could not resolve me, but believes both may be disposed as my Lord Duke shall think fit, which is all the trouble at present.

PRINCE OF ORANGE to ORMOND*.

1677 Juin ce 25ie. Au Camp de Lokeren.—Monsieur: Je crois être obligé de vous temoigner ma reconnaissance de tous les honneurs que vous avez faits à Mr. Bentinck, et des bons conseils que vous lui avez donnés. Je ne vous rendrai pas mes remerciements de l'amitié que vous lui avez temoignée avoir pour moi, puisque. Je sais que vous savez qu'il y a déjà longtemps que j'en suis entièrement persuadé, et que je me flatte aussi que vous me faites la justice de croire la passion que j'ai pour tous vos intérêts, et pour tous ceux de votre maison laquelle je vous prie d'être assuré qu'elle continuera toujours. Et que je tacherai de vous temoigner en toutes occasions avec combien de zèle et de verité je serai toute ma vie, Monsieur, votre très humble, et très affectionné serviteur,
Prince D'Orange.

* The orthography of the original is followed in this transcript.

ORMOND to EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1677, June 26.—I have it still in my thoughts to effect their settlement and quiet to the minds and interests of His Majesty's subjects in Ireland, which may at once make them happy and able to answer His Majesty's expectations in contributing to his service and their own safety, to which no one thing can more conduce than the putting an end to all future conditions of inquiring into men's titles, and I hope to have it so contrived that it will be to the King's satisfaction, and for the advantage even of those who have obtained grants from him; but I doubt there must be more time for laying the foundation, and more assistance than can be had and afforded here, though my Lord Chancellor hath charged himself with preparing the heads of some bills to be transmitted in order to an Irish Parliament. Another thing for the ease of the subject there must be thought of, and that is to put an end to their eternal molestation under pretence of arrears due to the King, and by him passed over to the Lord Ranelagh and his partners in the undertaking. For, as the words of their patent may be construed, they are under no limitation of time, but they may to the end of the world torment the people upon pretence of arrears, and so long they may also pretend they cannot pay the sums and persons they undertook to satisfy and pay. There are some things yet under consideration that will require despatch before I can set a day for my remove, and those depending upon the leisure of others I cannot say when they will despatch them, but as soon as they are in any prospect of a conclusion your Lordship shall receive a summons.

Copy.

SIR RICHARD BULSTRODE* to ORMOND.

1677, June 29. Bruxelles.—I presume most humbly to congratulate your Grace's reintegration into that high sphere wherein your Grace was so eminently serviceable to His Majesty and his kingdom of Ireland for many years together, wishing your Grace's long continuance in that Government for the advantage of His Majesty's service and for the public good. And I do in all humility (as one of your Grace's most obedient servants) lay myself at your feet with the best offer I can make of my service, which is to give your Grace a constant account of what shall pass here during the war and my being in this station, if it may be agreeable to your Grace.

Postscript.—It is my duty to acquaint your Grace that I have been a little successful in your commands to me concerning Colonel Farewell's pretensions here, and, though in this dearth of money, I have procured by my solicitation some small thing for him, which proves very welcome to him.

* Sir Richard Bulstrode was Agent at Brussels 1673-1676, and Envoy 1676-1688.

WILLIAM BENTINCK to—————*

1677, July 3. Lokeren.—Monsieur : J'ai reçu celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, et l'enclose a été rendue a son Altesse. Il est vrai, monsieur, que j'ai été encore plus satisfait de ma dernière audience que des précédentes et j'avoue que Sa Majesté a répondu avec tant d'expressions de bonté pour Monsieur le Prince et d'empressement à pousser les affaires publiques au point que j'ai pris la liberté de vous dire que je ne puis aucunément douter que l'effet ne s'en suive, et que nous ne voyons bientôt venir ici quelqu'un de la part du Roi pour instruire Monsieur le Prince de ces sentiments sur ce sujet; tout le monde est persuadé ici aussi bien que moi, monsieur, que si tous les Ministres du Roi étaient de votre sentiment l'on verrait les effets suivre de près, les promesses, ce qui est la chose la plus nécessaire pour maintenir la bonne intelligence dans la maison Royale, puisque M. le Prince ne conte guère sur les paroles; je puis vous assurer, Monsieur, que toutes les civilités et honneurs dont vous et toute votre maison m'ont comblé m'a rendu votre redevable au delà de ce que puis vous exprimer étant toujours avec beaucoup de sincérité et de respect, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

ORMOND to EARL OF ESSEX.

1677, August 4. Wickham.—I am gotten thus far in my journey to the waterside, but shall arrive there some few days later than I might if I were not to attend the passage over the strand in Wales which is governed by the tides; those days I shall employ at Oxford and Chatsworth. Your Excellency may be pleased to order the yacht, frigate, and, if you please, the dogger to pass to Holyhead, to receive me and the company that goes with me. I would fain have had my Lord Ranelagh to have been of the number, but he has excused himself, and obtained the King's leave to stay for the confirmation of his health by the physic of this season; and yesterday his Lordship told me it would be needful for His Majesty's service that Sir John Champante might have leave to pass for a short time into England; the reason he gave was that he might adjust something with those who are to advance a quarter's pay to the Army by Michaelmas next, but since that service is undertaken and performed by men here, I do not comprehend how the King can be advantaged by the conference between Sir John and them. His Lordship knows that till I am possessed of the Government I can give no authentic leave; and if the application shall be made to your Excellency I do not doubt but you will see that some other for whom my Lord of Ranelagh will be as much answerable as he is for Sir John

* William Bentinck, afterwards 1st Earl of Portland. The orthography of the original is followed in this transcript.

Champante may be let in his room. I have not left your Excellency's particular concern in that state I wished, nor have I seen Sir Henry Capel to inform him when I suppose it sticks. When I have the honour to see you I shall freely impart my thoughts to you in that and in all things.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677, August 28. Castle Martyr.—I am not ignorant that I ought to have waited on your Grace at your arrival to the Government of this kingdom. But really, my Lord, I have not been able for above this twelvemonth to put my right foot to the ground. And though I was necessitated in June last to go to a house of mine twenty-seven miles from this place, yet that short journey did not a little discompose me, and made me thereby feel I was unfit to travel until God is pleased to free me from this distemper. I have therefore, as soon as I heard of your Excellency's landing, sent my two sons on purpose to present you with their own and with my most humble service; to beg your Grace's excuse for an omission which is too much my trouble to be believed my election or my fault; and to assure your Grace that whenever you honour me with your commands they shall be obeyed with that perfect duty I owe His Majesty's service, and with all the observances and respects which are due to your Grace.

From ——— to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677, Aout le 30. D'Euston.—Si nous ne fûmes pas partis pour Euston aussi tôt que vous, ou au moins avant votre arrivée au camp de Monsieur le Prince, je vous aurais écrit régulièrement. Mais comme vous savez les nouvelles de Londres aussi que nous, je n'ai pas voulu vous rompre la reste des mes lettres; on est ici dans l'impatience d'en avoir des vôtres, et de savoir si vous êtes grand d'Espagne ou bien chevalier de la toison d'or, ce qui s'accordera mieux avec l'inclination que vous avez pour le méchants chapeaux. Je vous prie dire à son Altesse que Monsieur Jermien s'est défat de sa mente dont il bien fache et moi aussi, car c'est la plus belle et la meilleure d'Angleterre, si elle était en ce pays ici quoi qu'en d'autre mains il ne serait pas difficile de la voir, mais elle est au nord, et notre pouvoir ne va pas plus loin que Suffolk où tous les animaux sont à son service et moi je suis tout à vous dieu mon cher frère

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677, September 1. Whitehall.—This is to welcome your Grace to Dublin, where our last letters inform us you are safely arrived. I have received a letter from the Council concerning the petition of the late Farmers, and their reason for their as yet refusing their discharge. I reserve it till to-morrow to show His Majesty, and then shall return the resolution to your Grace.

We are all still here, and abroad there is not much fighting, but great quarelling. Your son Ossory hath made no good voyage of it; lost his cloak, which his valet de chambre ignorantly carried into Charleroi after the siege was levied. But their revilings of our King, the Prince of Orange, and everybody but themselves, that deserved it most, are intolerable. Their ministers here are not much civiler than M. le Bergeman, having told the King himself that since the Prince's favourite, Monsieur Bentham's, being here, the Prince of Orange had always been cool as to their interests, and did little less than lay the raising of the siege of Charleroi at the King's door. He hath given in a memorial demanding satisfaction for his Majesty's subjects serving in France; for the Duke of Monmouth's having been in the French Army this summer; and for the wrong done Salinas and Fonsèques. This memorial was delivered on Sunday, and on Thursday night last, meeting me in the drawing room, he asked me when he should have an answer to his memorial. I replied the King had not as yet declared his resolutions; when he had I should impart them to him. He said his memorial was of importance and required haste; I told him I wondered he should yearn so much for expedition. The King's Ambassador at Madrid had exhibited memorials eight or nine months since, and some of them that concerned the King's honour and safety, as that against Salinas and Fonsèques, and had as yet received no answer, to which he replied: I need not wonder at that, for till His Majesty had given satisfaction for the wrong done Salinas and Fonsèques he should receive no answer; to which I answered (being so beforehand authorised by His Majesty), that till His Majesty's Ambassador did receive an answer to the Memorial he would receive no more to any of this; and thus we parted, and thus our commerce stands. The threats they give out of pillaging our merchants and breaking with us have mightily alarmed our merchants. For my part I can hardly believe they will reduce themselves into so unavoidable a ruin. All that makes me in any cost apprehend it, is that, as they have lost so much by folly, they are resolved to lose the rest by madness. Thus I have given your Grace a long state of our affairs here; I hope you will send me back a letter from Ireland, and that your affairs there are more prosperous. I heartily wish your Grace all manner of prosperity as being with all possible sincerity and concern, etc.

Postscript.—My most humble service to my Lady Duchess.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1677, September 4. Dublin Castle.—Though I cannot yet pretend to be much better instructed in the state of this kingdom than I was before I arrived, yet I am already confirmed in the notions I had of that party, which, since the King's restoration, I thought most dangerous to his Government, taken simply by themselves without the consideration of foreign incitement or assistance; and those are they who still

call themselves Protestants, though they differ from the doctrine, and are not obedient to the discipline of the Church.

That these have, ever since His Majesty's happy return, been numerous, can neither be denied or wondered at, because the Government had been for some time in their hands when it was restored to His Majesty; but it is certain that they are much increased, spread and emboldened beyond what they were about eight or nine years since, in so much that as I am informed by some of the northern bishops, and others, they have of late publicly met by thousands to administer and receive the Communion after their manner; that divers (and some of good quality in appearance) come frequently out of Scotland to join in that exercise with them, and that they have constituted among themselves some form of Ecclesiastical Government, though they own it not, but do yet (if at all) exercise it with much caution, and as secretly as they can.

These Bishops do further affirm that there is no good to be done by persuasion or example, they are so prepossessed and inflexible, and they attribute their increase in those parts in some measure to the number of them that come out of Scotland to inhabit here, as under a Government more tolerable for them to live under; and their stubbornness they attribute much to the ministers who come over on the same account. That this is the case I do not doubt, but what to do or propose I do not find easy to determine.

To endeavour to reform so obstinate a multitude by putting the laws in execution against them on a sudden after so long a time of indulgence, and to let those laws sleep in reference to the Roman Catholics (against whom they seem to have been principally provided) would produce great and unreasonable clamour, and slack and ineffectual prosecution; and to execute them against both (if it should have no other worse effect) would soon fill all, and more than all, the prisons in Ireland, and would drive so many from their homes and from their labour that much of the kingdom would be laid waste, and His Majesty's revenue would unavoidably sink in all the branches of it. If, on the other hand, they shall be suffered thus to affront the Government, and contemn the laws with impunity, they will come to believe that the Government is rather afraid of them than favourable to them, and this belief would still make them grow more and more numerous and insolent, till they become formidable.

Yet in this difficulty I shall presume to lay before His Majesty this my humble advice:—

That for the present nothing be changed in relation to them, but that the liberty they have gained by some years indulgence may be still connived at, so they enlarge it not by any attempt to renew the Covenant, or to set up and exercise a jurisdiction against law, either of which is in my opinion to be endeavoured to be suppressed with all severity on the first probable instance of their going about it.

That all possible diligence be used, and all His Majesty's revenue in this kingdom employed, to make his Army readily

useful, wherein is comprehended the punctual payment of it (for which His Majesty has already made good provision), and the providing of such stores as may keep it in a readiness to do service.

That His Majesty be pleased to direct that if anything shall remain of his revenue after those provisions shall be made, over and above the payment of the Establishment, that it shall be reserved and employed as far as it will go to the reinforcement of the Army, though it be but by degrees, as raising single troops or companies, or by enlarging the number of soldiers under the present officers.

That His Majesty will be pleased to consider when it may suit best with his affairs and purposes elsewhere to call a Parliament in this kingdom; not that I can, till the judges and lawyers shall be returned from the circuits, punctually say against when the necessary preparations can be made. But the sooner it can be called, the sooner His Majesty may expect the assistance I hope it will give him.

It were easy to enlarge upon the subject of this letter, but the dangers I apprehend, and the only ways I can think of to prevent them, being so obvious, I think it more agreeable to my duty to give His Majesty this early account of my observations and thoughts than to stay to frame a longer and more laboured discourse.

I find some difference in opinion here, and am told there is so there, concerning the bargain made before my coming away for the advance of three months' pay for the Army, which I conceive proceeds from the different computations that are made of the time when the King's revenue will of itself, without any advance, bring the payments of the Establishment upon an even foot with the revenue, some computing it will be so in or about April next, others not till January come twelve month. I will not take-upon me to determine which computation is right, but I think I will not be denied that if the King's revenue will of itself do it by April, it will be done sooner by the help of three months' advance, and I am sure the sooner it is done the better it will be for the King, for the country, and even for the Army, who only are to pay for the advance, for they will have this advantage by it, that, paying at most no more than already they constantly pay for imposts, as often as they will have any part of their arrears or growing pay advanced they shall never fall into arrear again, unless the revenue fall from what it is, or that the Farmers fail of making their payments, which hitherto they have not done. But if it should happen the Farmers should throw up their farm, or break on a sudden, as by their apparent divisions and differences betwixt themselves as well as by other circumstances and intimations I have ground to suspect they may, it will in that case be of great advantage to His Majesty to have three months' pay to satisfy the Army, till the revenue shall be put into some other way of certainty. I shall be as watchful as I can, that if the Farmers do break, I may have as long warning as can be had, so as to prevent as much as may be His Majesty's loss by it.

As in the time of bringing the revenue and Establishment to an even foot there is a difference in computation, so I find there is in what will be gained by the advancers, which I never undertook to calculate, nor will now to decide; but, whatever it is or shall be, His Majesty is not to pay it, nor will, I think, any of the officers or soldiers murmur at it, unless they shall be set on, or unless it may be some very few that are richer and better husbands than to desire imposts.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677, September 8. Whitehall.—I was very glad to receive from your own hand of the 28th of August the news of your safe arrival. As to what you wait concerning a letter for a commission to examine my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, there was, they tell me, before your Grace's departure, such a draft as your Grace speaks of, but that it was not agreed on. I shall to-morrow endeavour the retrieving of it, but if it be that Lord's penning, your Grace will give me leave to look at it a little carefully in some certain reasons. As to the other part concerning Mr. Brabazon, I told it both to His Majesty and his Royal Highness; they both told me care should be taken in it. I shall peruse it again to-morrow.

News we have very little; only the French made an attack upon a little work called the Three Tours, nigh Vilvord, were beaten off, and retired, leaving some dead behind them, though no Army nigh them, and M. Luxemburgh there in person. Your son Ossory is still in the Army, and if the canaille at Bruxelles will do him no hurt as a cavalier he is not like to be touched as a soldier, there being little likelihood of any further action this campaign.

The M. de Borgoman giveth in very huffing memorials, little less than challenges, and his discourses are fuller of threats, talking of nothing less than breaking with us, and immediately seizing all the merchants' effects; which hath somewhat alarmed the Exchange, but it giveth rise to a sad reflection that he whom all the world believed beaten should threaten us.

Postscript—The King hath promised to grant no pardon for Murray till the fact be first stated to him by your Grace.

HEADS OF A TREATISE CONCERNING TRADE IN IRELAND.*

10 September, 1677.

The Contents of the First Book.

1st Chapter.—Of the general and common principles from whence all kingdoms and states act, in order to the improvement of their trade and wealth.

* These *Heads* are by Richard Lawrence, who, in 1682, published *The Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth Stated*.

2ndly.—Of the policies of several countries, as England, France, Low Countries, Florence and the Hanse Towns of Germany, in order to increase their trade and wealth, observed out of their laws and customs enjoined for that end.

3rd Ch.—That the advantages of Ireland are far greater than in any other countries, who, from small beginnings, have attained to great riches by increasing their trade and manufactures.

4th Cap.—Sheweth the reasons why Ireland, notwithstanding all its advantages for trade and wealth, is so weak and low in both at this day in four sections:—

1st. Sec.—From the unsettledness of the minds of the people, the Irish envying rather than imitating the English in their improvements, and the English jealous of disturbance from the Irish, discourageth their industry in improving. Some expedients proposed for the removing of those animosities.

2d. Sec.—Treats of Ireland's poverty proceeding from the great expenses it is at in maintaining foreigners to its peculiar interests in the most profitable employments of the kingdom, wherein is computed the vast sums of money that have been drained from it since the year 1660:—

1st.—By special grants upon the Treasury.

2dly.—By the Commissioners and Officers of the Court of Claims.

3rdly.—By the several sets of Farmers and Contractors with their Commissioners and Officers of the King's revenue.

4thly.—By the several changes of the hands of the Chief Governors, their attendants, and dependents upon them, computing so great a sum of money drained from the kingdom hereby would make a rich country poor, much more keep a poor country low.

3rd Sec.—Contains some reflections upon the Duke of Ormond's government, wherein is observed the condition his Grace found this kingdom in at his arrival in the year [1661], and the state he left it in in the year 1669, and the condition he found it in at his return in 1677 as to trade and wealth.

4th Sec.—Treats of other causes of the nation's poverty, as the bad payment the gentlemen make to the tradesmen. The universal liberty people of all ranks take of wearing silk, and other foreign manufactures. The multitude of idle and unprofitable people that, like drones in the hive, consume the honey others bring in, with expedients for remedies.

5th Chapter.—Reflects upon the ancient policy of the Crown in governing Ireland by noblemen of England rather than English noblemen in Ireland, and considerations whether the reasons first moving to that policy in the Government be not altered on the other hand. Wherein is observed how much the interest of the Chief Governor sways in all Governments, and consequently whether it be not His Majesty's interest as well as this kingdom's to farm his revenue to his subjects of that his kingdom, or at least to enjoin his Farmers to manage their farm by such Commissioners as are interested for its

common good, and better understand the condition thereof than strangers who have no interest but their salary and profits by the farm, which they will squeeze out of the people without respect to future good or hurt; for when they have made themselves never so odious to the people, and ruined the trade of the kingdom, they are gone with their gains, and hear no more of it, which persons of estate and interest in the country where they must abide, would dread to do.

IRELAND'S IMPROVER,

Or the Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth.
discussed in two books.

FIRST BOOK.

1st Chapter.—From the policy of its Government so far as it relates to the advantages and disadvantages of its trade and wealth.

2nd Chapter.—Of its foreign trade, with some expedients for its regulation and increase.

3rd Chapter.—Of manufacturing the growth of the country to the highest improvement.

4th Chapter.—Of the fishings of Ireland, with the great benefit other countries make thereout that want the advantages Ireland hath for the same.

SECOND BOOK

1st Chapter.—Of the husbandry of Ireland, both in the improvement of land and stock.

2nd Chapter.—Of planting of timber and fruit trees, with the art of gardening, wherein observations are made of the different nature of the climate and soil of England, and directions accordingly.

3rd Chapter.—Of experiments, not common, as the planting and propagating of wood, modder, liquorice, hops, saffron, with observations of the difficulties attending those attempts proper to Ireland above England.

4th Chapter.—Of country recreations, as hawking, hunting, fishing, and fowling.

5th Chapter.—Of good huswifry in the right ordering of butter and cheese, bacon, wax and honey for foreign markets.

6th Chapter.—Of distilling, preserving and conserving, with the right ordering of cider, perry, metheglin, wines of plums, currants, strawberries, gooseberries, etc.

7th Chapter.—Of physic and chirurgery, both for man and beasts, of the common known simples of the country, with some receipts for the cookery, and curiosity in entertainments.

Being the experiments of many approved authors, and most of them relating to trade and husbandry, proved by the author's 28 years' practise in Ireland, abstracted from their impertinencies and tautologies, as the nature of the climate, and qualification of the people of Ireland require. By a well-wisher to Ireland's prosperity.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677, September 11. Castlemartyr.—I received last night by my son Harry* the great honour of your Grace's letter, with all the gratitude and satisfaction imaginable. I pay your Grace my most humble acknowledgements for it, and for your favour and justice in attributing to the true cause my being hindered from discharging the duty and enjoying the happiness of waiting on you. And I beg your Grace's permission faithfully to assure you that your obliging confidence of my constant and cheerful readiness to contribute my utmost endeavours in His Majesty's service, under your Government, shall never be disappointed.

Your Grace is pleased to lay the additional and great obligation on me of assuring me that what you said to my brother Cork in England about me, and what my Lord Chancellor of Ireland has written to me on that subject, your Grace does both own and will make good to a tittle. These are expressions I am so perfectly sensible of, and so highly obliged by, that I had much rather my services than my words should tell your Grace the deep and lasting impression they have made in me. But till I am so happy as to give your Grace full evidences of that great truth, be pleased I humbly beseech your Grace, to believe I will miss no opportunity to do it, and that it will be my trouble till it be done. My son Broghill is not yet returned hither, but my son Harry has told me the great favours your Grace vouchsafed to do both of them while they had the honour to wait on you. This does very much add to my debt.

COMMISSION from DUKE OF MONMOUTH to CAPTAIN
JOHN BUTLER.

1677, September 14.—James, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, Earl of Doncaster and Dalkeith, Lord Scott of Askdale, Tindale and Whitechester, Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland, Lord Chief Justice and Justice in Eyre of all His Majesty's parks, forests and chases on the south side of Trent. Lord Lieutenant of the County of Stafford and the East Riding of York, Governor of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Master of the Horse, and His Majesty's Captain of his Guards, and one of his most honourable Privy Council, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Colonel of the Royal English Regiment of Foot in the service of the most Christian King, etc.

These are to certify that I have appointed, and by these presents do appoint Captain John Butler to be eldest Captain and Major of my Regiment of Foot in the service of the most Christian King. And accordingly he is to discharge, execute, and perform all things relating to the duty of Major in the

* Henry Boyle, 2nd son of 1st Earl of Orrery, and father of the well-known Henry Boyle, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons and 1st Earl of Shannon.

said regiment, and the officers and soldiers thereof are hereby required to obey him as their Major and eldest Captain, and he is to follow such orders and directions as he shall from time to time receive from his superior officer in the said regiment according to the discipline of war. Given under my hand and seal at Fontainebleau this 14th day of September, 1677.
Monmouth.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND

1677, September 17. Castlemartyr.—I pay your Grace my most humble and real acknowledgements for the very great honour of your letter of the 15th instant, which I received this evening, and for the many high obligations your Grace has heaped upon me in it. I will not so much injure the lively sense I have of them as to attempt to express it by my words; but whenever my actions and services can do it they shall speak for me. I most faithfully assure your Grace that though I am in effect a man retired out of the world, yet whenever you command my poor opinion I will with all truth freely present it to you and lay it at your feet. Not that I am so vain as to fancy it can be of any use to a person of so great experience, and of so excellent a judgment, as your Grace is happy in; but to evidence I will obey you in everything else, I will do it even in what must too much demonstrate my weakness and folly.

The two heads your Grace mentions of the Treasury and of a Parliament, under which, as your Grace most truly observes, all other dependent things are comprehended, and on which your Grace will have me employ my thoughts. I will not fail to do it; and at present humbly lay before you what at first blush occurs to me.

I humbly believe the true state of the first will be easier known than remedied. I am not ignorant what great art and industry have been of late made use of to disguise it. But tricks in public affairs are never long lived; and no sophistry can resist the mathematics, since it is a science that depends on demonstration, as I believe the good or evil management of a Treasury does and ever will. I am perfectly satisfied that your Grace's designs to have the ills of it cured, and if I were convinced that all others concerned in it were so too, I might with some confidence presume to say the remedy would be easy, sure, and lasting, since the most difficult steps to the cure are to be sensible of the disease and then really desirous to be freed from it. I speak this with less diffidence because the noble person who was your Grace's immediate predecessor in the Government of this kingdom was pleased to honour me from time to time with all his transactions in that affair, and sometimes to command my insignificant opinion on it, which I could not refuse either to his authority or to his person; whereby I was but too much satisfied that the desire of the remedy was not a little [helpful], if not most needful, to the obtaining of it.

But of all this your Grace is the most competent judge. Only I cannot but say, unless the justice, not the absolute necessity of the thing itself, and your Grace's interest there can prevent the determinations in England concerning the Treasury here, and the disposal of it there, before you are fully consulted with, I fear the consequences will not be good.

As to the other great head, that of a Parliament. I was engaged about two years since to busy my unworthy thoughts on that subject, and now, since your Grace commands me, I will more intently employ them on that affair; but I must ingenuously acknowledge, unless I could know from your Grace how far His Majesty's own Royal goodness and your Grace's favourable mediation would go as to passing of bills to oblige his subjects, and if I did not also know how much is expected to be added to the revenue, on what such addition shall be raised, how long it should continue, and to what ends it should be employed for the safety and benefit of Ireland while the peace of the kingdom may enable His Majesty to dedicate it to other ends, without prejudice to his affairs in his other kingdom, or in foreign parts. I should not be able to present your Grace with my humble thoughts on this considerable affair, with those reasons, which I heartily wish may still accompany whatever I wish or speak to.

But this I may say in general, nothing probably can happen in the time of your Grace's government which will need more consideration than this one thing will. And though I foresee many great difficulties both in the laying and management of it, yet I will not despair but that by His Majesty's gracious concessions to his subjects, their loyalty and gratitude, together with your Grace's great knowledge of men and interest in the kingdom, and the deep prudence which forms and guides your actings, those many difficulties may be overcome. And really, my Lord, I would not for more than I will mention, that if His Majesty desire a supply he should fail of it, and also do it under your government.

In what I have presumed to write on these two considerable heads your Grace, I hope, will see I am resolved to have nothing in reserve in whatever you command my opinion, and also that I will, to the utmost of my power, which is very insignificant, contribute to make your government as acceptable to the King, as engaging to the kingdom, and as easy and honourable to yourself, as if my brother were in your Grace's station.

I am heartily sorry to find in the extracts of news which your Grace condescended to impart unto me, that so generous and noble a person as my Lord Ossory should present his assistance to a people whose present demeanour makes them so unworthy of that honour.

I had a letter last night from a very authoritative hand at Court, which had these very words in it, viz. : " notwithstanding the Spanish Ambassadors' (or rather Envoys') ranting, yet he offers us a firm alliance, ports and fortresses in Flanders, nay *carte blanche*, or what we please, if we will join in the

confederacy and make war on France," to which he adds "this has already much divided us, and I doubt will more." And that, I believe, is more intended by the Spaniards than an embargo, and, consequently, a war.

I should be very unworthy of your Grace's favours if I were not highly satisfied with them, and more unworthy of them could I hope to merit them.

EARL OF DONEGALL to ORMOND.

1677, September 24. London.—When I had the honour to wait on you here, I had your promise to endeavour an agreement of the suit between my Lady Gowran and me, if application were made to you. Sir John Cole writes to me her ladyship is much farther off a treaty now than I thought she had been here. My desire of an accommodation was my unwillingness to have any dispute with your Grace's family, which I have a very great honour for, not any diffidence in my right, which I question not on a fair trial in Ireland or England to obtain. For there was never any precedent for the King's seal to be put to Oliver's writ in Ireland, where his Majesty's prerogative hath never been so disputed as in England; it will be much admired hereafter in your Grace's Government, who hath ever been so loyal to the Crown, such a rent should be recorded and I made a precedent. The King's late order in Council puts it on the Chancellor to do it if he finds it agreeable to law, and justice doth not direct it, clears himself of it, and leaves the decency and justice at the Chancellor's door; and the precedents brought come not up to my case, they are all to confirm purchasers and were never controverted, and a precedent not argued is as good as none, but I fear I trouble your Grace too much. If upon the whole your Grace would be pleased to persuade her to come to an end by referring the estate in Ireland in controversy to friends, Sir John Cole shall do the like on my part, and your obligation in re-establishing my family shall always be owned to your Grace by me and my children, and on all occasions you may command me.

G. MATHEW to ORMOND.

1677, September 25. Kilkenny.—I have endeavoured upon several discourses with my lady to draw up an estimate of what your Grace's expenses will be as to building, liveries, servants' wages and other contingencies, in addition to that of your house-keeping, but I find 'tis not practicable till I can be at Dublin to see the check roll made up, and what the last livery came to. I shall soon have an account of what the finishing of the works begun here will amount unto in addition to what is now due, being about £1,100.

Mr. Robinson will deliver your Grace the model of the new prison at Clonmel with his opinion of the charge and his sense as to the removal of the houses in the middle of the street, which are your Grace's property, and would have been decreed so by law if you had not directed the stopping of the suit.

My lady will deliver your Grace a list of your mares and horses, and likewise a schedule of lands to be settled in caution to my Lord Chief Baron* for the monies you will have occasion to borrow to answer my Lord Derby's debt, and paying some of the bills that we have not fund for. Your affairs here will, for the future, be well managed by one Fannen, a new servant and a good accountant, who oversees the stock at Dunmore and all other concerns. I cannot well be at Dublin till towards the term in regard of the Receiver's accounts, which must be settled about this time, and then I shall go prepared to settle my Lady Gowran's jointure, and to pay the accounts of your estate since your going into England. Your hawks are in very good order, as Sir William Flower can inform you. I have some fourteen couple of beagles that run well but they are not of the colour your Grace would have them, till the young ones at nurse come in. When your Grace pleases to command them or the hawks they shall be sent.

HENRY THYNNE† to ORMOND.

1677, September 29. Whitehall.—Your Grace will herewith receive His Majesty's letter for appointing Commissioners to take Lord Ranelagh's accounts, wherein the same Commissioners are named that were in the former letter for that purpose, only your Grace is left out as you desired, and I think with very good reason, for I think the Lord Lieutenant who is to see that all Commissioners do their duty is above being joined with them in Commission, and my Lord of Essex told me that had he considered that matter so well at first as he did afterwards he would not have been put into that Commission. In the draft delivered by my Lord Ranelagh to Mr. Secretary for drawing up this letter, Lord Chief Justice Booth was left out, but His Majesty at the Committee of Foreign Affairs giving him directions to draw this letter as the last was only omitting your Grace's name, you will now find him inserted. We have no foreign news worth your Grace's trouble; all that our letters bring us is of the cruelties the French army uses in Flanders, where they have burnt eight villages to the ground for default of paying their contribution. Yesterday Sir Gabriel Silius went with the yachts to attend the Prince of Orange at the Brill, and if the wind continue favourable we may expect the Prince here about the latter end of next week. On Thursday night there happened a fire in the Inner Temple which, in spite of my Lord Craven's industry, destroyed in a very short time all the King's Bench buildings, and several people were killed and burnt. His Majesty has his health very well at Newmarket, where Mr. Secretary finds himself much more vigorous than he thought himself. I wish it may be so with my Lord Longford if his amours succeed, both for his own and the lady's sake.

Postscript:—Mr. Brabazon has made his submission to the Earl of Essex and the matter is composed.

* John Bysshe, Chief Baron of the Irish Court of Exchequer, 1663-1680.

† Henry Thynne, one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, 3rd son of Sir Henry Thynne, Bart., and brother of Thomas, afterwards 1st Viscount Weymouth.

DUCHESS OF ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677, September 29.—At my going to Kilkenny I wrote to you, and do hope from what I hear out of England that this may find you there. I stayed in the country but a few days, where I found all things better than I expected. I hope my Lord's affairs are now so regulated as he will be able every year to pay off a considerable part of his debt, and yet support the dignity of his place in a way of honour and credit to him. I find no appearing dissatisfaction as yet, but what time and inconstancy of humour may produce at long running I cannot tell, for this world is subject to change. My Lord and Lady Strafford are expected here within a few days, the yacht being sent to bring them over, who shall be received by all of their relations with the respect that is due to them and our friendship and relation unto the family upon your daughter's account.

ORMOND to [EARL OF ORRERY.]

1677, October 2. Dublin Castle.—I thought it would be an useless trouble to your Lordship to make an insignificant return to your Lordship's of the 17th of the last,* or to enter into a further discourse of the very weighty subject of that letter till I could in some measure answer pertinently to those questions which I confess must have such explanations and solutions as things of that importance are capable of before it can be reasonable that an opinion should be given by a person so considerate on so important an advice as that of calling or not calling of a Parliament in this Kingdom, which must inevitably bring great advantage or great prejudice to the King and subject.

The first step I thought most necessary to make was to know the true state of the Revenue, and the next I take to be to consider what burden it must bear, comprehending not only the constant payment of the establishment, but all such preparations. New works and provisions must necessarily be added before the army can be said to be useful or a Kingdom made the safer for it.

The first part is done, I presume, exactly by a Committee of the Board and brought yesterday to Council, of which I hope to send your Lordship copies by this post, but you will observe that the overplus, computed to about £23,000, will not begin till April come twelvemonth, and that it will not then hold unless the Farmers hold and perform their bargain, and unless the King hold his hand from laying any further charge on his revenue, and that none fall upon it by defalcations to the Farmers or by the return of more of those debts upon His Majesty which the Lord Ranelagh and his partners were by their contract to have paid, as some have already done, and are upon the establishment, and as all others are like to do which are not already paid, or past in account as paid, for so Sir James Hayes declared himself for himself and his partners yesterday at the Council, and the general answer now given by those that demand payment of them is that

* See p. 42, *supra*.

they have performed their undertaking and that the King must satisfy them.

The next thing to be done is a computation of the repairs, works and provisions to be gone in hand with and made, and of this an estimate will be drawn as soon as Mr. Robinson shall have perfected his observations on his last view taken of the forts and garrisons of the Kingdom; and those, I am sure, will be found so out of repair and the magazines so decayed and unfurnished that if all the King's revenue were paid and wholly applied to those uses and the payment of the establishment it would require a considerable time and prudent management to put them into a tolerable condition. Hence it may be safely concluded that the revenue as it stands will not reach to put the Kingdom into that state of defence it ought always to be in, even when there is the least and most remote possibility of invasion or disquiet, and consequently that it may be fit at least to consider how the revenue may be augmented since the charge in necessary things cannot and in unnecessary things is not like to be saved.

Those are the considerations moving the King to advise about the calling of a Parliament in this kingdom, which only can sufficiently supply him with what may secure his Crown and the subjects' property in quiet; but counsellors (who are presumed, as we have trust so, to have knowledge in what may be for the good of his kingdom and of his people) that His Majesty expects information and the preparations of such bills as may be fit for us to desire he should pass into laws, declaring only his readiness to pass any such any Acts. What those bills should be is that which I desire your Lordship to take into your thoughts, as I shall do into mine, with the best assistance I can call to me here.

His Majesty likewise believes that we who represent to him the state of the kingdom in reference to the Army, forts, garrisons, and magazines, are most like to give him a reasonable computation, and what may be necessary to remedy those defects, His Majesty declaring that whatever shall be given shall be applied to those ends, and it was declared, both by the King and my Lord Treasurer, that whatever sums of money should be given for those uses, the King would be content should be appropriated to them by the same Act that gave them. It is true I did not find His Majesty so clear in the case of constant revenue, because it argued distrust, and might be an ill example. I take the liberty to send your Lordship the copy of a paper I presented His Majesty with before I left the Court. It was very hastily, and, I am sure, imperfectly drawn, yet by it your Lordship may have some measure of my advices there.

Copy.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677, October 3. Newmarket.—I owe your Grace for the honour of two since my coming to this place. The first brought enclosed a form of a letter for a commission to take my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, which I immediately got signed and sent

to Henry Thynne to be transmitted to your Grace; that I did not send with it a letter of my own I do humbly acknowledge. I could give no reason if I were in any other place but here, where writing and reading is more than a secretary dare publicly avow. It is fair if I answer you one in two, for if being in post haste is a (received) excuse for a short letter, race haste may make a good plea for this letter. Your letter of the 21st September I have showed His Majesty, but will not swear he hath read it, but it shall be kept cold for London. We think we shall see the Prince of Orange here, coaches being gone to receive him at Harwich. His voyage gives great alarmings everywhere, and as many or more several guesses at the design of his voyage. All I can say of it is they seem by their jealousy to believe we can upon some occasions keep our designs secret, but I doubt they fancy many things for us, and to do like them. I believe the issue of this journey will neither be so bad as they fear abroad, nor so good as we hope here, but certainly should it end in a bare visit, it would have ill consequences. This is as big a letter as Newmarket will endure, where many a man hath made an end of his treasure in fewer minutes than I have been writing this letter.

Postscript.—His Majesty and Royal Highness are in very good health; all things else in *statu quo prius*.

EARL OF ESSEX to ORMOND.

1677, October 4. London.—There having been nothing of business since my arrival here, which might engage me to give your Grace the trouble of a letter, I have hitherto delayed writing to you; but this opportunity by a gentleman who had a dependence on me offering itself, I could not omit the occasion of returning my thanks for the favours I received from your Grace at my parting from Dublin, and giving you assurance that as any affair concerning Ireland shall come in debate, if I am present, I shall most readily give my utmost assistance therein, and particularly shall do your Grace the same right which (when I was on the place) I could have desired my friends here to have done for me.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677, October 5. Castlemartyr.—I have been since Saturday last afflicted with so sharp a pain in all my right hand that I most humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I am necessitated to make use of my son Harry's hand to pay you my most humble and real acknowledgments for the great honour of your Grace's letter of the 2nd instant, with the three papers enclosed in it.

I have diligently perused your Grace's proposals and considerations presented to His Majesty the 12th of July last, and most heartily wish they may be as punctually observed in the future, as they are grounded on great reason. And I am the more heartily concerned they should be so upon

the view of His Majesty's revenue and charge given in to your Grace by the Committee of the Council the 28th of the last month, which I assure myself is a true account, and therefore it does not a little trouble me, since I find thereby that though the Establishments (bating little trivial sums) are unpaid for six months, yet there is not so much as a prospect of having them paid up till Michaelmas last, even with employing the money brought out of England by Mr. Bridges, which amounts to £36,565.

By the Establishment, which was last made in England when my Lord Essex was there, the revenue payable by the new Farmers would, (as I apprehended it) more than pay the Establishment £40,000 a year, including in the Establishment His Majesty's £20,000, and the £6,000 interest to the new Farmers for the £60,000 they advanced. Yet now, by the Committee of the Council's calculations, though the money brought over by Mr. Bridges be added to pay off what was due at Michaelmas, yet there will be wanting to pay off the Establishment till then £16,528.

That this is so I am but too well satisfied, but how possibly it is brought about I cannot easily imagine. For whereas the farm rent at Michaelmas last should have fully paid off the Establishments till then, and have had £20,000 overplus, yet it will not answer the payment of the Establishment till then by £53,093; for so much the money brought over by Mr. Bridges, and what that falls short of paying off, till Michaelmas, the Establishment does amount unto.

Nor is this all the evil, for by the Lords of the Committee's calculation I find that till the last of April next come twelve-month, the revenue will not answer the charge by £18,200, and from that April, 1679, to the end of the farm, if the Farmers be able to make good their annual payments, the revenue will exceed the payments but £23,262 yearly.

I was made believe that this £36,565 brought over by Mr. Bridges was to have enabled the contractors to have paid the Army at every month's end their month's pay, deducting for the same 12*d.* in the pound, but if this £36,565 be at once employed to make up what is wanting to the pay of the Establishment till Michaelmas last (and yet there will be £16,528 short doing the same), I cannot see possibly how the Army can be paid monthly, though they allow 12*d.* in the pound for the same. For should they be paid monthly before the said £16,528 is paid off, I doubt they would look upon that £16,528 as postponed, and apprehend the total losing of it. And they cannot be paid monthly out of the revenue from Michaelmas last, because that £16,528 will be almost a month's rent of the revenue, and the Farmers by their contract have a month's time after every monthly payment is due to satisfy it in: so that upon the whole matter, there being no money to pay the Army monthly from Michaelmas last but what arises monthly out of the rents due by the Farmers, and that what is due the last of September is not payable till the last of October, and that the Farmers' rent of October (not payable till November) be applied

to pay the £16,528 which is already due of the last Michaelmas pay, there can be nothing expected till the last of December out of the Farmers' rent to pay the Army monthly, so that in effect, though they pay twelve pence in the pound to be paid monthly, they are not like to receive one month's pay from Michaelmas till Christmas, nor ever after, but a month after it is due; whereby in effect they must pay twelve pence in the pound to be paid monthly, and yet never have a prospect to be paid accordingly. To which may be added that the ten months' postponed pay, and so much of the twelve months' postponed pay as is unpaid (both which by the Lord Ranelagh's and partner's contract should have been satisfied), and both which amount to a great sum, being never like to be paid to those to whom it is due (for by your Grace's letter they aver they have overpaid already) will, I doubt, beget no little discontentedness of mind, which I would never have happen during His Majesty's reign, and particularly under your Grace's government.

All these unhappy managements of the revenue I much fear will be urged to stop the mouths of all those of us who shall be most pressing to augment His Majesty's standing revenue, and also for getting of a sum to fill His Majesty's arsenals, and for repairing of forts, fortifying of places, building of shipping for the encouragement of our own trade, and, consequently, the certainer paying His Majesty's revenue, etc. : both which it seems by your Grace's letter are expected from the next Parliament; when they shall tell us that, though by the Lord Ranelagh's and partners' contract all debts due by His Majesty in their schedule should be paid off before the determining of their contract, and £10,000 over and above to be paid into the Exchequer with the balance of the Lord Anglesey's and Sir George Cartwright's accounts; yet that great sums of those debts in the said schedule are unpaid, though His Majesty, out of the new Farmers' advance money or rent, did lend them £24,000 in ready cash, and that the whole £80,000, and the said balances which should have come into the King's purse, is spent. When also by the new Farmers' contract there was more than £40,000 a year than would pay the Establishments; and yet the Establishments at this day are full six months unpaid, and but a sorry prospect how the military list shall be monthly paid in the future, though they allow 12*d.* in the pound to receive it monthly.

Alas, my Lord, I say, what shall we that would heartily advance the King's revenue say rationally to all this. I confess I would be very glad to be furnished with arguments to reply, for my dull brain will afford me but few. For when those who must grant supplies do feel that whatever they grant is not applied to the solid safety and benefit of His Majesty's Government, I fear it will come but slowly from them, since the ill payment of the Establishments hinder that speedy circulation of the little cash in Ireland, which is so necessary to the Farmers to pay His Majesty's rents, the tenants to the proprietors, and, consequently, the Army from being in a con-

dition to answer readily all your Grace's commands, for from the not punctual payment of the Establishments, those three great evils and many others which your Grace enumerates in your paper of the 12th of July, do and will inevitably flow.

We all expect and assure ourselves of a considerable redress in these particulars under your Grace's government, both on the account of your Grace's great interest with His Majesty, and the influence you have upon those who are like to compose the intended Parliament; and, therefore, I beg your Grace's leave to say that I the more heartily lament the present juncture of affairs, that, though the present farm does so much exceed the pay of the Establishment, yet there is not so much as a prospect that it shall answer the payment of them till after April, 1679. And yet His Majesty's occasions seem to require the calling of a Parliament much sooner; since then nothing less than a promise of a more regular ordering of the revenue to answer the Establishments will too probably be expected, and I confess I had rather satisfy a Parliament with demonstrations than with promises. And I ingenuously acknowledge to your Grace that my private apprehensions will be very melancholy unless your Grace, with as much expedition as may be, does procure from England not only a positive order that no warrant or directions touching the revenue of Ireland shall from henceforth be answered till the Establishment be fully paid; but also that when any overplus of the revenue shall come in, more than will pay the Establishments, no final disposition may be made thereof till your Grace be first heard and advised with thereupon. For since you cannot remedy what is past, it will be, in my humble opinion, both necessary for His Majesty's service and for the satisfaction of the intended Parliament, that an effectual course is taken to prevent the like inconveniencies for the future.

I am very glad to find in your Grace's letter that His Majesty is content that whatever sums of money shall be given for remedying the several defects and wants in this his kingdom, which your Grace enumerates, shall be appropriated in the bill that grants them to those uses, and that my Lord Treasurer of England is also desirous thereof. But I am really sorry that past misapplications of the revenue has made His Majesty willing to consent thereunto; the thing itself is very melancholy, but the causes which induce it are to me much more.

I have troubled your Grace with so long a letter that I am even ashamed of it, and yet before I conclude it, I beg your Grace's pardon if I presume to trouble you with two particulars.

The first is to assure your Grace I have busied my thoughts in obedience to your commands with what according to my poor understanding may be welcome and necessary materials for bills, and that as soon as God restores me to the use of my hands, I shall presume whenever you command it to acquaint your Grace with my humble thoughts on that great subject, which I shall do purely to obey you, for I know those which your Grace calls to attend you at Dublin in this weighty affair will hardly omit anything that may be conducive to it, being guided therein by your Grace.

The other particular is that since several payments which were included in the Lord Ranelagh's and partners' schedules, and which they should have discharged, are by their failure charged upon the new Establishments, and many more may be, if their accounts be not speedily audited and stated, I humbly propose to your Grace's consideration the doing thereof as soon as may stand with your conveniency. This is what I took the confidence upon several letters to me from your Grace's immediate predecessor upon that point to mind him of, for they then began to whisper what now they speak aloud, which is that they have overpaid, and therefore, whatever remains unpaid of their schedule and contract, those concerned must apply themselves to His Majesty for. For, I must take leave to say, this seems to me a strange and dangerous way of procedure. Since that they have not paid according to their contract is evident: and 'tis against law and reason that an averment, especially of the parties concerned, should be pleaded against a record. Nor indeed can I very well see how your Grace can give His Majesty such a prospect of his revenue, debts and charge, as I am certain you design to present him, till this one business be thoroughly adjusted. For if what they have failed of paying during their contract be placed on the revenue of the new farm, all calculations must be but at random, till those accounts be clearly stated, which now they have had a year and three-quarters time to do since the expiration of their farm, and yet have not done it, though in October, 1676, they presented a petition to His Majesty, a copy whereof I have, wherein they seemed to be very pressing to have their accounts stated, when at the same time my Lord of Essex wrote to me he could not get them to do it.

It could not enter into my belief that they had overpaid, unless towards making that out they charged His Majesty with interest at ten per cent. for all they paid besides the Establishments, and therefore I humbly present to your Grace how requisite it is that you should know exactly from time to time how and when they paid the Establishments, as well as how and when they paid any sums besides the Establishments, for I know so well the persons who were the late Commissioners that I cannot easily believe they had a stock of their own wherewith to discharge, before it was due, the £80,000 due at the end of their contract. And if the case should be so that they paid debts with the King's revenue for which they claim interest at ten per cent., and thereby leave the Establishments unpaid, it will seem but reasonable that if they make the King pay interest for his own money, they should also allow interest from time to time for not paying off the Establishments according to their contract. If they had money both to pay the £80,000 before it was due, and the Establishments and schedule of debts which they were obliged to satisfy as it grew due, why did they leave the latter to this hour so much unpaid? And if they had not money for both it is shrewdly to be presumed that they left the latter unpaid only to enable them to pay the

former, which was most beneficial to them, but was prejudicial to His Majesty and this his kingdom.

I have, if I mistake not much, some papers by me, which I will look out as soon as the pain of my hand gives me leave to do it, that may enable me to write more clearly to your Grace on this subject, for I think it highly concerns his Majesty's service, and the future happiness of the Government, which shall in all things be most sincerely and assiduously endeavoured by, etc.

Postscript.—I most humbly thank your Grace for being pleased to allow Captain Culter's company to continue still in Limerick.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677, October 12. Newmarket.—Your Grace's of the 27th of September I have (received) with the form of a letter for a commission to examine my Lord of Ranelagh and his partners' accounts, but having received another from you a fortnight since, so I would not offer another to the King till I hear more particularly from you, especially since I find Sir James Cuffe and Sir Cyril Wyche inserted in the former which are not in this, but if upon second thoughts your Grace like this better, as soon as I hear from you I will immediately endeavour the procuring the King's hand to this last.

The Prince of Orange hath been with us ever since Tuesday, having come from Hounsterdike hither in two days. The King, Duke, and Prince of Orange lie this night at Euston, to-morrow come back hither, and on Saturday we are all for London. I shall from thence be much less negligent, but far more impertinent than from hence; the town is full of public ministers to watch what the arrival of the Prince will produce. I do not believe he and his uncle [] one word beyond what Newmarket may justify, so I believe the foreign ministers will be hard put to it to give an account to their superiors of their coming hither. The jockeys keep their privileges at the height, and command as formerly, both in drawing-room and bed-chamber. Your son Ossory is in perfect good health, and I doubt not but he telleth your Grace so himself.

ORMOND to EARL of OSSORY.

1677, October 20.—I have yours of the 16-6 from the Hague. I hope this will find you at Court with the Prince of Orange, to whom you will deliver the enclosed. You will herewith receive the result of my diligence in relation to the revenue. You should do well to make yourself master of the state of it, that upon occasion you may know what to say upon the subject; it will found to be far short of the prospect given His Majesty of it, and it will prove worse if the present Farmers do not, without defalcations, punctually continue their payments, if the King shall charge his revenue with any new burdens, and if accidents occasioning any extraordinary expense (such as

the present expedition into the North) shall happen, I shall send copies of these papers to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary Coventry, holding it my duty to give the King as true a state of his affairs as I can, though I am not ignorant how ill he makes his court that shows the worst part of them, which yet is not so melancholy but that I can demonstrate it to be in the King's power to clear and augment his revenue, to add a considerable number to his Army, to build and repair forts and magazines, and fill them, in fit places; but then he must be content to part with some present advantages and restrain his bounties—I mean from going beyond what they are upon the Establishment. There is so little hope that such a project will be entertained, when every small sum supposed and suggested to be an overplus is presently sent for into England, that I am not yet resolved to make the proposition, since I find the present getting of £100 is more valued than the most profitable prospect of a £1,000, if it must be employed here, though the doing so contribute never so much to the King's greatness, and the security of his government in all his dominions. I would not have you therefore expose these thoughts of mine, at least till they are better digested, and that there appears a better disposition to receive them, yet I am content my Lord Chamberlain may be acquainted with them, because he may advise when it may be proper to make further use of them, and in the meantime will no ill of them.

I desire you would let Sir R. Southwell see, and if he pleases, take copies of the calculations of the charge and revenue.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1677, October 23. Whitehall.—By this conveyance I send your Grace, under cover, to Sir Cyril Wyche, His Majesty's letter in behalf of Sir Nicholas Armorer and Sir Gabriel Silius, which is all the business I have to trouble your Grace with, the great news we heard yesterday suffering us only to think in bells and bonfires, His Majesty in Council declaring his resolution of giving Lady Mary in marriage to the Prince of Orange, to which his Royal Highness very frankly declared his consent before the Council, whereupon the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, and both the Secretaries of State were appointed to draw up the articles of marriage which is to be consummated with all expedition. Upon this declaration of His Majesty the whole Council resolved to go in a body to compliment the Prince and Princess, which accordingly they did, and the evening spent in bonfires and ringing of bells all over the city, but Mr. Secretary could bear no other share in this joy than by his good wishes, being confined by the gout, but, I hope, he will be abroad in two or three days.

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677, October 24.—I confess I am so little myself that I hardly know how to acknowledge your Lordship's kind-

ness, which in a less misfortune would mitigate my trouble,* but, my dear Lord, all my comforts are gone, and though afflictions are as natural to man as the sparks flying upward, yet this in all circumstance has been so terrible and unusual that I am not ashamed to own that my forces do so sink under it that death, if Heaven please, seems the best remedy to so deplorable a condition. I know length of time commonly lessens the sharpness of grief, but how to dispose of myself I am ignorant, for I now hate this place as much as formerly I liked it, and the thoughts of London are more odious to me, and to go again abroad and leave Betty and all my young children to the care of servants does neither suit with my years nor my kindness to them, so that I cannot resolve on anything, but shall expect and await the pleasure of the Almighty in disposing of. my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient unfortunate servant.

ORMOND to the KING.

1677, October 24. Dublin Castle.—By this post Mr. Secretary Coventry will receive such a state of your Majesty's revenue and charge here as can be for the present made, and I am persuaded it will be found to be no better than that computation represents it, so that I conceive it will be necessary for your Majesty to think of the ways of being supplied, if you still continue to be of opinion to put your affairs in this kingdom into a condition, not only to secure your Government here, but to contribute towards the doing it in all your other dominions. If your Majesty shall satisfy yourself with keeping things here in the state they are, that is, to make a scrambling shift to pay your Army and other necessary expenses of the Government by borrowing from future months to pay the present, I think it may be done, as long as no disorder shall arise within your kingdoms; but if you aim, as I hope you do, at making this kingdom useful to you in a more considerable degree by the enlargement of your Army, and the securing of commodious harbours and places, I do not doubt but it may be compassed, your Majesty doing your part towards it.

It is possible some projects may be brought to your Majesty how this may be done, at least in some good proportion, by the strength of your own revenue. I guess so because discourses have been held with me to the same effect, but I exceedingly distrust all such overtures. I am sure much time must be lost in the experiment; and that a Parliament here can and will do it, if it be rightly handled, I do not question.

There is nothing the considering part of this people do more apprehend should prove their ruin in the end, or at the best [hinder]ing] them from reaping the fruit of their industry than the [trans]mission of their money into England, and they

* The reference is to the death of Lord Chesterfield's third wife Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Dormer, 2nd Earl of Carnarvon. His second wife had been Lady Elizabeth Butler, daughter of the Duke of Ormond.

suppose the more they give beyond what serves to support the Government the sooner they shall be undone, at least the longer they shall be a thriving. I do not think they will stick at giving any supply the kingdom can afford if a way can be found to satisfy them that it will be employed amongst them, without presuming to ask wherein (I wish the same temper ruled everywhere, this by the way), and methinks it should not be impossible so to contrive it, that they might have this satisfaction and yet your Majesty still receive what you now do, or a greater sum, out of this revenue by transferring some of the charge of England upon it, such as might be answered by the commodities of this country. But till this and the whole design can be better thought of and digested I must presume to beseech your Majesty that you would not send for small sums of money from hence upon every suggestion that there is an overplus when in reality there is no such thing, if your Majesty has it still in your purpose to try raising considerable supplies. For though the sums be inconsiderable, yet the drawing them away will greatly discourage and indispose them who must give those supplies, and if I durst I would rather propose that your Majesty (before Parliament shall be more talked of) would employ some part of your own £20,000, either in raising of more companies and sending them over, or in building of the fort of Kinsale, for I am confident (if you mean to command a Parliament should be called) the venture would bring you in a treble return, wherein your Majesty could not fail to find your account your own way. I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for the length of this letter.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1677, October 26. London.—May it please your Grace: Being returned to London it is time that I congratulate your Grace's safe arrival and welcome settlement in that Government which I hope you will manage to general satisfaction, as I have been witness of your doing formerly.

I intend to make a motion to your Grace for your honour and the good of Ireland concerning Gloucester Hall, in Oxford, which now lies waste, but I have not yet drawn the design for it. I am sure you will pardon my good intentions in it as soon as you see it.

Your Lordship I hope will pardon me if now I beg your justice with favour in my concern in the first nine thousand pounds of the lapse money, wherein your Lordship is a witness I yielded to such forbearance as was desired for those that are to pay it. I have appointed my agent, and my Lord of Orrery hath appointed his, to attend your Grace in this concern (now my Lord of Essex is come away) to obtain your Grace's warrant for making His Majesty's grant effectual to us, by ordering out the survey books, process and whatever else may be necessary to the collecting of the money, that I may receive at length this pittance, who your Grace knows have had very ill hap with all former grants of benefit or advantage.

Your Grace's kindness herein shall oblige me in all your commands to show myself your Grace's most humble and faithfully affectionate servant.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677, October 27. Dublin.—I send herewith a letter to the Duke in answer to one of his, and have in it given him a short state of the revenue here, and of the only way I can think of to remedy the defects of everything relating to the security of this kingdom. I have taken notice to him of the letter I sent you by the last post for the King, because I do not know whether my Lord Chamberlain and you will think it seasonable to deliver it; I remember the ill-luck my Lord Aungier had by giving in a melancholy state of this revenue, and how my Lord Ranelagh got into his place by making a cheerful proposition upon it; but I have reason to think when my Lord of Ranelagh and his partners' accounts shall be closed, the King will be found as much in debt as when that undertaking began, and I have ground to suspect that before those accounts shall be taken, it will be endeavoured to make some new and specious offers to hinder the taking of them, and for some more years to cover the failures of the undertaking. It would be proper in case of any such offer that we here upon the place should be consulted in it; there can be no reason against it but the fear of being rightly informed. I suppose by that time this gets to you there will be an end one way or other of what is in agitation there, and that the King will be at more leisure to consider his affairs at home, and especially here, where I am sure there is much good to be done if the right way be taken.

ORMOND to EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

1677, October 30. Dublin.—My Lord: It is a week since we had notice here of your Lady's death, but I was not willing to give credit to the report till I was compelled to it by certain information from London.

Your Lordship has not wanted afflictions and trials of that nature, but perhaps they have been repeated to you oftener than to most men, which I do not mention as an extenuation of the misfortune, for I believe in many constitutions multiplied crosses do make the loss the more rather than the less insupportable; yet in this case I hope your Lordship may raise some consolation to yourself from the very uneasy and uncomfortable condition your Lady lived long in, and is now freed from. I wish I could in this, as in all other conjunctures, prove serviceable to you in any way, that it might appear with how much truth and affection I am my Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate father and most humble servant.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677, November 6.—I received yours of the 23rd of the last yesterday, with others of the 27th and 30th from other hands,

on the subject of the Prince of Orange's good success in his pretension to the Lady Mary. I wish he may find all the satisfaction and advantage he proposes to himself in it, and that we who rejoice at it may continue and have cause so to do, as I do not doubt but we may and shall, if all the consequent benefits that may be gathered from it be rightly and constantly pursued.

I am glad you went with my Lord Cavendish to Westminster, I hope after all his mistakes and misadventures he will prove useful to the Crown and his country.

I cannot imagine that what the Prince of Orange desires for you will be so soon taken into consideration, but that you will have time enough to think it over and over, and advise with your friends; for if there be not a very great change in counsels and in inclinations since I left the Court, there is no appearance that the King will so far own a body of his subjects to be in the States' service, as to give any allowance to his domestic servant to command them, and without some such authentic allowance it may be worth considering how fit it may be for such a one to undertake it. If a general or particular peace be made, or an alliance betwixt the King and the States shall be entered into, in order to a general peace, there can then be no difficulty in your aiming at it; but I am afraid there will be in that case difficulty in your obtaining it; and perhaps the King may not be pleased you should, before such a peace or alliance, effect it. I still wish you in that post as you ought to be in it, that is by the King's command, and with capitulations, conditions, and establishments made by the States with the Crown as heretofore, or at least that you have the King's command for it, and I doubt things are not yet brought to that posture. This is all I can say at this distance on the subject.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677, November 13. Whitehall.—Since my last of the 6th instant, I have not made much advance in your Grace's commands. I have discovered the letter concerning the Northern troops to the King, who telleth me it shall be considered at our next meeting of foreign affairs, where you will, I hope, think we have been quicker than ordinary that a Prince should come and woo, marry, bed and carry away the Princess Mary in a month's time. You may imagine we have not been a little employed in consulting to make it effectual to the affairs of Christendom, but whether it will have the effect we desire is more than I can assure, but as for what is done I think is what all honest men have long wished.

As concerning a ship to guard your coasts, I have got the King to command Mr. Peepes [Pepys] that it may be proposed upon the first meeting of the Admiralty. The Prince and Princess of Orange go hence on Friday. Private letters from Scotland give not things so quiet as represented by the Duke of Lauderdale, but I hope he is in the right.

As soon as I can with any convenience have this matter of posts and magazines and his whole letter debated you shall be sure I will. I have seen your Grace's letter to His Majesty by my Lord Ossory's favour. No doubt the representations are just and rational, and if there be not obstacles of another nature, may likely thrive; but there are many that had rather advise spending money in stopping gaps though at never so much charge, though they know they will soon be open again, than build walls. In conclusion, I beseech your Grace to believe that I will not fail to be very punctual in whatsoever you shall command me in order to His Majesty's service, or your own.

Postscript.—As for Lord Ranelagh's accounts, my Lord Treasurer saith he hath given him a copy of what your Grace sent, but he hath not yet answered. I shall press that he may.

My Lord Ossory is so busy in attending the Prince of Orange that he cannot write to your Grace by this post.

EARL OF ORRERY TO ORMOND.

1677, November 16. Castle Martyr.—I have received with all humble acknowledgements the great honour of your Grace's letter of the 13th instant. I durst not presume to trouble your Grace in any occasions but those which I humbly believe may be of some importance, and therefore I make use of my Lord Chancellor's favour in some humble representations, which are in my belief needful, though not worth your Grace's pains in reading my letters.

I have, in obedience to your Grace's pleasure, employed my poor thoughts on those two weighty subjects your Grace commanded them upon; of what might be granted to the King in the intended Parliament, and what might possibly be expected by his good subjects from his gracious care of them and generous bounty to them. I have also reduced them into writing, and put them into the best method I can. But I want confidence to lay them at your Grace's feet, till I have first sent them to my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and have obtained the favour from him of correcting and polishing them, so as they may not be wholly unworthy of your Grace's trouble to peruse them; I hope, by this post, to have them legibly transcribed to send them to his Grace, and when he has mended and fitted them, then I intend most humbly to present them to your Grace. But I must frankly acknowledge to your Grace, if by your pressing applications into England, and those weighty reasons which accompany them, (to which I am no stranger) not only an instant stop be put to drawing the revenue out of Ireland which is to support His Majesty's Government in it; and also if that some steady rules be not given to prevent the like in the future, I shall not be without great if not unconquerable fears that the success of the intended Parliament will not be such as from my heart I wish it may be. The reasons for those fears are but too obvious.

The barter between the Lord Ranelagh and partners of the one side, and the present Farmers and Commissioners (and in some cases accountants) seems very strange to me. And your Grace's apprehensions on it are very rational, and I doubt, should it proceed uninterruptably, will produce all those ill effects your Grace so readily foresees. There are two particulars in it, on which I beg your leave to lay before you my poor thoughts.

The first is (at least I guess it to be so by the honour of your Grace's letter written to me on the subject) that this barter is carried on without your Grace's approbation, nay, without your knowledge, which I cannot but consider as a very unwarrantable proceeding in both parties, and therefore deserves a most sharp reprehension, if no more; for if such an indignity should pass unresented, nay (in my humble opinion), if it should not therefore be made void and null, it will, I fear, authorise in the future many other like misbehaviours and affronts to the Government.

The second is that the late contractors (I mean the Lord Ranelagh and partners) having publicly owned they have overpaid all which by their contract they were liable unto, they have in that averment spoken the truth or an untruth. If the latter, 'tis hard that they should put so many thousands to petition to His Majesty to pay them what really the contractors, not the King, does owe those of the civil and military lists who are yet unpaid. If the former, then the present Farmers are but agents in effect for the late contractors, and yet will make use of their own officers and of the King's authority in them to levy private men's dues, if not to rack the subject in the raising of them; even also after the time that the contractors had allowed them to raise those dues, for that, I take it, ends the 25th of next month. And by then the present Farmers will be so far from having raised those pretended dues that they will hardly be in their way of doing it. And therefore I conclude that to encourage the present Farmers to this bartering, the said Undertakers have engaged to procure them a lengthening of the time for that ungrateful work.

My Lord Treasurer of England and my Lord Essex, when the revenue was to be set, in the year '75, were pleased to advise with me (though very unworthy) in that particular, and I remember I was fully of opinion that it should be farmed to any new bidders (that give good security for their performance), rather than under the old contractors. My reason was that unless the revenue were farmed by new men, the old Undertakers, by farming it again, would with the growing receipts so patch up all breaches that it would be impossible till the end of the second farm palpably to make out the failures of the first, and then too probably it might be ruinous to the revenue and the kingdom.

It would take up too much for a letter to set down all the apparent mischiefs, which, if this barter be not broken, will too probably ensue in my humble opinion; one other of the least is that by this assignation of the old contractors' pre-

tences to the new Farmers, your Grace will be several months in finally adjusting the balance of the contractors' accounts with His Majesty; for the Farmers may plead ignorance in their accounts, and they having transplanted themselves out of your Grace's reach in point of authority, all transactions in that affair will be very slow and dilatory.

I did by my Lord Chancellor humbly present your Grace with what news I had the last English packet.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677, November 17. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace of the 13th instant, the scene of affairs is somewhat altered as to the affairs of your neighbours of Scotland, my Lord Duke of Lauderdale writing that the Conventicles are of a sudden both more numerous and insolent than formerly, and that he hath reason to suspect they intend somewhat more than bare preaching and praying, and that he hath already given orders to prevent any insurrections as well as he can there. This agreeth so precisely with what His Majesty's intelligence is from amongst the disaffected here that His Majesty thinketh it very reasonable to prepare immediately against all attempts they can make. I am therefore to tell you in the first place that all your demands in your letter of October 30th are answered. First, His Majesty consents that all the field officers shall have their pay as proposed by you. Secondly, as to the shipping, it is left to your Grace's discretion to provide them where you shall find them most convenient for the present service, and in the next place with the least expense to His Majesty; but they must be in readiness to transport the men, horses and ammunition, etc. whensoever my Lord Granard shall be required to come to Scotland, and your Grace is to give him orders to obey the orders of the Council of Scotland, both for the time of his transportation, and likewise how he shall dispose of himself and his men when landed. In the next place His Majesty sendeth an express to the Duke of Lauderdale to send over a gentleman on purpose to negotiate with my Lord Granard concerning all those matters he desireth to be satisfied in, as concerning a landing place, magazines, and the like, as likewise the posts to be established, all agreed to by His Majesty, if your Grace and the Duke of Lauderdale or the Council of Scotland can adjust how they shall be. His Majesty maketh some provision in the North of England by sending some troops that way, and taking all care for the speedy suppressing of those incendiaries. There will go a duplicate of this letter by an express by way of Scotland. In conclusion, His Majesty would have your Grace lose no time, but prepare all things, so that this party of men in the North of Ireland may be ready for transportation upon the first warning.

I herewithal send your Grace a copy of a little account the King hath had from my Lord of Essex of what considerations were had relating to this business in his time, not that it is

sent to prescribe to your Grace, but only to give you occasion of considering whether, if you have not already given the like orders in this business, it may not be convenient to consider of the fitness of these. I have no more to importune you with at present, but to take my leave.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to ORMOND.

1677, November 18. Belfast.—Since my last I have received intelligence by one I sent for Scotland, who turned short and went no further than Glasgow, that in Fife there has been a Presbyterian minister rescued after he was in custody, and that fourteen of His Majesty's Guards of Horse were killed in the rencontre. Now they are entered in blood your Grace may imagine the consequences; this I dare not aver as a certain truth, yet I have reason to believe it, which, if otherwise, I hope your Grace will pardon me who desire nothing but my duty to you. My Lord, I am likewise informed that in their itinerary meetings they have sworn to adhere to one another in case they should be attacked. These considerations give me ground to believe we here may be commanded thither, and if so I humbly conceive an absolute necessity that I should wait on your Grace before I leave this country, for there is several directions which I can not miss nor well receive in writing which I must receive from your Grace. The generality of the Commons there seem by what I know to be in a bad humour. I pray God they may not be influenced by the greater sort of people, which, if they be not, they will signify little. My Lord Lauderdale is still in Scotland and by what I can learn as yet resolves there to winter. I expect now daily a servant whom I have sent to Edinburgh, by whom I expect to receive the just measures of that country, which no sooner known but shall be imparted to your Grace.

Postscript.—There is two regiments of Highlanders raising. The companies which quartered in Glasgow are removed to Stirling.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

1677, November 19. Whitehall.—His Majesty hath not been a little concerned in the account your Grace lately gave him, and what is since brought to him from several other hands, concerning the number and insolency of the Conventicles with you. He has therefore sent this express to let you know how far he has provided for your assistance, if there be need, as likewise to receive by the return in what posture you are there, and if in a condition of force in Scotland, not only to dissipate them, but to seize some of the principal ministers and laymen, and bring them to condign punishment (which His Majesty conceiveth very necessary to be done); that the Council then immediately gave order to act against them, but if you doubt of the force of those troops you have to employ

against them that then you temporise till the succours prepared by His Majesty may come to you. What readiness they are in in Ireland I shall acquaint by sending your Grace a duplicate of what I wrote by His Majesty's command to my Lord of Ormond, as likewise the extract of part of a letter of his Grace to me concerning a landing place, magazines on your side, and erecting a post to entertain a constant correspondence with Ireland. His Majesty would that your Grace, having considered of the whole of the letter and queries, should despatch some understanding officer to my Lord of Granard, by whom you may likewise send the inclosed to the Duke of Ormond for more security, though I have sent from hence; but because the winds sometime remain contrary for several weeks, His Majesty hath commanded a duplicate to be sent by way of Scotland. This officer may adjust all matters with my Lord of Granard concerning his queries, and inform your Grace in what readiness he findeth them for their transportation. There are in Ireland already at three several rendezvous in the North 1,800 and 300 horse in six troops regimented: besides those His Majesty has given orders for two troops of horse to march to Alnwick and quarter there. And if your Grace think there will be need of them, upon notice from you they shall have order to recruit to 100 men each troop. The same order of recruiting shall be likewise given to the King's two garrisons in the north, as soon as you have declared your opinion of the need like to be of them. And of those garrisons His Majesty will draw 1,200 foot for your assistance—all old troops—and garrison his towns with others; your Grace seeth how much His Majesty concerneth himself in those affairs. I beg a speedy return of this express, that His Majesty, being fully informed of the measures you intend to take there, may the better judge how to take his here.

PRINCE OF ORANGE to ORMOND.

1677, November 19-29. St. James.—Monsieur: Je ne vous puis assez exprimer la douleur que j'ai d'être obligé de partir d'Angleterre sans avoir eu la satisfaction de vous y voir. Et vous remercier de toutes les marques d'amitié que vous m'avez témoigné en tous occasions, même quand je n'étais pas ici à la mode, et vous assurer en même temps que de tous vos serviteurs il n'y en a pas un qui vous soit plus affectionné que moi et plus attaché à vos intérêts, et à tous ceux de votre famille; j'espère que le temps vous le fera voir plus particulièrement, et que vous aurez la bonté de me continuer votre amitié, puisque je serai toute ma vie, Monsieur, votre très affectionné et très humble serviteur.

Prince d'Orange.

ORMOND to SIR ROBERT HOWARD.

1677, November 20. Dublin.—I received yours concerning Mrs. Gwin's concernment in the pension given her in the name

of my Lord of Middlesex. The case is thus: There were several patents prior to hers, and those—at least some of them—on valuable considerations, granting certain sums out of this revenue as soon as any pension or pensions amounting to those sums shall fail by death or other determination, and though the King's command to put the latter on the Establishment and leave out the former would take place and would have been obeyed, yet that way of doing it would have been some disparagement to the security I wish the great seal might always convey to the subject, and bring on noise and murmur. I have therefore thought I could not serve Mrs. Gwin better or more suitable to her desire than by prevailing with those prior pensioners to consent that her patent shall pass without questioning the validity of it before theirs, and that her pension shall be put on the Establishment and so to withdraw a petition they had preferred to me against it. By this means she will have the benefit of the King's bounty quietly; but then they hope for her assistance if what they take to be their right should again be invaded; and this I have promised them, and I hope she will make good when opportunity offers. Be pleased to let her know all this, and that I am her most obedient servant.

Postscript.—We have heard of wonders you did upon your crutches*—it was no small one in that state to be so nimble. I congratulate your activity.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677, November 23. Castlemartyr.—I presumed in a letter I wrote to your Grace this day sennight humbly to acquaint you that I had, in obedience to your Grace's commands, employed my weak thoughts on what might most hopefully be obtained from His Majesty for his subjects of Ireland, and might be granted by them for his supply in the intended Parliament, and that I had written my humble thoughts thereon, but that I wanted the confidence to lay them at your Grace's feet, until I had first sent them to my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and begged and obtained his amendments of them, which I should endeavour to do by that post, and which accordingly I did, and in the letter which enclosed those papers I unfeignedly and earnestly desired his Grace to give me his sense of them, and that he would take the pains to correct whatever he found amiss in them.

By the post last night I received the obligation of his Grace's answer, wherein he seems so little to dislike them as he has desired my consent by this post to present them to your Grace; and though I have too much ground to believe his usual civility chiefly has made him approve them, yet I could not disobey his desires therein, and since those papers could not have my name subscribed to them (for they were sent but as an essay and to be corrected or altered as his Grace pleased), I have

* See Sir Robert Southwell's letter of Nov. 10, 1677, *infra*.

desired him, if he still is of opinion they are not altogether unworthy your Grace's perusal, that they may be most humbly presented to your Grace, accompanied with this letter, thereby in some degree to repair the indecency of presenting you papers written by me, and yet not subscribed with my name.

If your Grace will give yourself the trouble to read them, and then give me the honour to know and receive your Grace's pleasure on them, I shall apply myself to obey the honour of your commands thereon, when they are amended as your Grace shall judge fit. For 'tis over improbable but in the elections in those parts some may be chosen who are my friends, and those I would begin to persuade to appear for what particulars in those papers your Grace shall be pleased to let me know you esteem for His Majesty's service, and for the good of this his kingdom.

I did design to have worded the things in those papers less ill than at present I fear they are, but I solemnly protest to your Grace that as to the substance of what I wrote I have conscientiously, and to the very best of my weak judgment, humbly proposed what I thought fittest for His Majesty's service and the solid and lasting benefit of his good subjects. For the residue of life, which God in his mercy shall lend me. I would faithfully employ to advance the true religion, and to serve my kingdom and country, and also (which I say without compliment) to contribute my poor but hearty endeavours to make your Grace's government grateful to the King, happy to the kingdom, and easy and honourable to yourself. Since whatever misunderstandings (for I can believe them no other) has happened between your Grace and your servant, yet I so entirely believe what you have said to my brother Burlington, and what you have written to me, as if he were in your Grace's station, I would not more really and cordially serve him in it than I will do your Grace, and in this my pen writes nothing but what my heart dictates to it. I confess also I would have the King and the kingdom also experimentally find the difference between Ireland being governed by a noble person of it and by a stranger sent to do it.

I thank God I want nothing, because I have a contented mind with what I have (for happiness consists not in what is without us, but in what is within us), and therefore I would, next to the service of God, wholly dedicate the rest of my life to make our religion safe (not oppressive), and to settle the kingdom so firmly to the Crown of England, that it should be as much the interest as it is the duty of every honest subject to sink and swim with the Royal line. And if I could see this done as firmly as law is capable to do it, and have the happiness to bear my share in bringing it about, I should go to my grave in peace and joy. Thus I have presumed to make your Grace my confessor.

Before I close this letter I beg your Grace's leave to acquaint you that I have endeavoured to get the English Act for the additional duties, that I might have specified the particulars

which pay them, and the sums respectively to be raised on them; but I have failed there. Yet I remember (for I was one of those who voted for that Act) that all French, Spanish, and outlandish wines, vinegar, and many other merchandises, are made liable to it; and therefore when that Act is read, some reasonable estimate may be made what the like duties may yield the Crown, if the like Act shall be passed in Ireland. Yet still my meaning is, that what those may fall short of the annual income mentioned in those papers may be supplied on additional duties on silks of all sorts, spiceries of all sorts, and on such other merchandises as are imported and are not of necessary use to the subject.

I know nothing propounded that is very material but what is already in effect granted by statute laws in England (except the Act for registering); and since His Majesty has granted those laws most graciously to his subjects of that kingdom, I will humbly hope by your Grace's great favour and weighty reasons they may also be granted here, where I believe they are much more needed. And if those laws should be granted, I will not only hope but also believe the supplies mentioned in those papers will be humbly given to the Crown.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT GRANARD.

1677, November 23. Dublin.—I have received your Lordship's of the 18th, and have read that you wrote to Sir Cyril Wyche, which, though it retracts some circumstances in the former concerning the killing of men in rescuing the minister, yet it agrees in the disorder of the action, and says the minister was rescued. By letters I received yesterday, I am commanded to have the party under your Lordship's command in a readiness to be transported when the Lords of the Council of Scotland shall send for them. In order to this I desire your Lordship to consider and inform yourself there what vessels fit to transport that party, horse and foot with the ammunition and equipage, may be had in those parts; whether any fit for that purpose may be hired; and at what rates by the week or month. Next I desire your Lordship would inform yourself what provision of horse or man's meat can be had there, in case the party should be called over before the biscuit in preparation here can be ready and sent to you; since it is better to make double provision than to hazard the want of it or staying for it, which may happen to occasion the loss of an opportunity to perform the service.

I am informed by my letters that a duplicate of the despatch I received yesterday is sent by an express by the way of Scotland, from whence also my Lord Lauderdale is commanded to send a gentleman to your Lordship, by whom I do not doubt you will receive perfect information of things there, and of whatever else may relate to that service and your post in it, when you shall be on the other side. In the meantime your Lordship may let the field and staff officers know that His

Majesty is pleased to make up their pay according to the inclosed list during the expedition.

If after this your Lordship continues to be of opinion that it may be necessary you and I should have discourse before you go (as I think it may be), considering that you cannot be ready to embark so soon, but that there may be time for it, I very much desire it; in which case your Lordship shall do well to leave somebody proper for it to enquire after the shipping and provisions, and to contract for them, which contract shall be ratified and performed by your Lordship's, etc.

MINUTES TAKEN AT THE TREASURY CHAMBER CONCERNING MR. RYDER.

1677, November 25. Treasury Chambers.—Present: His Majesty, His Royal Highness, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Duke of Monmouth, Mr. Attorney General. Mr. Ryder called in, did acquaint His Majesty that Sir James Shaen and some other partners of the present Irish farm had agreed among themselves to get what money arising by the revenue they could into their hands by May or April next, and then to dispute with the King that they were to have by their bargain the £80,000 agreed to be paid by my Lord Ranelagh to His Majesty in the years 1676 and 1677; and this Mr. Ryder declared had been discoursed amongst them at their Board, and that he, the said Mr. Ryder, did acquaint them that for them to pretend to any part of that money would be unjust, for that it was never intended to be any part of their bargain, and that he would never consent to so dishonest a practice; to whom Sir James Shaen replied that if he were so nice he would never thrive; and further he saith that during the time they were in treaty and passing their grant Sir James Shaen would often say that he had something under his thumb that would help them in case the farm was too dear, and that it would be worth them £15,000 or £18,000 per annum.

And he further saith that he has received information by letters out of Ireland that Sir James Hayes and others, my Lord Ranelagh's partners, have compounded with Sir James Shaen and his partners not only for the arrears, but also for the £80,000. His Majesty directs a letter to be sent to the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint him of this practice, and also that his Excellency give directions that the Farmers receive no part of the £80,000 payable by my Lord Ranelagh to the King, nor that any receipt or discharge be given in the Exchequer for the said £80,000 upon payment of the same by my Lord Ranelagh and his partners to the said Farmers, or upon any composition to be made between them.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to ORMOND.

1677, November 25. Belfast.—Your Grace's of the 23rd instant I received on Saturday late at night, and have as far

as in me lies put in execution your Grace's commands. First, I find there is shipping in this bay sufficient to transport all the foot, but not enough for the horse; wherefore I humbly conceive that some vessels may be sent from Dublin or Drogheda to perform me that service, if occasion be. It will prove difficult to bargain with each master, but I have directed the captain of the man-of-war to put a stop to all ships outward bound till further order, which in case of necessity we might make use of; from Scotland I have not heard as yet, but what comes by passengers.

I find that we can have ten thousand weight of biscuit made here in a short time, which quantity I have bespoken; besides, I have issued orders that every man shall provide six days' provision in his quarters to be ready in case of a march. Drink and cask for water will be hard to be provided, yet I will do my best. This party is two months behind of their pay, and several of the men begin already to want; wherefore my humble request to your Grace is that three months pay may be sent down with all expedition, that the soldiers may be timely provided of necessaries. Carriages for ammunition we have none, neither horses to draw those nine field pieces now mounted in Carrickfergus; neither do I find that Sir James Cuffe has sent down gunners nor matrosses to manage them. I intend, as soon as these matters are put in some method, to attend your Grace in Dublin, in case no other orders arrive which may put a stop to my journey; there is several of our young officers who I conceive had left and are absent; your Grace's commands will bring them hither.

This inclosed will give your Grace an account of all the best ports in Scotland which are opposite to this kingdom. Sir William Flower will stay here, and will be ready to receive your Grace's further pleasure, as likewise what despatches shall come from Scotland he is to open and will transmit to your Grace by an express in case the service do require it.

We want five score men to complete our companies; if your Grace conceive it fit that they shall be made full, I humbly propose that it may be done out of the next adjacent garrisons or quarters. This is all I can remember at present. What I am short of in this paper, I hope to have the honour to discourse with your Grace in Dublin.

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE to ORMOND.

1677, November 25. Holyrood House.—I was very glad to receive yours dated at Belfast the 10th instant, which this footman of yours gave me on Friday, the 23rd late. By it I find with much satisfaction that you are so near us with so good a party under your command, which makes it doubly welcome. I intended this a long letter, but yesterday I received His Majesty's commands by an express that I should send over some officer to your Lordship to adjust all matters concerning your transportation (if there shall be need of it) and to bring to you duplicates of His Majesty's orders unto Ireland. This

officer shall be here to-morrow, and I hope to despatch him, to you upon Tuesday. In the meantime I would not detain this bearer longer, though I reserve all particulars to the next, only I must say there is yet no rising in Scotland, nor do I think they dare rise in haste. Yet we must lie at their mercy no more to be alarmed by them; but we shall make ourselves ready for them with all speed, and give your Lordship timely notice. The King has appointed a post to be settled betwixt this and you, which I shall quicken all I can. And I do not intend to leave this kingdom till it be settled, which I trust in God shall be this winter. Robin Hamilton would be very welcome to me.

PATRICK MENZIES* to VISCOUNT GRANARD.

1677, November 26. Holyrood House.—My Lord Duke commands me to send your Lordship this extract, which his Grace assures you is truth.

Extract referred to—

1677, November 5. Carrick.—Sunday was sennight, Mr Welsh kept a most numerous conventicle in and about their new built meeting house in the parish of Girvan, where were present Mr. Dick Cuninghame, Gilchryst, Gilbert and Robert Kennedy's preachers and about 7,000 people, and the communion was celebrated, and upwards of 2,000 persons received it; who, before communicating, were all engaged solemnly never to hear the orthodox ministers more, and to adhere to and pursue the glorious ends of the solemn league and covenant. Mr. Welsh preached on Jon. ii., 34, 35, and amongst other seditious doctrines he said: "the kings, nobles and prelates are the murderers of Christ," and then, sitting down in his chair, said: "Oh! people, I will be silent—speak, Oh! people, and tell me what good hath this king done since his home-coming—yea, hath he not done all the mischief that a tyrant could do both by his life and laws," and told the people that the present solemnity was appointed to restore Mr. Gilbert Kennedy, the Non-conformist to his cure at Girvan, and that this was more Christ-like than an erastian indulgence. Monday after they kept a Presbytery, and chose Welsh moderator, and having published and received the penitence of one Mr. Cuninghame (who had received ordination from the late Bishop of Galloway), forever disowning episcopacy, they appointed him to be ordained by new imposition of hands. They proceeded to make Acts, such as 1^o. the people should not rise in arms till provoked thereunto, and that thereupon the sign should be given them to make ready; 2^o. that people should be dissuaded to hear the orderly ministers any more, but they are not to hurt their persons or break their houses till they should be found acting against the cause of God by complaining to authorities, and that those who did so are to be fallen upon. This they warranted from the commission the Israelites had to destroy the Canaanites.

* Secretary to the Duke of Lauderdale.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1677, November 26. Exchequer.—I would not have troubled you with the least mention of what has happened to me, were it not to justify myself why I have not thus long presented the offer of my poor services to your Excellency; but while I lay under the least accusation that could but seem to cast a blemish on me, I thought presenting such an offer to your Excellency would rather seem to beg the protection of a powerful friend than to make a clear tender of an inconsiderable servant. But since I am free from such an objection, which perhaps is by this time presented to your Excellency by indifferent persons, I would use the benefit of such an advantage which I have received by the favour and justice of so excellent a King and master only to entitle myself the better to receive your Excellency's commands, and if you are now pleased to judge anything in my power here that may be useful to your Excellency, your commands would give me the satisfaction of esteeming myself your servant by that mark of your favour, and my obedience and care in the performance should at least justify my endeavour to merit the title.

Mrs. Nelly has commanded me to present her among the number of your true servants, and does think herself so much obliged to your Excellency, that unless within a little time you command her something that she may serve you in, she swears she will pick a quarrel with you, for she vows she loves you entirely. I presume to present her own words to your Excellency that she was pleased to use when I gave her the account by Mr. Melins' letter of your great favour in the assurance that you would settle the £800 pension, notwithstanding the pretensions of Sir James Cuffe and Mr. Carr, by a grant of a precedent date; but that grant being general, and this wholly particular and specially to succeed Sir Jo. Hanmore's in the same sum of £800 per annum, if by the favour of your Excellency this should not now take place there would arise a great dispute whether it could ever take place at any other time, it being fixed to the succeeding the determination of Sir Jo. Hanmore's time. But your Excellency's favour has fully prevented this; and I am sure 'tis suitable to His Majesty's resolution Mr. Melins will present this to your Excellency, and receive any commands you are pleased to send to him that to the utmost of his power will ever appear your Grace's etc.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1677, November 27. Shene.—As I can never neglect any occasions of your Grace's service, so I fall unwillingly into those which can be only of trouble; and yet at this time and upon the late loss fallen upon our family I cannot forbear the sensible acknowledgements I owe your Grace both for the last honour you were pleased to do to the memory of my father and for the favour you were pleased to express towards my easy

succeeding him in his office by your Grace's despatch to Court, upon that occasion which my brother gave me an account of.* I cannot but renew to your Grace the memory I shall ever retain of having owed the reversion of that place (many years since) entirely to your favour, and so I shall now reckon that I do the possession of it, since I find it was so early in your Grace's thoughts and intentions; nor should I have made my application here to His Majesty upon that occasion, before I might have done it under your protection, but that my stay in England depends upon such uncertainties, that though it has drawn out into lengths I could not expect, yet I can seldom reckon upon one post before me. The retirement I have past here in the country for near this week, since the news of my father's loss, allows me no pretence to say anything of public affairs; besides that I know your Grace receives it constantly from better hands. Yet I will venture to say this only in short, that we are very near the greatest crisis that has yet happened in His Majesty's affairs or those of Christendom. For upon my Lord Feversham's return, which must now be very near, we shall see whether France will be content to make the peace without the conquest of Flanders, on such terms as must evidently make way for it upon the next invasion. If they will not, His Majesty must in a very little time and once for all resolve whether he will look on and see that country lost the next campaign, and feel the consequences that will have upon Holland, or whether he will by some new measures endeavour to prevent it; and upon this the fate of most affairs at present on foot will certainly depend. I ask your Grace's pardon for this presumption and your belief that, what place or condition of life soever I may fall into, no man can be ever with more constant passion or greater truth than I, Your Grace's, etc.

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE to VISCOUNT GRANARD.

1677, December 1. Holyrood House.—By my last, dated the 25th of November (which your footman carried), I told your Lordship that in obedience to His Majesty's command an officer should be despatched to you with sufficient instructions to acquaint you with our condition here. The person is this bearer, James Maitland, one of the lieutenants of the King's Regiment of Guards here. He will deliver this to your Lordship, and is ordered to show you his instructions and enlarge upon them, whereby you will have a full view of our condition. He will also deliver you a letter to my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which Mr. Secretary Coventry desired me to send by him (another copy of it having gone immediately to Dublin from London). I do likewise send your Lordship a copy of

* Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, died Nov. 14, 1677. A King's Letter for his appointment of Sir William Temple in his place was issued on the following day. He had already received a grant of the reversion in 1664. Sir W. Temple was at this time Ambassador to Holland and a Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Nimeguen.

Secretary Coventry's letter to me, together with a copy of his letter to the Duke of Ormond which he sent to me. Your Lordship will also receive the Act of Council for settling the post, but it will be the middle of January before it can be made effectual, so we must in the meantime correspond by expresses. There is a general meeting appointed of all the Privy Council here on Thursday of the 5th of this month; so in some days after you have sent back this bearer you may be pleased to send over some person to me, by whom you shall hear of what is resolved here a full account.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING DISORDERS IN THE WESTERN SHIRES OF SCOTLAND.

1. In obedience to His Majesty's commands, signified to the Duke of Lauderdale, you shall go to Belfast or to any other place within the kingdom of Ireland where you can find the Viscount of Granard. You shall acquaint his Lordship that the great disorders in the western shires continued now divers months by numerous field conventicles, building of preaching houses in commons, solemn communions given at those meetings, unlawful oaths imposed upon the people, seditious doctrine preached, inciting subjects to open rebellion, threatening the persons of the regular ministers, and preparations made to take up arms against His Majesty, his authority and laws; these and the like practices which were followed by the fanatics when they rose in rebellion in 1666, has moved His Majesty's Privy Council to take effectual course for suppressing those insolencies by drawing the King's standing forces of horse and foot together, and making suitable preparations for their march upon the first order, and by requiring the noblemen who have interest in the highlands, and others in the north parts who have considerable vassals and following, to be in readiness to march to Stirling upon the first advertisement. And from thence (joining with the King's forces) to march to the west, to the places infested with these disorders, And those forces of horse and foot (besides the King's standing forces) are assured to be four thousand five hundred foot and five or six hundred horse, to be present at the first rendezvous there, and that many more can be drawn together if there be need for it, and all this besides the Militia.

2. You shall let his Lordship know that there are none risen yet in arms, and therefore the Council has not as yet called any horse or foot together except the King's standing forces, but has them ready upon a week's advertisement.

3. That we are very glad to know of so considerable a party of horse and foot ordered by His Majesty for assisting his service here, and that they are commanded by his Lordship. And though the Privy Council is not resolved to desire his Lordship march hither till they find great cause for it, yet it is

fit his Lordship should know the condition of this kingdom, and we his, and what preparation he expects towards his landing.

4. That his Lordship give notice what place he intends to land at (if called for), and in order to his transportation it is not doubted but convenient vessels, and all other things necessary for his embarking, will be carefully provided on the Irish side, seeing we have nothing fit for such passage to send from hence.

5. In order to the provisions and forage for horse, it is known that the country where he intends to land is sufficiently able to provide all the horses in corn and straw and victuals for the horse and foot, in order to which, fit persons (so many as are necessary) shall be provided to be in readiness upon his Lordship's first landing to provide all things necessary in the premises; and his Lordship may (as he thinks fit) take care to transport a month's provision of bread, cheese or other victuals for the horse and foot.

6. The Privy Council has ordered the establishment of a horse post by stages from Edinburgh to Portpatrick, and from thence by sea to Donaghadee, according to the warrant of the Council herewith sent; and therefore it is offered that a packet boat be provided on the Irish side, and the post established on that side by land, this being His Majesty's express command.

7. That his Lordship may provide a train of field Artillery to bring along with him, with suitable ammunition.

8. That his Lordship give notice how soon he can be ready to land in Scotland after he receives advertisement; wind and weather serving.

What his Lordship thinks fit to return in answer by you, or what he shall acquaint us with hereafter, we shall readily comply with, and shall make suitable returns to his Lordship.

[Signed] Lauderdale.

Endorsed.—"Instructions for Lieutenant James Maitland at Lisburn, on disorders in the Western Shires, signed by the Duke of Lauderdale."

ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING.

That my Lord Viscount of Granard has orders from His Majesty and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to embark these forces now under his command and conduct them to Scotland, if so required by the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council there, and from time to time to receive such orders as shall be sent to him by their Lordships.

That the forces my Lord has here are above two thousand foot and three hundred horse all commanded men, besides officers and servants, which are all ready, if required, to attend His Majesty's service there or elsewhere.

His Lordship's humble opinion is that (if he be called for) Dumbarton Haven, or any place about Granack (Greenock), is the fittest place to land on, and his Lordship's reasons are—because it is near Stirling, near Edr. (Edinburgh), and a plentiful country before him, and the Highlands at his back, and a place where he may join with any of His Majesty's forces that are raised or are to be raised. As for shipping, they are now all ready, and His Majesty, at a thousand pounds a month charge for their demurrage, besides the disadvantages His Majesty sustains by loss of trade, and his Lordship desires a sudden resolution that His Majesty may be rid of that charge.

That he conceives if the enemy be strong he cannot quarter at large his horse and foot, and for that reason he has provided 30,000 weight of biscuit, but if otherwise he will make the best shift he can to do it out of the country.

As to the post and the boat, his Lordship thinks my Lord Lieutenant will give orders for it according to their desire, and has done already something preparative to it.

That his Lordship has already four field pieces ready with ammunition, together with spades, shovels, pickaxes, and the like, in case they have use for them—for all which his Lordship desires carriage horses may be provided at the place where he designs to land, it being a hard matter to get ships enough to transport all the horse and foot here now at one time; his Lordship can be on shipboard, if the embargo be not taken off in forty-eight hours advertisement.

[*Endorsement*].—The answer I made to the Duke of Lauderdale's instructions.

WARRANT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A HORSE POST BETWEEN EDINBURGH AND PORTPATRICK.

1677, November 27.—John Graham, Postmaster General of Scotland, is to settle Postmasters at :—

Linethgow	1st	} Stage from Edinburgh.
Killsyth	2nd	
Glasgow	3rd	
Stewartown	4th	
or Kilmarnock		
Ayr	5th	
Drumbeg	6th	
Ballintrae	7th	}
Portpatrick	8th	

Letters to be received and despatched from Edinburgh on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

Rates as follows :—

Every single letter, not exceeding one sheet	} Two shillings (Scots).
to or from any place not exceeding 40 miles distance from place of receipt	
... ..	

Every double letter same ... Four shillings (Scots).
 Every ounce weight Five shillings (Scots).
 And for four score miles or upwards these
 rates are doubled. And so forth proportionately.
 Moreover, for every one who wishes to ride
 post, three shillings (Scots) per mile, and
 a groat each stage for guide.

To provide for necessary expenses (including the building or hiring of boat), the Privy Council will recommend to the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury that a grant of £150 be made—£100 now and £50 as they shall be certified that the work is proceeding diligently—on account of the establishment of the post, to begin by the first Council meeting in January ensuing.

Foot posts are to be discharged. Magistrates of Glasgow, etc., are to be exhorted to help the Postmaster General, who is now assuming the whole burden of the work; the Committee already appointed is to meet and settle all necessary things, and Lord Lauderdale is to write to the Earl (*sic.*) of Granard giving him an account of all the proceedings herein.

Endorsed.—Abstract of Order in Council for the establishment of a horse post between Edinburgh and Portpatrick. and of communications between the latter place and Drogheda for the same purpose—the Postmaster General to keep a vessel to sail twice a week and back to Drogheda.

RODERICK MANSELL to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677, December 6. Belfast.—My ever honoured Lord: On Monday last I had notice given me of one Mas. Douglas, an eminent preacher and co-partner with Mas. Walsh in the great conventicles lately held in Scotland, and that night Mas. Douglas came into this town, of which I had present notice. I presently had him in my chamber, where after spending some heavy sighs and groans with him, and promising unto him kindness and friendship, and that he should be provided for in this kingdom, providing he would disclose what was truth to his knowledge of the designs now on foot in Scotland, he did condescend unto it. I went immediately and acquainted my Lord Granard therewith and brought him unto his Lordship, and after my Lord had a while discoursed with him, he commanded me to take Mas. Douglas out with me, and to try what I could get out of him, for he could not gather anything out of him to purpose. I took him into my chamber again, and there, after renewing my promises unto him, he has related unto me:—

That there is a full purpose in the fanatics of Scotland to take the sword in hand, and that the covenant is there renewed.

That there is (as Mas. Douglas calls them) papers passed and subscribed throughout the greatest part of the kingdom, and the greatest nobleman and gentlemen therein concerned.

That Mas. John Walsh is at this time in England and has promised faithfully unto the people to return again unto them by the 30th of January next, and that in the meantime he has left orders that they should not meet in any great numbers.

Mas Douglas doth expect within two or three days to have some letters out of Scotland, whereby to confirm what he has here declared, and much more; and has promised me that if I will but keep him here secret that he will in short time do very eminent service for God, his King and country. My Lord Granard would have confined him, but I have prevailed for his liberty, and have taken his parole that he will not stir from here; and since he has declared that if he had been confined he would thereby have been made incapable of doing the service he designs. By some words that fell from him I do heartily wish that he was with your honour for some few hours' discourse; and if the letters he expects out of Scotland do arrive here before my Colonel come away for Dublin, and that I find in them anything of moment, I will if I can prevail persuade Sir William to take him along with him unto your honour. My Lord, he has discovered and named to me a very eminent statesman, of whom he says they are assured of, and two more of the greatest peers of the kingdom, which by my Colonel I will give your Honour an account of, and what further I can get out of him.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677, December 7. Castlemartyr.—I received this morning with all the gratitude and satisfaction imaginable the very great honour of your Grace's letter of the 1st instant, in which you have condescended to approve of what I could but hope you would pardon; and that only on account of its being an act of obedience to your Grace's commands. I will only say on those papers I presumed to present to your Grace, that what I wrote both in relation to the public and to your Grace's particular were the dictates of my heart. If they may be of any use and service to your Grace, I shall have therein the highest, and indeed, the only advantage I expect.

That part of your Grace's letter to His Majesty which you have vouchsafed to communicate to me, is what my little judgment in affairs and my great affection for His Majesty's service and the good of this his kingdom does most really close with; and therefore I shall with no little concernment expect his gracious answer to it.

When your Grace has (with my Lord Chancellor) looked over and examined what I did write, whatever your Grace shall think pardonable in it, and what in the whole your Grace shall judge the best measures to be taken, as soon as I know your commands therein, I will diligently endeavour to gain such of my friends to be for the promoting them as I

have some grounds to believe may be members of the intended Parliament. And in whatever else your Grace shall command my service it shall be obeyed with all diligence and sincerity.

It was no small allay to the high contentment your Grace's letter brought me to find you had been under a great headache when you had written a part of it, and that when you were ending it, your first distemper had been cured by a second. I beseech God to free your Grace from all such indispositions, and continue you long in perfect health and happiness.

I am entirely ignorant what that Commission is which was granted by my Lord Essex to Sir James Shaen,* and some others of the Farmers to manage the farm, and which your Grace is directed, under the signet, to vacate, and to grant two new commissioners more agreeable to their contract. But that the present Farmers should pretend a right to the £80,000 which the Lord Ranelagh and his partners were to pay the King, seems very extravagant to me. Possibly this pretence might be one motive to Sir James Shaen, Mr Richbell and Mr. Stanyon to make the late contract with Sir Ja. Hayes, of which my Lord Chancellor did me the favour to send me the heads, and on which I took the liberty to give his Grace some of my thoughts. I wish that £80,000 were in His Majesty's Exchequer in Ireland, and then that the King's and the farmers' title were tried for it. But as now 'tis, it seems to me it is not worth a suit, or so much as a pretence, unless Sir James Shaen, etc., by having a right thereunto, may consequently hope to make annually out of their farm rents till it be paid. And though this is a most extravagant imagination, yet I know some busy brains capable of entertaining wild notions.

My London and Dublin letters by this post tell me the late clouds in Scotland are blown away; if it be so I shall be very glad of it on many accounts. For I confess to your Grace I was not without apprehensions that if that part of the army under my Lord Granard's command had been transported into Scotland, the Ulster Scots might not have been quiet. For I believe too many of them are inclined as some of their countrymen are, and I saw no preparations in that case to send more of this army into Ulster, nor indeed a possibility to do it, this army being so small and the revenue so anticipated, which made me doubt, while we went to quench our neighbour's house, our own might be set on fire. Till I know on what account the tumults there have been appeased, I shall not be able to form a judgment satisfactory to myself how long this pacification will last. But I too well remember when the first pacification was made in the year 1639 the sore was but skinned, and not healed at the bottom, and therefore soon after broke out more fiercely; I heartily pray the like may never happen again.

* The Commissioners appointed in 1677 were Sir James Shaen, William Ryder, William Muschamp, Edward Richbell, Lawrence Stanyon, John Gourney and Stanhope Mill.

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE FARMERS OF THE
REVENUE.

1. Mr. Ryder's allegations,
viz. :—

- i. That they have made a new establishment of officers.
 - ii. That they have anticipated the revenue (at Youghal)
 - iii. That they have remitted into England several sums upon private occasions.
 - iv. That they have bought Sheridan's and Hill's shares with the farm-money.
 - v. That only £40,000 was really advanced, and the other £20,000 paid out of the King's money.
 - vi. That they have represented to the King's Commissioners the produce of the revenue to be more and the repayments and wine-warrants less than they are.
2. If these allegations be not proved or confessed, some of the Farmers to be sent over.
 3. Whether the calling for the £20,000 would not endanger the breaking of the farm ?
 4. That your Grace will have a constant inspection into their cash and quicken their payments.
 5. Your Grace is to give his Majesty your opinion upon the whole matter.

Queries to be put to the
Farmers.

1. What money they have taken up beforehand upon the credit of the revenue in any of the ports of Ireland (particularly at Youghal) ?

2. What part of the farm money they have applied to private occasions, viz., other than the payment of their rent, and the charge of management ?

3. What they have paid to Mr. Hill and Mr. Sheridan for their shares of the farm out of the farm-money (and what to Sir James Hayes) ?

4. How much of the £60,000 was really advanced, and how much of it was paid out of the revenue here, and how much of it which was really advanced is since repaid ?

5. What the repayments of port duties and discharges of rents and wine warrants amounted to in the year ending at Christmas, 1676 ?

6. Whether they are able to pay in the £20,000 further advance money and continue their monthly payments ?

Lastly that they be required by an order in writing to deliver to the King's Commissioners every Monday an abstract of the receipts and payments in their treasury for the week preceding, in such form as was used in the beginning of this farm, and this to begin on Monday next.

Endorsed—An Abstract of Mr. Secretary Coventry's Letter, December 22nd, 1677.

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1677, December 23. Dublin Castle.—Soon after I received your Excellency's upon the subject of your father's death,

wherein you are pleased in a most obliging manner to remember the desire I had to serve you in the succession (of which I may now give you joy), I fell ill of the gout in both my feet, and have but now recovered ease enough to write in a tolerable posture.

My Lord Feversham's return I suppose we own to have produced the shortening of the adjournment, and from Mr. Montague's, or from his despatches, it may be collected what will be proposed to, and I hope resolved on by, the Parliament. It will be an ill-natured and I believe an ill-grounded thing in any to say it is too late to apply a remedy, and I hope instead of such at least unfruitful retrospects we shall look cheerfully and unanimously forward, and casting from us those distrusts which may indeed make it too late and too difficult, betake ourselves to speedy and vigorous acting, which may yet bring France to reason without a breach or put us in a condition to support one. I write not without pain.

Postscript.—Though my letter of the 25th of the last was not written with any thought of the King's seeing it, yet since your Excellency thought that anything in it was worth his consideration, I am not unsatisfied he saw it.

Our last letters out of England say my Lord Lauderdale was preparing for his journey to Court, whence I hope I may conclude that his apprehensions of danger in Scotland are over, and from thence that I shall shortly have orders to dismiss the chargeable part of those preparations I was commanded to make to assist the Government in Scotland. My son Arran and others who are members of Parliament are preparing themselves to attend their duty, though I had no order to warn them to do so, and I shall send my proxy to my Lord of Essex, having had his in the same case.

We are much infested by highwaymen and Irish Tories; their most remarkable robberies are committed on the English, their conscience as well as profit so directing them. Our old friend, my Lord of Carlingford,* is, I fear, going out of the world by the same steps my Lord Crofts went before him.

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1677, December 25. Holyrood House.—Since I wrote last to you, I have had the honour of the King's commands by two letters from you, the first dated the 11th December, ordaining my care to prevent any levies for France here, and seeing you saw my letter to my Lord Treasurer as to that matter (which was written before I had the least suspicion of anything like a rupture with France), you may be sure I shall now be most watchful. Your second letter is of the 18th, and came to my hands on Sunday last. I was sorry I could not return an answer sooner, for this is the very first post, and I was unwilling to send an express, which makes a great noise, and could not come two days sooner. As to that letter you may please to let

* Theobald 2nd Viscount Taaffe, 1st Earl of Carlingford, died December 31, 1677.

His Majesty know that I am sorry his care of this kingdom should put him to so extraordinary a charge, for I did not think that there did need an embargo upon ships, or ships to lie upon demurrage, seeing I should always have given timely warning, and I less imagined there needed any further pay to field officers than was formerly when such a party went to the North of Ireland. It hath been of great use to the King's service that the party is so near, and hath damped the disaffected, and I beg they may continue on that coast; but my humble opinion is that it is enough if they quarter on that coast as formerly. Within few days I hope to give the King a good account of effectual orders given by the Privy Council here for suppressing the fanatics and settling the peace.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1677, December 31. Dublin Castle.—I having received His Majesty's letter of the 23rd of November last, commanding me to supersede the commission by which the Farmers of the revenue now act, and to give notice that they may have such new commissions as therein are directed. I immediately sent for the Farmers, and having had the letter read unto them, caused a copy thereof to be that day delivered them, that upon superseding this commission they might present me with commissioners' names for those two new ones to be granted. But instead of that, in a few days they brought me a petition, with a paper annexed (of which the enclosed are copies), desiring that I would first present the several matters therein contained, and what their Council could further offer to His Majesty's consideration; whereupon, a day being appointed, Counsel, as well for Mr. Ryder as the other Farmers were heard at the Board; and the matter appearing to be of great consequence to His Majesty's affairs here, it was thought necessary by the whole Board, at the instance of the rest of the Farmers, before any order were given for determining this present commission, humbly to represent to His Majesty the state of the cause, which—upon what was then opened—I conceive to be this.

By the commissioners now in force, Sir James Shaen, Wm. Ryder, Wm. Muschamp, Edw. Richbell, Lawrence Stanion, John Gurney, and Stanhope Mill, Esqs., seven of the Farmers are impowered to accompt as commissioners in all the branches great and small, of His Majesty's revenue. His Majesty, by his letter of the 23rd November, is pleased to direct that this commission should be superseded, and, that at the same time they should have notice that they may have such new commission as shall be agreeable to their letters patents, and the laws of this kingdom, viz.: one for the Customs, and another for the Judicial part of the excise, in each of which commissions the number and quorum of the commissioners are to be agreeable to the Acts of Parliament for settling the said respective revenues, and that no other branch of His Majesty's revenue should be put into commission during the term.

The most material points that were insisted on by the Farmers against the direction of this letter were :—

That before this present commission shall be superseded it will be necessary that the persons should be agreed on to whom the new commissions are to be granted, so that no part of the revenue should remain uncollected for want of commissioners to manage the same. And by the clause, page 72 and 73, of the present farm, the Farmers or such other persons as any seven of them should nominate are to be commissioners of the customs and excise. And this present commission was granted at the desire of seven of the Farmers. If a new commission should be granted to all the Farmers, who are eleven in number, then the commissioners would be more than are allowed of by the Acts either for Customs or Excise. The commissioners being to be but five by one of the Acts, and but seven by the other. And all the Farmers concerned who are now in Ireland, together with Mr. Ryder and Mr. Mill, who are absent, are in this present commission. To prevent this objection, as far as could be, when this commission passed, care was taken as to the Excise that only five of them, and no greater number than five, should act at one time. But if a new commission should be granted to any other persons than the Farmers, they must be such as shall be nominated by seven or more of the Farmers, and I do not find that any seven of the Farmers do agree in the nominating of such new commissioners, but the major part of them seem rather to rest satisfied, and to desire that the present commission should stand.

2ndly. As to the other part of His Majesty's letter, whereby it was directed that no other part of His Majesty's revenue besides the Customs and Excise should be put into commission during the continuance of the farm; it was insisted on by the Farmers' counsel that by a clause, page 104 of their farm, His Majesty hath agreed, upon humble suit in that behalf, to give the Farmers such further authority for the ordering and better collecting the annual rents, hearth money, duties arising by licences, for retailing wines or strong waters, and ale and beer, and all other revenues to them demised, as any commissioners or Farmers of His Majesty's revenue then had, and as in that case should be thought fit and reasonable. And that most of those duties are not only, by the Acts of Parliament whereby they were granted to the King, appointed to be managed by commissioners, but were also actually managed by commissioners both during the time of the late farm here, and also after the determination of the late farm, until the date of this present farm, and that if there be no commission granted for receiving the quit rents, the Farmers by their patent cannot, without very much difficulty, receive the same, in regard by a clause, page 119, of their farm, all acquittances for quit rents are to be given under seven or more of the Farmers' hands, and there are not so many of the Farmers now residing in Ireland; and if there were, it would be very difficult to obtain so many hands to all such acquittances, so that if the present commission for the quit rents be superseded, and no new com-

mission granted, they cannot receive or discharge any quit rents, but only by virtue of that clause in the farm, which at present would be of little or no use to them. So that if the King should not think fit to grant them such a commission for the quit rents, hearth money, and other duties demised to them, as was granted to the late Farmers, and was also in being when the present farm bears date; or if His Majesty shall, without the consent or desire of the major part of the Farmers, determine this commission that hath been already granted to them, they pretend that they shall be thereby entitled to a demand of defalcation, to be allowed them by His Majesty out of the rent from them reserved, from what loss they suffer thereby. And in regard it will be of very ill consequence to His Majesty's affairs here, if though the present determining of this commission now in being there should be any want of a sufficient power to bring in any part of His Majesty's revenue; or if by reason thereof, the Farmers should have any just pretence to a defalcation which, if this commission be superseded, and another not granted, the opinion of the Council is, that this whole matter should be represented to His Majesty to the end His Majesty's pleasure may be known thereupon. And if notwithstanding what has been before said, it should be found that the present commission as to the Excise is not agreeable to law, and that His Majesty cannot dispense with that part of the Act of Excise, whereby the number of commissioners are not to exceed five, it is humbly submitted to His Majesty's consideration, whether that may not be remedied by granting a new commission to five such persons as any seven of the Farmers shall nominate, whereby that part of the present commission for the Excise will determine; and the same will remain still of force, to enable them to manage the other parts of the revenue. And whether till seven of the Farmers shall agree upon five to be commissioners for this branch, the present commission shall not continue in force in its full extent. This is the sum of those difficulties which myself and the Council met with at the hearing, and which at their desire by your hands I humbly represent to His Majesty, and shall be ready to obey such commands as he shall think fit to send thereupon.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 1. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 26th of December I have received, and humbly thank you for it. At the very same time I received one from my Lord Lauderdale, of which I send you a copy. I have acquainted His Majesty with the contents of both, and he hath commanded me to let your Grace know that upon the assurances the Duke of Lauderdale giveth of giving early notice, you should save the extraordinary expense, and only quarter the men, as they were in my Lord of Essex his time, and as nigh the same expense as may be. Whence the alarm came so hot of affairs in Scotland I know not, but this I can say—the positive orders

sent you were by the King's own direction, and in the presence of the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

As to what your Grace recommended concerning the Provost of Dublin, I presented it to His Majesty, but he remembered the same case was recommended in my Lord of Essex his time, and then refused; and so he seemeth to do still, notwithstanding the arguments in your Grace's letter saying that where there are many young men in a college that are not to be dispensed with, he knoweth no reason why those that are elder should, and to forbid the youth of the college any indulgence to that appetite, and at the same time to bring women into the college to be always in right, is like the Welsh hoop, a put her to and a put her from. In conclusion, though his discourse was mixed with mirth, I have not seen him more serious upon a denial of anything recommended by your Grace in my life.

As I wrote to you in my last, the Dean of Paul's* is declared Archbishop; Doctor Stillingfleet, Dean in his stead. Our foreign affairs are upon the foot they were, only your son, my Lord of Ossory, hath got leave to go over into Holland upon the circumstances he will acquaint you, which I suppose will not be disapproved of by your Grace. I heartily wish your Grace new years without stint, and all the health and prosperity you can wish yourself.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 1. London.—I had rather trouble your Grace with my letters in some service of your own, than in any concerns of mine. But your Grace, who hath been as well a witness as a judge of my faithful discharge of my trusts under His Majesty, executed in great part under your government and guidance, is not ignorant of what undeserved scrutinies and examinations I have undergone in requital, continued by some with a greater aim to reach your Grace than me. But though I have against the most powerful prosecutors and partial pre-engaged judges vindicated myself with honour, and both your Grace and I stand acquitted by His Majesty in Council from the foul and false charge of mismanagement of his revenue, yet I find the same evil spirit which assaulted me openly heretofore, now underhand and by surprise practising against me, and endeavouring to make your Grace the instrument, not only of injuring me, but, in consequence and by a side wind, yourself; which they could never do in the several intermediate governments whilst your Grace hath been kept from the helm there. The case is this, I understand lately from Ireland, which in all reason and justice I should first have done here if it be just or intended to concern me therein, that the King's warrant is brought to your Lordship requiring a commission to be issued out for the stating of mine and Sir

* William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, in succession to Sheldon, in December 1677.

George Carteret's accounts, which your Grace knows have been by commission under the great seal of Ireland in the usual manner declared many years ago, and my deputy since dead, and securities I had for him much weakened by my receiving and allowing his accounts, though I have since found errors in his private accounts, much to my disadvantage, which his executor and heir, Sir Richard Bellingham (who perhaps may be the procurer of this new extrajudicial commission to surprise me and wound me undefended) is obliged to make good to me, as well as justify my public accounts passed by his father. In this intended commission I was amazed to hear Mr. Taylor is to be a commissioner, who hath already made wrong certificates, though without effect, in any case, and Alderman Peter Wybrants, one of Sir Daniel Bellingham's sureties, for true accounting; but the commission is so far from having any named by me that it is so much *ex parte* that I had no notice of it but by chance. I know your Grace's justice too well to doubt your passing such an illegal commission of inquiry upon me when you know me concerned in it, having a standing power in you to delay the King's warrants till you certify your opinion hither and give an opportunity for me to be heard thereupon before any further direction, which is a protection I cannot doubt to have from your Lordship against such an injurious attempt, and is all I shall yet beg from your Grace.

Postscript.—Being ill at this time, I hope your Grace will pardon my using another's hand.

ORMOND to DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

1677-8, January 1.—I am unsatisfied that any command of your Grace's should meet with any delay when it is directed to me, but it shall be no longer than till I have represented the case of Captain Chetwynd to you, and then received your sense upon it. This gentleman received a commission for a company above three years since, and from December, 1674, to this time he has never been in the same country where his command is. Many others have taken the same liberty, and looked on their purchase of a company as if they had bought an annuity to which no duty was annexed but the getting of a licence of absence and receiving their pay. This I would willingly reform, but cannot do it justly unless I deal indifferently with all; and have therefore resolved to give no further licences of absence, but where sickness or some very important necessity is in the case, and that very authentically certified; yet if this gentleman shall appear at the next muster, which will not be till March next, his absence hitherto shall be no prejudice to him.

INSTRUCTIONS to the EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, January 7. 1.—The state of the revenue is fully represented in several despatches in Mr. Secretary Coventry's

hands, as far forth as is possible till the accounts of the Lord Ranelagh and his partners' undertaking shall be taken, and the reasons are given why the taking of those accounts is retarded.

2.—By what is remitted to Mr. Secretary it will appear that this revenue must fall short not only of making those provisions fit to be made in times of greatest peace and security, but of answering all the parts of the Establishment by reason of the overcharge fallen upon it by the Northern expedition. How far then it will come short to make those preparations and provisions requisite when a foreign war is probable and the fomenting of a civil war is to be expected, may easily be supposed.

3.—Of what numbers the Army consists I suppose is well known there; but if it should not readily be remembered, you are able to tell how few men are left of the worst in the army to do duty in the most important garrisons. As to the officers I do more doubt of their sufficiency than their loyalty. What order I have given to be informed of the number of unserviceable men in the army you know.

4.—Of the state of the forts, stores and magazines, the Master of the Ordinance is able to give an account, having received one lately from hence; but it is so bad that it is no less shame than danger that it should be known, and concealed it cannot be.

5.—I suppose the people of this kingdom may be best distinguished by the truly loyal and conforming, the Irish Roman Catholics, and the Nonconformists who will be called Protestants. The two latter are so opposite in religion and civil interest that they are in some sort such a balance to each other that neither dare to rise against the Government, for fear it should make use of the other to suppress and chastise the first disturbers; and even among the Nonconformists some distinction may reasonably be made betwixt the Scotch and English. The Scotch I take to be more heady, more united in opinion, more compact in habitation and neighbourhood, more ready to abandon their wretched residences, and for all these reasons more apt to be inflamed and put into action by their vagabond teachers. The English are more set upon trade and improvements, not so unanimously bent one way, more scattered in the country, and will not so easily be persuaded to quit their much more commodious homes. The Irish, though I think more in number than all the rest, I do not conceive are so much to be apprehended as the other party, but in case of an invasion or when any other party shall have begun; but then it must be expected that many of them will join with the invaders, or in the other case will endeavour to form a third party, as they did when they found a breach in prospect betwixt the King and the rebellious Parliament.

[Signed] ORMOND.

Endorsed.—Memorials for my son Arran, to be made use of as there shall be occasion.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, January 15.—I have yet nothing to add to what you carried with you, except the copy of my letter by this post to Mr. Secretary Coventry, which relates only to the necessity of securing the harbour of Kinsale. As I remember I told you, it was fit you should visit my Lord Treasurer; and if he shall give you the occasion, I know no reason why you may not freely impart to him anything that relates to the affairs here. I am of opinion he will receive you civilly; if he does, you may accordingly be the more frequent in going to him. He has much business, and is not easy of access, so that unless you shall have particular business with him, I think the dining time will be the fittest time for you to go to him. I hope you will not forget the resolution you went away with; there are few things that can happen that would trouble me more than that you should. I desire one thing more particularly, which is that whilst you are at London you would not go to any of the eating houses or taverns upon any occasion; the thing is not hard to be avoided, considering you have a house and family, and so many tables to go to there, and yet it would be great satisfaction to me.

I send you the copy of the last letter I had from my Lord of Granard, that you may observe that the Lords of Scotland still continue to take no notice of me in all this affair, but give their directions to my Lord of Granard as if he were under their command. Whether it proceed from affected pride or ignorance I will not determine; nor shall any omission of common civility in them in the least slacken my industry, if occasion call for it, to serve the King's affairs in that kingdom. If I had been to have received help from them for the King's service here, I should certainly once at least have taken notice to them of their care and readiness to obey the King's commands. I do not intend to make a quarrel of ceremony of it, and therefore do not desire you should take notice of it to anybody, unless it be to my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary Coventry. I have always been unfortunate in my endeavours to serve the most considerable of this nation. Those I have preserved have forgotten it; those I could not, thought I might, and impute their ruin to me; nay, even those I have advised and put into the way of doing themselves good, and through sloth or ignorance have neglected to pursue their interest, impute the disappointment of their pretensions to me, as if I were obliged not only to direct and favour them, but become their solicitor and agent. A fresh instance of this is my Lord of Carlingford, who, with his friend, I hear is dissatisfied with me and you that he succeeds not to his father's pension, and that it is given to Sir James Cuffe and Mr. Carr. The case as I am concerned in it is this: my Lord of Carlingford you know, came hither long before his father died; at his first visit to me, after I had inquired of his father's condition as to his health, and that he had told me there was little hope of his recovery, I told him I believed he would not be left in such a state, but that the continuance of his father's pension

to him would in some measure accommodate him, and advised him to procure the reversion of it whilst his father was alive, or to get his father to surrender his patent and take out a new one for both their lives. He thanked me, but never spoke syllable more of it to me since, nor it seems employed anybody in England to obtain this for him, which certainly an easy mediation would have gotten him; and now I am charged with his disappointment, with having recommended Sir James Cuffe and Carr, and in effect with breaking my word, for they have the gift of laying that causelessly to my charge, taking an advice for a promise. It may not be amiss that you say this, or transcribe this part of my letter to the King and Duke, especially if you hear anything of it. They say they will yet retrieve the thing, and get Cuffe and Carr struck out of the Establishment, and my Lord Carlingford put in. I would be glad of any good to that Lord, for I think him a very worthy gentleman; but justice and the King's honour I consider more.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 15. London.—I got safe hither on Sunday last, and yesterday had the honour to kiss the King's and His Royal Highness's hands, and delivered your letters to them. I was very graciously received, but neither of them asked any questions concerning Ireland. All their discourse was about my voyage, because it was generally taken for granted here that I was cast away at sea. Mr. Secretary Coventry told me after I had given him your letter that he had at large informed you by the last post how matters were here, for it seems since my leaving Dublin great levies were ordered, and already above six hundred men are enlisted by way of recruits to the regiment of Guards here. The Parliament was this morning adjourned to the 28th instant, the reason given by His Majesty's order for it was that he had matters of great importance to communicate to them, and have their advices in, which were not yet ripe enough. This I am sure was the substance of what my Lord Chancellor delivered to us.

I believe I shall know nothing of the state of affairs, either relating to this country, or Ireland, but what I shall have from your own correspondents, unless either His Majesty or the Duke happen to discourse with me about them. I shall lose no opportunity when it offers, neither will I be officious. Mr. Secretary is so full of Parliament business, and all the other great men so concerned about the intended war with France, that I believe we shall have no good opportunity to bring the affair of the Irish revenue under consideration notwithstanding this adjournment.

Sir Robert Southwell, to whom I likewise delivered your letter, told me he had given you an account of my brother Ossory's intentions. He carried over with him the same capitulations that the Duke of Monmouth made with the French, which, if he gets allowed and performed, he may do very well; but he has not carried one man of business with him, which

makes me fear they may be too hard for him in penning the conditions; but I am told by one who knows his mind, and is to serve under him, that rather than go without the employment he will take less advantageous terms, which, if he does, I am afraid his own fortune will suffer by it, and perhaps his desire will not prosper so well as he expects. My Lord Chamberlain is very much blamed for insisting so much upon his right to the groom porter's place, when he saw the King so much concerned in behalf of Mr. Chicheley; it has done you I believe no small prejudice in your employment of Steward, for the King urged your case as a precedent; some people believe it is so ill taken of him that it may prejudice him in greater matters, but as he tells his own story, he was as much in the right as to the manner of his proceedings as he undoubtedly is in his pretensions, though the matter was carried against him.

Monsieur de Ruvigny's son is this day come out of France hither, as is believed with some message from the French King.

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 16. Holyrood House.—On Sunday last, the 13th instant, I received your Grace's letter dated at Dublin Castle the 5th, together with the confession and information of William Douglas, now prisoner. On Thursday the 10th, I received a full narrative with a copy of that examination from Colonel Jeffreys, whom the Viscount Granard sent over to me for that purpose. Immediately an exact search was ordered to be made for arms in all the places which are so particularly described in Douglas's examination, both in this city and in Glasgow, and both at one time. On Sunday, about the time that I received your Grace's letter, my Lord Ross was ordered to march to Glasgow with a sufficient party of foot and a squad of the King's troop of Guards here. And he did diligently search all the places mentioned at Glasgow, but without any success as to arms or ammunition. The like search was made at the same hour in this city, and nothing at all found. The Lord Ross will stay at Glasgow, and continue his search till the rest of the troops come up, which will be once this next week. I humbly thank your Grace for the great care you express towards His Majesty's service in this kingdom.

INTERROGATIONS TO BE PUT TO WILLIAM DOUGLAS, A SCOTCH NONCONFORMIST MINISTER.

1677-8, January 17. 1.—His age, place of birth and education, when and from whom he took the ministry?

2.—What are the grounds and reasons of the seditious way of conventicling in such numbers?

3.—Whether those conventiclers have entered into any obligation to each other?

4.—What the obligation is, to what end, and how long to continue in force?

5.—When and wherefore he joined himself with them?

6.—Who are the principal ringleaders of the ministry amongst them, and who of the laity do give them most encouragement either publicly or privately?

7.—What expectation they had of a conjunction with them out of England or Ireland, what encouragement or assistance hath been given them from both or either of those kingdoms, particularly from whom, and who was employed to obtain it; and how was the money transmitted, and how has it been employed?

8.—What is the reason of his coming into Ireland, whether he was employed by the Conventiclers or any other; if so, by whom, to whom, and what was the subject of his employment?

9.—If it was to do the duty of a good subject in the discovery of ill designs, why he did not rather apply himself to some of the Ministers of State in Scotland than come hither?

Endorsed.—Questions to be put to Mr. Douglas, a Nonconforming Minister.

EARL OF ESSEX to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 17. London.—Yesterday I received the favour of your Grace's letter together with your proxy, for which trust I return your Grace my most humble thanks, and I shall endeavour to make use of your vote this session as may most conduce to his Majesty's service. Your Grace cannot be ignorant of the great affair which in all probability we are entering upon, a war with France; which, if it should happen, I know no part of His Majesty's dominions of which there ought to be greater regard and earlier care taken than of Ireland. I am and shall ever be ready to give my assistance therein to the best of my knowledge at all times, when any deliberations of that nature come before us. I presume Mr. Secretary Coventry has acquainted your Grace with the thoughts His Majesty hath of calling a Parliament there in this conjuncture. Upon this occasion I acquainted His Majesty with my opinion that the people there will undoubtedly contribute their utmost assistance, and readily give money according to their abilities, provided it were wholly applied to the public uses of that kingdom, and none directed to any other. This I am sure was the sense of most men whilst I was there, and I doubt not but your Grace finds the same inclinations still among them. Major Radcliffe, who hath a company in Ireland, came over with me, and has had some business of his own to despatch here, which hath kept him absent till this time; I desire your Grace will be pleased to give order that he may not suffer by his stay. He hath promised me to begin his journey for Ireland on Monday next.

EARL OF ARRAN to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1677-8, January 19. London.—I have little to say this post, for nobody is able to make any certain conjecture of affairs in this interval of a session. I had a letter from my Lady [Derby]

last post in answer to mine from Chester, in which I took notice to her of the report I heard of her breeding, but she tells me there is no such thing, and desired me to let you know how great a mind she has to be in Ireland. I doubt her Lord will not let her go, though you invited her never so earnestly; he is expected in town this night. My sister Candish [Cavendish], as I am informed at Newport House, is now at Hardwicke, and intends to set out for this place on Tuesday next. I met her Lord last night at the French play, but he has not yet been to see me. I went yesterday to Kensington to see the children. The boy is very much mended, and is a fine child; but so ill-favoured a fat porpoise as the girl is did I never see.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 19. London.—I can give no account of my brother's proceedings since my last, there having come no letters out of Holland since his landing there; but the report in town is that we are like to have a peace, notwithstanding our great preparations for war. Whether this be true or no the statesmen who are your correspondents will inform you if they can. Mr. Ryder told me this morning that he is to have a hearing at the Treasury Chamber on Monday next, upon the business of the commission for the judicial part of the excise, etc. He thinks he has found out an expedient which will do his business; he showed me a state of the present farm, which he intends to give to His Majesty, in which he makes very bold with Sir James Shaen. As to the other great concerns of Ireland I suppose nothing will be done until you have returned your sense upon what Mr. Secretary wrote to you concerning a Parliament; pray let me have some private instructions how to discourse upon that subject when it falls in my way.

Churchill has left his accounts in such confusion that a great many of your friends are afraid they shall suffer, and amongst them my Lord Suffolk, who desires you would not pay the money you owed Churchill until you see that the administrators desire to do justly with his creditors. I promised my Lord Suffolk that I would say this from him, but I must say something for myself, for I find by my steward here that he had placed some of my money in his hands, and I think I may justly expect preference in this matter. I know not what the sum is, my servant having written in general, but I believe it is not much, and I think your debt is £700; my Lord Suffolk had near £3,000 in his hands when he died.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 22. London.—Upon the news last packet out of Flanders brought we all conclude a war will ensue, but I cannot give you any news authentic. My brother got safe into Holland on Sunday was seavennight, but escaped very narrowly, for it seems the weather was so hazy that they mistook their course, and had run upon a bank of sand if they had

not by chance met with a fisherman that directed them into Zuricksee.

Mr. Ryder gave in yesterday the paper I mentioned, and Saturday next is appointed to hear the matter, in expectation of Sir James Shaen; but if he should not come by that time they will determine the matter without him. I desire Sir James Hayes to write to his brother, Captain Hungerford, to let him know your pleasure concerning the absent officers, and I believe I shall agree with him to part with his command to Captain Floyd, having had your leave to that purpose. Major Andrews, governor of New York, was with me to make his excuse. I find the Duke is much concerned for him; I told his Highness the rule you had made, and desired to know what was his pleasure in the matter. He said the King desired to employ him again in those parts, and his desire was you should do him the favour to let him part with his command to such a person as you shall think fit, and that he may have such a compensation as you think reasonable. I have nobody to propound, but I believe you may find some young men that will be glad to buy, and may prove fit for command. I believe this rumour of war will make employments cheaper than they have been.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 22. St. James's Square.—I was yesterday sent for by letter from Mr Bertie to attend His Majesty in the Treasury Chambers. When I came I found the business to be about the representation your Grace has lately made of the difficulties objected by the Farmers against superseding the present condition by which they now act. Their petition and paper of reasons annexed, and your Grace's letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry, were all read, and Mr. Ryder said he was ready with all his counsel to reply; but there being nobody yet come empowered by the Farmers, it was put off till Saturday next. Their delay seems to be looked upon as a matter of art, and was pressed as such by Mr. Ryder, which suited with what he endeavours to possess the ministers here, that they intend to break speedily, and therefore use all ways of feigning to prevent a sudden inspection, which may hinder getting money into their hands. For this reason it was that they have over-rated the revenue, and under-rated the charge; which he was ready, as he says, to prove by particulars, that it may not be known upon what ill terms they stand. I acquainted the King and the Board that your Grace had, before I came away, required them to send one of their body over to answer and satisfy His Majesty in such things as were objected; that they had pitched upon Sir James Shaen to be their man; and that I did believe he might be now in his journey. I was asked by my Lord Treasurer to give the King an account in what posture the farm at present was, and what grounds of suspicion moved your Grace to make a late seizure, as you had been pleased in one of yours to inform Mr. Secretary Coventry, and what kind of

seizure it was. I said the rent was well paid; that your Grace, to have a nearer inspection upon them, had lately required that a weekly account should be given in every Monday morning of all the receipts and payments of the week preceding, but that I knew nothing of any seizure your Grace had been forced to make. My Lord Treasurer seemed to wonder that I should not be acquainted with a thing of that nature, to which I replied that had there been any such thing I doubted not but that I should have been able to have given His Majesty some account of it; but that I did believe I might with some confidence assure His Majesty there had been no seizure, and that there must needs be some mistake in concluding it from any passage in your Grace's letter. Mr. Ryder continues very strongly to possess the King and his servants here that not only they must break, but that they have agreed they will, that he himself was one of the council when things were adjusted in order to it, and had they not found an averseness in him to this proceeding there had been no difference between them, but that from the time they found he would not be brought in to be of the party, but that he rather proposed a naked and ingenious confession to the King of their condition and begging his mercy, Sir James Shaen (because more was to be got the other way) had designed all ways he could to exclude him, and that this was the only reason why the Commission now in question was both first prosecuted and now maintained. He adds that the first four months' profit of the farm, where they paid nothing, is all already gone, that they have not been able lately to pay their rent without borrowing money upon very disadvantageous terms, that there is an understanding between them and Sir Jo. Champante, and that it is agreed among them to hold on till they have received the hearth money and the quit rents, which in a little time will come in a lump, and then to defer a month's rent, by which they forfeit £500; and that your Grace being then not to seize till so many days after, by that time they will be possessed of a considerable sum further of the growing revenue, which, with the said hearth money, and quit rents, will by May or June be worth breaking for. This, he said, is what is resolved and settled among them, and that in the meantime what they endeavour is only to delay. This he did not then say there, but I had it from him afterwards in discourse. He then only gave in to my Lord Treasurer a paper, setting out this matter more fully, of which the enclosed is a copy. I have herewith also sent your Grace a copy of those reasons which the present Farmers gave in to my Lord of Essex against allowing my Lord Ranelagh and the other undertakers further time after Christmas last for collecting arrears.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, January 24.—I have yours of the 15th, giving an account of your safe arrival and your disposing of the despatches and letters you carried with you. I think you are not to press

for more knowledge in affairs than you find there is a disposition to impart them to you, yet it will be fit you make your court assiduously, not in the drawing room only, when everybody is there, but at the King's and Duke's rising, which besides that it is a duty (especially in an officer and person of your station in such a time) opportunities may happen and discourses set on foot wherein you may properly bear a part, or usefully take notice of them, and if you can introduce yourself (as I think you may very easily) at places and hours of more retirement, it may be of advantage; but remember, sloth and too nice a modesty can be of no use.

Mr. Secretary, in his letter of the 12th instant, gave me a large account of affairs as they then stood there; what he writ it will not be hard for you to collect from the return I have made, which is only to be imparted to my Lord Chamberlain, who is of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and was, I suppose present when Mr. Secretary was ordered to write to me.

I gave your brother the best advice and the most pertinent caution I could, but I fear his haste to be in action will transport him beyond his prudence. I am sorry my Lord Chamberlain contested so warmly and unsuccessfully for the rights of his place in a particular depending on a custom only connived at, and which therefore may be abolished whenever the King shall please to reduce his office and mine to be of less value than will possibly support the dignity of them. I know not wherein the King instanced me, or to what end; if it was that he had disposed of any places usually given by me and my predecessors, I remember none without my own consent first given to the pretender, as to Sir Winston Churchill. It is true in my Lord of Buck's height of favour I think an answer was put in by him to the Board of Greencloth, out of his turn, for a turn the Avenor had, and then the Master of the Horse makes the Avenor. But this is not to take my right quite from me, but to suspend my making use of it, which differences the case from that of my Lord Chamberlain, who by this determination, it seems, loses for ever the making of a groom porter. I have had Mas. Douglas a week with me, but he is still a greater mystery to me. The man certainly knows very much, but whether he came on purpose to declare his knowledge and do the King service, as he seems to pretend, and as the little care he took to conceal himself gives some probability to, I know not. If what he says of 445 and 342, be true 726, 91, 33, 425, 93, 58, 384, 54, 700, 720 but it seems 732, 573, 526, 32, 643, 214, 55, 440. This is a trial whether you are skilful in deciphering, else it might have been written in plain letters.

I desire you would in my name make a visit to Mrs. Gwin, and assure her of my readiness to serve her.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 25. Lisburn.—Colonel Jeffreys will give your Grace a full account of his progress in Scotland, and how affairs stand there. By what I can learn from thence, Douglas

is a mountebank and almost as great a knave as his prompter Mansel, who has treated me with so many and so great aspersions that I must fly to your Grace's justice for reparation. I humbly propose that he may be confined till I be heard, which will be as soon as I shall receive your Grace's license to repair to Dublin.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 26. St. James's Square.—In the account I gave your Grace by the last post of what I had from Mr. Ryder about the designs of the Farmers, I should have added that he said they do intend to insist upon the £80,000 due from the Undertakers, and that the chief reason why they deal with Sir James Hayes is that they may be able to possess themselves of as much money as they can get in out of the arrears due to the undertaking, and then with the money in their purse, dispute the point; if it be allowed, they have gained so much more than was within the intention of their grant; if it be not, they will make that their pretence of breaking. I but being at the Treasury Chamber this afternoon (where I had the honour to be present all the while), I found by a letter there read from your Grace by my Lord Treasurer that the Farmers do already insist on this sum. There was also part of another from your Grace read about the product of the farm, which your Grace by experienced men is informed to be such as that it will bear the rent, and further intimating a reason why your Grace has not commanded some or one of the Farmers to come for London, as was expected. By this the King, finding that none of them were yet likely to come, sent for Mr. Ryder and his counsel in, who insisted upon the illegality of the present commission being to seven; but five are allowed by the Act; the impracticability of it, since three being the quorum, the number would allow two quorums acting contrary to each other to the prejudice of the public service; and the inequality of it, those that have least or no share in the stake being by this empowered with the whole management. The conclusion was (for, the Council sitting late, I am forced to hasten, lest I should lose the post) that the Farmers should be required to disclaim under their hands any pretence to the £80,000, as being evidently not the intent of the contract; that they should pay the £20,000 further advance by such reasonable but speedy gales as might yet more save the King against those designs of breaking which Mr. Ryder has insinuated; which yet, if they did the first, that is, renounce the pretence to that money from the undertakers might be the longer; and thirdly that Mr. Pigott be added a commissioner. Your Grace will receive the King's pleasure from a proper hand. I will only now hasten to give you a short narrative of the heads of things.

Postscript.—My Lord of Ossory came safe last night to town.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 26. London.—I had on Wednesday last yours of the 15th instant, with the enclosed copies of my Lord

Granard's letter to you and yours to Mr. Secretary Coventry. I had been to wait upon my Lord Treasurer long before your letter came to me, and was very civilly received by him, but he gave me no encouragement to discourse anything with him concerning the posture of affairs in Ireland. I often meet him at my Lady Portsmouth's, where we play at the new game the Prince of Orange brought amongst us. My Lord Ranelagh is one of the set, and the chief man consulted in all affairs relating to that country. I have hitherto forborne the going to eat at any of the treating houses, and make no doubt but I shall continue so to do, though the temptation were greater than it is.

I dined this day with my Lord Chamberlain and informed him as well as I was able how matters stood with you in Ireland in relation to the revenue and the Army, and for his better instruction I shall get from Sir Cyril Wyche the copies of the papers you have transmitted concerning the Lord Ranelagh's undertaking and the present farm, though I believe it will be of little more use to him than to divert him when he has nothing else to do, for he is not admitted to the meetings in the Treasury Chamber, where all the affairs relating to Ireland are transacted. This afternoon Mr. Ryder was heard about the new commission desired by him, and I went in with his counsel, who did not need to say much for him, the King and the Duke appearing so much in his favour. My Lord Treasurer showed a paragraph of one of your letters, informing him that Sir James Shaen did not go over, and that he insisted upon the £80,000 as granted to the Farmers by their contract. After fine things said of Sir James, the result was this, Mr. Ryder undertaking to go on with the farm according to the contract, and renouncing all pretensions to the £80,000, is to have the commission now on foot vacated and a new one granted to him, Mr. Gurney, Richbell, Stanyon and Mr. Pigott, it being allowed of that the last being an assignee, and having advanced his money, he may be admitted as a commissioner. I hope this will no way endanger the breaking of the farm, for I confess I am more inclined to Mr. Ryder than the others, and should have spoken in his favour if occasion had been offered me, for I think he has reason of his side; whether or no he will abuse of the power hereafter that this commission will give I can't determine.

I had the other day occasion given me to discourse a little with His Majesty concerning the forces in Ireland, and the posture the forts were in. He said he hoped the Parliament there would enable him to repair that at Kinsale and build one at Dublin, so that your letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry is very seasonable. I am in hopes you are misinformed in that matter of my Lord Carlingford's; for he wrote to Garrett Moore, who is chiefly concerned in the management of his affairs here, and that last post, that he was very much obliged both to you and me for the favours done him in his concerns. I am sure I have not only given him the best advice I could, both in his pretensions to the pension and his business of placing deficiencies upon the lands in Connaught, but have

been his solicitor, and that with more diligence than ever I followed business of my own; and this Col. Moore has informed him. My brother, I suppose, has informed you what success he has had in his pretensions, for he told me he would send you a copy of the capitulation. My Lord Derby came to town this night, and my sister Cavendish will be here on Monday next. I had not time to write to my mother, nor indeed anything worth her trouble. My Lady Suffolk is like to die, and so is my Lady Betty Felton, and my Lord Suffolk is very ill.

AGREEMENT FOR PACKET BOAT AT DONAGHADEE.

1677-8, January 26. Lisburn.—Whereas his Excellency the Lord Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland did empower me to settle a postmaster at Donaghadee, and to agree with a fit person to maintain and keep up one packet boat well manned and fitted with rigging for that service at Donaghadee for carrying packets, letters, etc., from Donaghadee to Portpatrick, in Scotland: In pursuance to the said trust, and his Excellency's commands, I have this day agreed with Hugh Campbell, of Donaghadee, gentleman, to be postmaster at Donaghadee, aforesaid, who is to keep a well-managed packet boat to attend the service aforesaid for this present year next ensuing, and is to receive and send all packets, letters, etc., directed into Scotland, once a week, upon every Thursday at night, or Friday morning, and to speed them over with all possible diligence (wind and weather serving) from Donaghadee to Portpatrick, in Scotland, free of all charge of sea passage; or if any packets, letters, etc., either from Scotland or in this kingdom shall be sent to him oftener for His Majesty's service, signed by the Secretary of State, or any of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, or the Clerk of the Council, the said postmaster is likewise to forward them diligently from Donaghadee to the Post Office at Belfast, and also all letters from Belfast to Donaghadee. And the said Postmaster of Donaghadee is likewise to keep an account of all letters that shall be by him sent from Donaghadee to Portpatrick in Scotland; also to keep an account of all letters that shall come from Portpatrick, in Scotland, to Donaghadee, and send them to the Postmaster of Belfast, and is likewise to observe such further and other particular instructions and directions as he shall receive from the Postmaster General of Ireland or Scotland for distributing and charging postage of letters that shall come from Portpatrick to Donaghadee. It is also provided that no letters shall be charged with any sea postage between Donaghadee and Portpatrick to or fro until further order and directions from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor for the time being. And for the said Hugh Campbell, Postmaster, his pains and encouragement as postmaster and keeping a packet boat and observing and performing what is aforesaid, he is to be paid the salary of one hundred pounds ster. for one

year, to be paid him out of the Treasury or otherwise, as the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor shall appoint, from the time of his entry to this employment, which is agreed upon to commence from the fifteenth of February next, and is to have a commission from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to that effect. Witness my hand the day abovesaid. Present at this agreement—Geo. Rawdon. Hu. Campbell.

EARL OF ORRERY to EDWARD DENNY.

1677-8, January 28. Castlemartyr.—I doubt not but you know the probability there is of His Majesty's having a war with France, and I am sure you cannot but believe if that should happen that the discontented natives will be forward to disturb the peace of His Majesty's kingdom, and all his good subjects in it. We are preparing the best we can to weather such a storm should God permit it to fall on us, but in regard timely intelligence is essentially requisite, and that the County of Kerry is one of the most suspected parts, and also that I know you to be zealous for His Majesty's service, and very active and vigilant, I write this express to you and send it to Sir Boyle Maynard, with a flying seal to convey it safely and speedily to you, and to desire you earnestly and diligently to lay out for the early discovery of any designs against His Majesty's Government which may be brewing in that county, and by express messengers (whom I will pay) to give me speedy notice if anything be discovered by you which is considerable, and also to do this from time to time. Whoever you shall employ therein that shall make discoveries that are material, I will both see them sufficiently rewarded and have their names always concealed. I have several such now abroad in other parts, who have already brought me an original letter of an Irish officer in the French service, of a great family near this place, where he enjoins his correspondents to list men secretly and to assure them they shall not want money. Let me know as soon as you can what you judge is the best course to keep the discontented Irish in that county quiet, either (if it should be judged fit by my Lord Lieutenant) to demand hostages, and what hostages, or otherwise.

I write not to my Lord of Kerry, for I hear he is not in Kerry, and I pray desire Mr. Hasset, Capt. Henry Ponsonby, Mr. Tho. Crosby, my cousin, Patrick Crosby, and such loyal Protestant gentry in those parts who you know best, from me to be aiding to you herein for His Majesty's service, and do it without noise. In all this your best care and diligence is desired by, Honest Ned, your true friend and servant.

[Addressed].—To my esteemed friend, Edward Denny, Esq., at Tralee haste.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 29. London.—I believe you will have an account of the proceedings in Parliament from other hands, therefore I shall not trouble you with that. It seems, after I

went out of the Treasury Chamber last meeting, upon debating the matter concerning a new commission, the resolution was altered from what I informed you, and directions will be speedily sent to you in that concern. My sister Cavendish and her children are come to town and are all very well in health. It is so late that I must beg your pardon for the shortness of this letter. I was at cards with my Lord Treasurer all this afternoon, with whom I am very gracious.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 29 (5 in the afternoon). Castlemartyr.— I have just now received the great honour of your Grace's letter of the 26th instant. I am perfectly sensible of your Grace's unmeritable favour in it in what relates to me, and I shall long for an opportunity to assure your Grace of that great truth more significantly than my words can do it.

The post, who usually comes in hither on Monday afternoon, came not this day till five, after dinner, so that it is impossible for me to obey your Grace's commands in it so particularly as it is my duty and earnest desire to do. For the persons I had contracted with to erect the fort on the harbour of Kinsale are above thirty miles from hence, and without discoursing with them I shall not be able to give your Grace so probable an estimate as I shall be when I have discoursed them (and for whom I will send expresses) what the beginning of that good and very necessary work will require; much less shall I be able, after discoursing with them, to know what weekly will be requisite to carry it on, until I know from your Grace within what time you intend to have it finished, and what your Grace may depend on as to money to carry it on as fast as materials can be brought in place, and artists engaged to work on it. But this I judge I may say at present to your Grace, that little less than £1,000 will be requisite to set the work towards motion, for there is neither limestone at Kinsale nor fuel to burn it; the former I was necessitated, when I began the work, to send for by sea to Cork, and the latter (*viz.* culm) to bring from Wales. Good stone we can have near the place, and up the river. One large wharf I caused to be made there, and there must be some boats built and many spades, pickaxes, shovels, wheelbarrows, etc. forthwith made, and stone-hewers as well as diggers set on work, that nothing may stand still when the work begins. But of this the engineers will be best able to inform your Grace. There is one material thing which I presume most humbly to mind your Grace of. The ground in which the fort is to be built belongs now to Sir Robert Southwell. When I began it, I had his father's free consent, but I know not whether since this he may not have leased out the land or part of it, but doubtless his consent, with due consideration to him for his land, seems requisite to be had.

I will search among my papers for the articles I once signed for the complete finishing of the fort, the batteries, the houses

for the officers and the soldiers, with the arsenals and magazines, and to do all completely, even to the locks and keys; for they may be of some use to your Grace in this worthy undertaking, which if I were as able as I am willing to advance, your Grace should be served in it to your satisfaction. However, I have not failed to press my Lord Treasurer of England, both by reasons (which I think are weighty) and by my earnest desires, to incline His Majesty to order your Grace the £12,000 you have moved for to do this useful work. I know Mr. Robinson, and know him to be a very ingenious and diligent person. I have not the satisfaction to know Captain Archer, but if he were twenty times an Irishman and a Papist, yet since your Grace is confident of him, I am sure I will be the like, and assist him as heartily as if he were my brother in all your Grace's commands, and be as much pleased to have his work done exactly well as he himself can be. I am very glad your Excellency is fitting a marching train, but sorry you must do it on credit. God send your Grace may never be necessitated to use it.

My Lord Chancellor has done me the favour to let me know your Grace's resolutions in Council about excluding the markets from being (in this juncture) kept in the great garrisons, which will be a thing of great safety. God send your Grace good news out of England, where methinks the complexion of things are not so promising as it is wished they were by your Grace's, etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, January 29.—Three packets and all our packet boats are on this side, and the wind strong in the east, so that I know not when my despatches will get away, or when we shall have an account of yesterday's and to-day's work in Parliament, upon which all our thoughts are fixed, as upon that which is like to determine whether we shall be happy and safe or the most unhappy and exposed people in Europe.

Colonel Jeffreys is returned out of Scotland and says Douglas is a notorious cheat, and so esteemed by those of all sides there, and by some held to be frantic. I have spoken several times with him, and all the signs of madness I can discover in him is that he should affirm so many things and so particularly which a sober man must know would be disproved in a short time. He has drawn Maunsell into a very ill condition, for I find my Lord Granard so enraged against him, as I think he would not be but upon high provocation and proof. I expect my Lord here in a day or two, and then I shall know the particulars which I do not. I believe upon the credit Maunsell gave to Douglas he has spoken too freely of my Lord Granard, which may bring him within some article of war; certain it is Maunsell has conducted the whole matter very unskillfully and impertinently. I have ordered many companies that lay in country villages into the principal sea towns for the security of the places and the men, who, in those open

places, lay subject to surprise. This will expose the country to Tories, but that is the lesser evil. I would be glad to know what allowance of servants the officers of horse and foot have in England and how they are to appear at musters.

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE to VISCOUNT GRANARD.

1677-8, February 1. Holyrood House.—Though I have not heard from your Lordship since Sir Robert Hamilton and Colonel Jeffreys went from this, yet meeting with the opportunity of this gentleman's going into Ireland, I could not neglect the kissing of your hands, and letting you know the forces which the King called together for taming the mad fanatics in our western shires did keep the rendezvous frequently and exactly, yesterday was sennight, and there be in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew and Lanark at this hour seven thousand foot effective, and about one thousand horse at least. This force will, I hope, do the business, and when they are once forced into obedience and order, it will be the fault of the Privy Council if they be not kept from playing such tricks again in haste. Within this fortnight I hope to give you a good and particular account of all. Now I am in haste, so my dear Lord, adieu.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 1. Castlemartyr.—The same hour I received the honour of your Grace's commands concerning the fort to be erected on Kinsale harbour, I sent away two expresses for those men with whom, in the year 1671, I had contracted for the building of it, that by discourse with them I might have been able the more punctually to have informed your Grace in all those particulars your Grace required of me. Two of them came this afternoon, the rest could not be found at home. From those two I got the copy of my contract about the masons' work by the perch, whatever the quantity of the perches should amount unto, which copy I here inclosed humbly present your Grace. I found also my particular, what I had disbursed and for what; and I required them to let me know what remained thereof, after above six years giving the work for abandoned.

I here inclosed also humbly present your Grace a list of the one and their account of the other, and at the rates they account, they will take the materials in part payment, if they be contracted with for the masons' work and hewing the stone, in case your Grace will have them agreed with for all the masons' and hewn stone work according to my contract, and cheaper I think it cannot be had to have the work done substantially; and I know the men to be good artists, and very able, for they have had first and last above £4,000 of my money for building for me. The perch of wall is to be forty cubic feet, and all they use must be brought from Wales, Cork Harbour, and down the river of Rian, but water and sand.

They will be bound to keep forty able masons daily at work till the work be finished, and as long as masons can work for the weather. They are willing that the £500 to be advanced shall be lodged in the sovereign of Kinsale's hand, that they may have it as they need it to advance for necessaries, and every four hundred perch to be paid off. Besides this charge I was at already, I was put to more small expense to hew a rock fourteen deep, hewed down on the south-east side of the fort, that the cannon on the battery on that side might be planted a little above high water mark, the better to defend the harbour to the very entrance of it. As soon as ever your Grace is pleased to let me know when Captain Archer shall be here, I shall send them notice that they may meet him, and then he may agree with them or others as he shall see best.

No less than £1,000 advanced and £300 weekly, if your Grace will have the fort finished by next All Hallowtide, will serve. And they must have your Grace's orders to press masons, boatmen, quarrymen, and vessels to go for Wales, and Cork harbour, they being paid the usual rates. If this month be well employed to provide all things, I see no reason why on the first of March they may not begin their wall-work, and so have eight months together to work in, which, if money fails not, may near if not wholly make the fort defensible by land and sea. This is the best account I can give your Grace at present of this affair, and I am sorry I could not make it more exact.

I esteem it my duty to acquaint your Grace that just now an express messenger is come to me from Youghal with notice in writing that this morning a ship of that port is arrived there from Ostend, and from which it set sail this day sennight, and then all was well there. But they thought the French King was that day come to Dunkirk, because they had heard many peals of ordnance which had been fired there, and they thought it was to solemnise his entry into Dũnkirk. This I write because our merchants' late letters had said the place was besieged, and some other of their letters said it had been surprised by the French.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 5. London.—This night, about nine o'clock, three packets were sent me out of Ireland with yours of the 24th, 26th and 29th of last month, and the copies of your letters of the 22nd and 26th to Mr. Secretary Coventry, with the other papers you mention. I shall not lose time to read them over before the post goes away, and therefore can say nothing now upon what they concern. I am sorry Maunsell has run himself into such a business as no friend can help him out of if prosecuted; his way must be submission to my Lord Granard that he may avoid a trial. I have the greater compassion for him because I know all the officers of the regiment hate him, and he has little or nothing but his command to live upon. He has hitherto been a diligent officer,

but I shall never countenance an inferior officer against his superior, or go about to palliate a crime of that nature.

The Commons sat till after seven o'clock this evening upon the supply, what they have voted either Mr. Mulys or Sir Cyril Wyche will send you. The main business in our house this day was the binding my Lord Pembroke to the peace for a twelve-month.

My Lord St. Albans invited the Duke and Duchess last night to his house, where I was commanded to be, and the Duke and Duchess danced with us until four o'clock this morning. I had this post seventeen letters, besides those that came in your cover. I am glad to hear my mother has disposed of my cousin Preston to her satisfaction.

Since you tell me what you wrote in cipher is not of great importance, I will not venture the post's going away by endeavouring to decipher it to-night, but you may depend upon me so far as this cipher goes which is betwixt us, if the copies are true.

ORMOND to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.*

1677-8, February 6.—I have yours of the 19th and 29th of the last, and have nothing but my thanks to return. My son Arran, if you call to him, will show you copies of late letters from me to Mr. Secretary Coventry, which contain all I am able to say of the state of the kingdom in reference to the present conjuncture. If but a reasonable part of what the revenue yields had been applied to the use of the kingdom, as it might have been, we should have been in a better state than we are to resist an invasion or suppress an insurrection; as it is I hope to give a good account of the kingdom, if we have but a little time to look about us. I am designing the fortifying the harbour of Kinsale, and do hope out of unbegged scraps of the revenue to set to the work the next month.

My orders for preparing of a party to serve His Majesty in Scotland were from the King, and to him I can justify the expense I have put him to better than I could have done the not sending that party if they had been called for, or sending them to be a burden rather than an assistance, of either of which my Lord Lauderdale perhaps would not have been the last to complain.

EARL OF DANBY to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 8. Treasury Chamber, Whitehall.—Your Grace well knows there hath been long due to the Governor and Assistants, London, of the new plantation in Ulster the sum of four thousand pounds for the purchase of the customs of Londonderry, which was one of the debts undertaken to be paid by the Lord Ranelagh and partners; but they having about two years since humbly prayed His Majesty to take the

* This letter has not been printed in the Series of Ormond's Letters to Sir Robert Southwell in the second volume of these Reports (1st Series, i., pp. 259-308).

payment of the said debt upon himself, they being willing to discount so much out of their settled over-payments, the King was pleased to order the speedy payment of it, by two or more letters directed to the Earl of Essex, his then Lieutenant of that kingdom, which have hitherto proved ineffectual, and therefore the said Governor and Assistants have of late made very earnest and importunate applications for His Majesty's further directions, which the King is most willing to grant, thinking both his justice and service are concerned to have it cleared. Howsoever, I cannot find, upon the perusal of the state of the Irish revenue sent me by your Grace, there will be any possibility of satisfying it until the thirty-six thousand pounds advanced by Mr. Bridges be repaid, which I compute will not be until March or April, 1679, there being allowed but two thousand pounds or thereabouts a month for their repayment; but when that is completed the King is inclined to grant the payment of this four thousand pounds by a thousand pounds a month out of that fund, and the remainder may go to provide the stores, etc., as in the state is mentioned. Whether your Grace hath any objection to this way of satisfying it, or whether you can propose any other which may be more speedy and convenient is what I desire to know as soon as may be, the King being very impatient until he hath quieted the just claims of these gentlemen by settling their satisfaction one way or other.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 8. Castlemartyr.—I received last night late the great honour of your Excellency's letter of the 5th instant, and in humble obedience to your Grace's commands therein, I presume to say that, in my poor opinion, your Grace's intention of making that part of the intended fort of Rincorran, which is to protect the harbour first up, is absolutely the best, for those reasons your Grace is pleased to mention; they were the cause which made me, when I was erecting it, to resolve to begin there first; and I think one of the best batteries in Europe to command a harbour may be there made.

It was with no little pressingness that I obtained leave to keep many of the larger ordnance which I got took out of His Majesty's ships, and planted at Rincorran for their own defence, to be left there when the danger was over. It is now ten years since; and I doubt for these last five years so little care has been taken of their carriages that little of any and few of them are anyways serviceable, and I wish the iron-work be not embezzled; for so many cannon as are there now were left for a time without a guard—nay, without so much as a sentinel over them; which as soon as I heard, and that many of them which were flung out of the breaches in the fortress into the sea (at high water), where they were like to be buried in the sand, I writ to my Lord Essex about it, and got immediately his orders and a little money for Colonel St. Leger to secure them. The mounting of so many and such

weighty ordnance (though but on ship carriages) will take up much time and cost much, especially if the ironworks of them have been stolen. I therefore propose humbly to offer to your Grace whether it may not be requisite that a view be speedily taken of their condition, and an estimate made what will mount on ship carriages the culverin and demi-culverin, both at Rinncorran and in the fort and blockhouse of Kinsale (which a little will do if the ironwork be preserved), and then if your Grace judges it fit that your orders may issue for doing it for the lesser guns, as sakers and under-sakers, those may be done at leisure.

And I the rather humbly propound this to your Grace, because we know not how soon the need may be, but I know that should they be immediately gone about, yet it will require much time to do it; and though the intended batteries of the fort should not be finished ere there be need, yet if so many weighty cannon should be mounted and fitted we can at a push with cannon, gabions, and sods and earth, make it hot work for any enemy's ships to attempt destroying our own, especially if the cables I bought, and some I begged, and the boom and gins have been preserved, as I ordered they should be. An account of what round shot for the larger ordnance are at Kinsale, in my opinion, were fit to be had, and also of the cross-bar shot,—of both which I got good store out of the King's ships—that if any be wanting they may be timely cast, which I think may be done in the ironworks in those parts, and at easy rates.

I am very sorry to find, in the honour of your Grace's letter, that the Farmers are so bitterly at odds. It may ruin them and the farm, and consequently be fatal to this poor kingdom, though we should have peace continued, of which methinks by His Majesty's speech and the address of the House of Commons, there is small appearance. And yet, if a war be resolved, in my poor judgment it is strange that to all your Grace's reiterated representations of the miserable present state of this unhappy kingdom your Excellency has yet received no orders or money to put it into as good a position as your Grace can; nay, as my Lord Chancellor writes to me, the £20,000 he fears is ordered for England, out of which your Grace was to have £12,000 for a fort, at least as necessary, if not more, to England than Ireland. But I will hope when His Majesty's ministers there have duly considered what your Excellency has so fully represented (to which I have added my small mite) they will be rather inclined to send your Excellency money, than to withdraw what is here. I have yet no answer to what I wrote so pressingly to my Lord Treasurer and other friends on that subject, nor indeed could I expect any this post.

I most heartily congratulate my Lord Ossory's late happy escapes, returning from and going into Holland, and that command his Lordship has vouchsafed to accept of under the Prince of Orange; for though he highly merits a much greater, yet I hope those six regiments will shortly be made more, and

that this will be but a step to a nobler command. Such a person as the head of so many of the King's subjects will, I assure myself, gain his Lordship and those who have the honour to serve under him, great reputation, which I most heartily wish and pray for.

My Lord Inchiquin this post has written to me that he has contracted for a foot company under my Lord Ossory's command, for his brother Sir John O'Brien, and has sent in bills to pay for the victualling and transporting eighty men, with their officers. I humbly beg your Grace's authority to have them raised and transported, without which I can do nothing. I shall get him good men and good officers—they are by their contract to be sent to the regiment at Bois le Duc.

I most humbly thank your Grace for your obliging inquiry after and concernment for my poor Lord and Lady Suffolk.* I thank God my letters of the 29th January tell me she is much better of her palsy, and he of his gout. They are both very really your Grace's servants.

I have written a long letter to my Lord Chancellor about some public things; having in this too highly trespassed on your Grace's patience, for which your pardon is humbly begged.

EARL OF DANBY TO ORMOND.

1677-8, February 8. London—His Majesty has received many alarms about his revenue in Ireland, and I confess that the only comfort I have received in that matter has been from your Grace, who, I perceive, is confident that the farm is well worth the rent. Mr. Ryder will bring your Grace from Secretary Coventry divers instructions which are intended for preventing the King's loss as much as may be in case a sudden breach of the Farmers be designed; but all is left to your Grace's directions, who must needs judge better of the whole matter than we are able to do on this side. For news I shall refer your Grace to the Secretary's letters, who says he gives your Grace a constant account how things pass here, and I suppose acquaints your Grace that the King does very well approve the borrowing of £12,000 upon the £20,000 which the Farmers ought to lend, and that he would have no time lost in the applying it to the fortifications at Kinsale. His Majesty has particularly commanded me to acquaint your Grace that he will have the pension which is charged upon the Establishment to Mr. Hyde to be punctually paid to him, and the arrears, if any be in your Grace's time. I have nothing more to trouble your Grace withal.

EARL OF ARRAN TO ORMOND

1677-8, Saturday, February 9th.—On Thursday night *bm* [D. Bucks] was at *dk* [Court] attending *io* [the King] at his supper. He assures his friends that he is as well with *io* [King] as ever, knowing (though *io* [King] be *cf* [change]able) better

* Lord Orrery was married to Lord Suffolk's sister.

than any man when he speaks his heart and when not. That he has told *io* [King] how all his affairs were out of order, so that he would not meddle with them or with other men's works. And being desired by *io* [King] to make friends with *te* [Lord Treasurer], he said he could not with one whom he *yn.xo.zc.zz.ws.xl.wv.wn.* [despised] not only as an *yc.zx.yq.yb.zk.xd.wo.zp.zc.xu.* [ungrateful] but an *ys.xq.xx.yy.xb.yk.xx.xd.* [ignorant] *la* [man]. I gave him (said he) to *io* [King] as one who could tell that 2 and 2 made 4 and 2 more 6. But I did not think you would put him *xd.ui.xb.xe.wu.xo.xt.xs.xx.xq.wn.yy.zw.zo.zc.* [to rule kingdoms]. He uses *pb* [Portsmouth D.] not much better. *v* [Arlington] passed on him in the House of *krs* [Lords] some compliment on his return to *dk* [Court], to which he answered that if *te* [Ld. Treasurer] saw them speak, it would at least give him a motion. *lq* [D. Monmouth] is sorely afflicted at this progress. And all this is from *bm* [D. Bucks] his own mouth to one I dare credit.

Yesterday *as.* [Bp. of London] told me with heavy heart to the effect aforesaid, saying he looked on *te* [Ld. Treasurer] as a lost man. That all this has been brewing since those entertainments at *yx.yo.yu.xs.zc.* [Nelly's], upon which and the scenes of abuse there passing on *te* [Ld. Tre.] it seems *ce* [Ld. Cha.] did take upon him to remonstrate to *io* [King] the evil of those things. To which in substance this was the answer, that he would not deny himself an hour's divertisement for the sake of any man. That *fi* [D. of York] has with all his power dissuaded and exhorted therein, but can avail nothing. About a month since *ne* [Wm. Penn] foretold me much of this. *bm* [D. Bucks] has used arts with him, and such as he, to transform himself into an angel of light. They allow, indeed, some personal failings and immoralities still remaining. But never had any man a truer notion of this government and of the things which must make an English nation happy.

I have said enough at once for any one to frame consequences *gl.cf.ig.sz.dk.* [for change in Court]. And where it will stop (in such a conjuncture as this) God only can tell. And God direct *io* [the King] aright.*

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 12-22. Whitehall.—I received the last post three from your Grace, two of the 22nd and 26th of January, and one of the 29th. As to Douglas, we here can as little tell what to make of him as your Grace, and His Majesty leaveth him totally to your disposal, either to retain him there till you see more light, or to send him to my Lord Lauderdale, if you judge him to have told lies out of malice.

As to your long letter of the 22nd, it was read and considered of, and Sir Tho. Chicheley ordered to bring the King the list you sent him, that all may be considered of, and you supplied as soon as may be. As to your calling the Parliament, His Majesty would have you accelerate it all you can, and your

* The equivalents for the words in cipher in the original are interpolated in Ormond's handwriting.

sense is generally well approved of the whole matter—neither do I find the King unwilling that they should have their satisfaction in the point of the revenue not to be called out hither. The main thing that was stuck upon was whether it were not better to obtain from the Parliament an increase of the revenue, whether by Parliament, excise or otherwise, rather than subsidy, which some were of opinion could not be collected above two in a year, and of this my Lord of Essex seemed to doubt himself. His Majesty and all seem to acquiesce that you should have arms enough sent to arm the Nonconformists and Scotch, but not to put them into their hands till you are very much pressed.

They could not at the Committee at present resolve anything about the trained bands, but the consideration of that and of the revenue to be augmented is deferred till another meeting. In the meantime my Lord Treasurer, Lord of Essex, Lord Ranelagh, and Lord Conway are to meet and consider particularly of that point whether revenue increased in proportion will not be more feasible and convenient than the way you propose by subsidy. As soon as they have given in their report, and His Majesty taken his resolution, I shall not fail to transmit it to your Grace.

As to your proposition in one of your former of getting or borrowing money for Kinsale, His Majesty approveth mightily of it, and would have it hastened as much as may be. As to your proposition for confirming of the Decrees of the Court of Claims, some period to be put to the finding and concealment, it is doubted whether that can be done without allowing defalcations to my Lord Ranelagh and partners, who are to be spoke with upon this point. Chimney money to be regulated in the gathering is not disapproved of, but before His Majesty will give any determinate resolution he would be informed of the manner of the regulation, and how the abuses may be rectified, and yet the revenue not too much diminished. Your opinion concerning the Roman Catholics and priests was not disapproved of.

As to the not farming of the revenue, or at least to men only living in Ireland, it is a point capable of great consideration, for it is thought the revenue is easier and more profitable in farm than in collection, and if tied to be farmed only to men living in Ireland will possibly restrain the King to so few chapmen as will not be able to make the best of it, but of this nothing was concluded one way or other.

For the time of the sitting of the Parliament with you your Grace's reason answers all objections. All things go now so smooth here that I see no reason to apprehend an ill issue of this session, their only jealousy being that they shall not have a war, which I am afraid they will be welcomed with before they are ready to receive it. The French have taken St. Tobago and the forts from the Dutch, besides many prisoners and some ships—the Governor and almost all his officers blown up by a bomb that lighted into their powder.

DUKE OF MONMOUTH to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 12. Whitehall.—I have received your Grace's of the 15th of January with the inclosed petition of the clergy of that kingdom; I do not find in myself any desires to invade the rights of the Church, which I wish rather should be preserved. But the impropriations and tithes in questions were proposed to me as things belonging immediately to the Crown, and entirely in His Majesty's disposal—an evidence whereof is that some of them have been lately granted away to laymen under the great seal of Ireland, without any opposition from the clergy there. And whereas it is urged against me that His Majesty hath already bestowed those things on the Church by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and his letter of May, 1673, I shall only acquaint your Grace what I am informed, that those Acts do not reach these impropriations, which never were in possession of the Church, but always in the King, since the Reformation; and that there is a letter on my behalf of a much earlier date than '73, as you will find if you please to call for a copy of the grant made to the late Earl of Roscommon in the year 1641, which Colonel Dillon hath now the benefit of, and that was thought of so much force by my Lord Chancellor here and the Attorney General, as to give him a right to the rectories and tithes there, granted to his father and his assignees, which was the reason of my taking him into partnership with me. But after all I submit my interest to your Grace's determination, and shall expect no more than may in justice and equity be pretended to by your Grace's faithful, humble servant.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 12. London.—I had this day yours of the 5th instant, though by mistake you dated it January. If they are hereafter directed to me at large, I shall have them sooner than under anybody's cover, for I had other letters last night. Mr. Ryder, who, I suppose, is with you ere this, has brought you instructions concerning the farm. I was resolved this morning to have desired you to have sent your commands concerning Ireland to my brother, for he took it ill an application was not made to him, and I found he was not well pleased when I spoke to the King about matters now to be transacted in Ireland, though he was not well informed himself, but he resolves to go for Holland to-morrow, and therefore writing to him can be of no use.

Captain Hungerford is come to town, and says he will starve sooner than part with his command for money, now there is like to be action; he resolves very soon to go for Ireland, and he says he intends to settle with his family there.

Sir Robert Reading is very importunate still about his pretensions of being a Privy Councillor in Ireland. He thinks he has friends enough here to compass his design, but desires your leave to attempt it, since I told him he must not expect your recommendation.

I send you with this a copy of His Majesty's order concerning officers' servants. You will find that all the field officers but the colonels have no greater allowance than captains; the troops of horse consist of more men than those in Ireland, but the foot companies and those of our Army had the same number when the order was made.

EARL OF ORRERY TO ORMOND.

1677-8, February 15. Castlemartyr.—I am humbly of your Excellency's opinion that it is even a reproach to the Government and to the times we live in that the harbour of Kinsale, which is of such importance to England and Ireland, should be now to be secured. I am sure I pressed the having it done many years since, and I got the King's orders to me to begin it and did so; but to do it laid out my own money. As long as that lasted it went on, but when that ended the work did so too. I hope this £1,000, with what has been done and is yet in the place, will put things in motion, and so prepare materials and clear the foundation for the batteries to the seaward, that by the time the £300 weekly is to be paid (which I perceive begins not till the 25th of next month) the work may go on vigorously.

My Lord Chancellor has signified to me your Grace's pleasure in several particulars, for which I pay your Grace my most humble acknowledgments, as also for your Grace's favour to Captain John Bryen, who shall proceed in raising his company on what your Grace has written to me on that subject, which I take to be a sufficient authority; only I would beg your Grace's warrant or permission rather, that when they his men are rendezvoused at Youghal or Cork harbour I may have leave to have a guard of the King's soldiers to hinder them from slipping away; for if they should, it would be a prejudice not only to the captain but to the country, for such slippery companions commonly turn Tories.

ORMOND TO EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1677-8, February 16.—I am much joyed to have such an instance of your recovery as that of an obliging letter, nothing being more valuable to me than your good health, and the continuance of your favour to me. I desire always and in all things to be punctual in the performance of my promises, and more especially when passed to those I have so much affection and respect for. My Lord your brother* affords me on all occasions his advices very freely, and I make suitable returns. I have now put the direction of fortifying the harbour of Kinsale into his hands; a work no less, but, I think, much more useful to England in time of war than to Ireland. I have found means to begin that work, and hope I shall finish it. It has been twice before attempted and all the preparations upon the matter lost by the discontinuance. I hope it will have better success now; I am sure it may have if

* The Earl of Orrery.

my propositions be hearkened to. I rejoice at the hopes you give me of seeing you here so soon, and promise myself great assistance from your interest and advice; your stake here is worth the looking after and preserving. I am neither surprised nor frightened at my Lord of Buckingham's reception at Court, and if I am sorry for it I am sure it is not for my own sake. I serve a master that knows us both. Many of my despatches relating to the defence and good of his kingdom lie yet unanswered, at which I neither wonder nor murmur, things of the greatest importance that can be agitated in any time or state being under debate; when they are a little settled I know it will be considered that this remoter part is yet a limb of the English monarchy that cannot be spared without manifest danger to the body. I am at this time, I fear, falling into a relapse of the gout for want of giving myself ease and physic, but as it is unpainful, I hope it will not be lasting. Lame or sound, sick or well, I am, etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677-8, February 16.—I approve of your conduct in relation to my Lord Treasurer and your promise in the manner of it. I hope the next may give me some account of the conference, and the construction you may make of the manner of it. If anything passed or was proposed not fit to be ventured in open language, Sir Cyril Wyche, or rather your brother, will lend you a cipher. You have found the true reason why duplicates of my despatches were not sent to you, and that reason continues of force, and will do, so long as your motions must depend on the King of France, who perhaps intends not where he seems to point, and may change his designs with great facility. I suppose both your brother and Mr. Secretary will show you all they receive from me, and you may take what part you please. As soon as my Lord Granard's horse shall come to town, he and all yours but *Montagu* shall be sent over. I have many letters to write, and nothing more to say to you.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, February 16.—Though you have read, yet I doubt you have not well considered my letter of the 22nd to Mr. Secretary, for though I have proposed what can be done here to put the kingdom in a better state than it is, yet I have not said that those things would put it into a good condition, nor indeed can it be put into a tolerable one without the assistance of a Parliament. I cannot guess what information in relation to the Militia was wanting or necessary, and consequently I know not how to apply myself to give satisfaction. I am sure if the English here should know there is any difficulty made to put them in condition to defend themselves it would have very ill constructions and suitable consequences, both here and in England, which I would have you impart to Mr. Secretary, or

rather say nothing of it, because I will write on the subject to himself. Before you went I addressed duplicates of all I writ to your brother, as I should do still if I were sure he would continue there, so that I take it for granted you impart to him all that you receive. I never received one letter from my Lady Wentworth since I came into Ireland. If she has anything to command me let her send her letter to you and she shall be sure at least of an answer. I cannot assure Vernon of an employment here unless the King would enlarge his Army.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 16. London.—I was told that my Lord Treasurer, Lord Conway, Lord Ranelagh and my Lord Essex were appointed as a committee to manage all affairs here concerning Ireland, but upon better information I found their business is only to consider of the representation made by you concerning the late undertaking. The Duke of Monmouth came to me this day in the House and asked me whether I should not be glad that a battalion of the regiment under my command should be sent for to serve His Majesty in Flanders or Holland, and withal told me that it would be a considerable post for me, for I should command as colonel of a regiment of Guards. I answered I should be glad to serve His Majesty wherever he thought fit to employ me, but I thought as matters now stood it were more necessary men should be sent over thither, and that the regiment consisted of 1,120 men only, and the battalions are to be 800, and that I thought you ought to be consulted before anything of this nature should be resolved upon, but I told him my own inclinations were to go where the first action was like to be. Pray let me have something from you to say upon this matter, for I know it would be of very ill consequence and no small danger to that kingdom to send so many men away at this time; but if I should appear much against it perhaps it may be interpreted as though I were afraid of going into danger, though it is not unlikely we may have our share in that kingdom if the war happen.

My Lord Loftus carried his cause yesterday in the House of Peers against Mr. Barrett. As I had writ so far, I had brought me yours of the 10th, which I should have received last night. I have of late had the misfortune to be suspected by those friends I have endeavoured most to serve, witness my Lord Carlingford and my Lord Granard; all the letters I had from Maunsell out of the north I constantly showed to you, and took it for granted that my Lord Granard was privy to them, and if he writ any such news as that the Covenant was taken in the north, I confess I was so far from thinking his Lordship concerned that I never thought of the thing since, and therefore was not like to report it for news.

I hear all the chief officers that are to command the Army now to be raised here are pitched. The Duke of York, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Albemarle and Lord Gerard are the four

colonels of horse, the Prince and my Lord Feversham the two colonels of dragoons; for the foot it is not yet known who are to command.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, February 16. Dublin.—I have yours of the 5th and 9th, but the weather is here so bad and tempestuous that I know not when the packet will get off, and am much afraid for *Ned*, *Ludlow* and other horses of your brother's which were shipped off on the 14th of this month for Liverpool. I have, as you told me I should, received the King's directions concerning the calling of a Parliament here upon a report, or rather minutes, brought in by those Lords to whom my letter on that subject on the 22nd of January was referred. There is little material in that report, and the letter upon it, besides His Majesty's resolution to have a Parliament, and his approbation of what was proposed by me; so that his pleasure might much sooner have been known here if the report had been sooner brought in. If proportionable delay shall be of returning bills when they shall be transmitted it will be impossible to have a Parliament here before October. To prevent which delay I shall humbly propose that no private provisoes be admitted, the rather that the scope of the Bill of Confirmation will be to secure such as are in possession, whatever their title is, and this serves for an answer to *Ned Vernon*.

I do hope Sir Charles Feilding will ease me of the pains of writing the affairs of the regiment. I think you will find some companies of it removed to Kilkenny and those parts, that they may be ready to march to any part of Munster or Connaught.

His Majesty will in a few days have a joint account from me and the Council of the state of the controversy betwixt *Shaen* and *Ryder*, and their partakers, and of what is done to prevent His Majesty's damage by that civil war. The letters I writ to the Duke were all concerning Major *Russell*, of *Galway*. He is here now, ready to transport himself to receive the honour designed him.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1677-8, February 18. Dublin.—Now that the calling of a Parliament is publicly owned, all those that think themselves able to propose the best way of augmenting the King's standing revenue, or to improve the trade of the kingdom, make their applications to me; among them there are two or three, the most knowing and substantial men, that offer to show how, by a reasonable addition to the excise of ale and beer (such as will leave the brewery and retailers as great gainers as those of England, and yet not raise the price to the drinkers) £20,000 a year will come to the King, and for their reward they desire only that they may become farmers of such addition at that rate, and may have His Majesty's promise for it. The

difficulty of complying with their desire is in a covenant given to the present Farmers that they shall have the collecting of any addition that shall be made to the revenue. To this the projectors offer to farm the whole duty from them, and give them as much as at any time they have made of the old duty, which, if they should refuse, it is supposed His Majesty has them enough in his power to bring them to reason. The reason why the proposers do not desire to be named they say is because their being known to be concerned in it may lessen the credit they think they shall have to facilitate the passing of the clause; and that is also the best reason I can give for His Majesty's making any such promise to them as they desire, for there goes but little invention in proposing an addition to any duty, and as little arithmetic to cast up what that will come to. This proposal, stated as well as I can, I humbly desire His Majesty's pleasure upon.

I find all I speak with of the supplies expected from a Parliament here so far from grudging His Majesty the £20,000 he reserves to his own disposal, that I am confident he may have it augmented to £24,000, and established in an Act of Parliament to be paid him by what payment and where he pleases. But without his directions I shall not presume to have such a clause offered to him. I have chosen to write these two particulars in a letter apart, that the King may impart them to as many or as few as he shall think fit, for to me the secrecy is of no importance any further than his service may be more or less concerned in it, of which it is fit he be left to be judge.

Draft. Endorsed.—Never sent.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 19. London.—I had no letter from you last post, but in other letters I have information that it is like to go hard with Captain Maunsell. If he should be adjudged to lose his employment, I desire either my Captain-Lieutenant, or Dick Morris should have it. If you give it to my Captain-Lieutenant, I desire Morris may have his place, and my Ensign Morris his employment, for he quitted a Lieutenant's place in the regiment and chose my colours, and then you may oblige Sir Charles Derrick in making him my ensign, and my Lord Granard's son in giving him Sir Charles his colours. I left a paper in your hands before I parted from you, much to this purpose, which I desire you would cast your eye upon. I spoke with His Majesty about the reversion of the Field Marshal's employment, which he granted me yesterday, but he scruples at giving a patent, and has given order that a letter should be drawn for you to dispose of it to me when it becomes void; when that is done I mean to write a letter to my Lord Granard.

Mr. Secretary Coventry desires that when you write to him about public business, you should intermix no other things with it, for he is ordered to show your letters to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Trelawny, who sold his troops to my Lord Blessington, complains that he has received more money than he should, and desires you would see him satisfied, to which purpose he intends to petition. Mr. Villiers tells me he intends to settle in Ireland, and desires you would be mindful of him in case of new levies or regimenting the Army.

Ned Vernon desires you would make him a Parliament man in some of your towns. Pray let my mother know that I have hers of the 12th, with the enclosed paper concerning Sir Laurence Esmond, and by the next post she shall have the Duke of Albemarle's answer.

ORMOND TO EARL OF DANBY.

1677-8, February 19. Dublin.—I have your Lordship's of the 8th instant, by Mr. Ryder, with His Majesty's directions concerning him and his partners in the farm of this revenue, which I shall observe as punctually as I can in all the particulars. But where I conceive the strict or too hasty executing them may prejudice the King's service, I shall make use of the liberty given me by my instructions to represent the inconveniencies as I apprehend them, and then expect His Majesty's final determination. I did not take upon me (as I remember) upon my own judgment to be confident that the farm is well worth the rent. It is true I was, and am still, told so by men of more skill than I pretend to; but if the bargain were better than it is, the contention betwixt the Farmers, if it cannot be reconciled, must distract and spoil the management and at last break the farm. And though they should agree and manage their business never so well, yet if there shall be such a war with France as to bar all trade with that kingdom, I fear they will not be able to continue their monthly payments. And if it shall come to pass that the revenue must be put into the hands of managers or accountants, it should be considered whether fitter and more responsible men may not be found for that service than some of those Farmers are; but I cannot think of the breaking of this farm without much trouble, because I am more than doubtful the King will lose by it, and that it is not easy to foresee how much or how far the mischief will extend. All we hope is that Mr. Ryder and his particular friends and partners will propose what may carry on the farm, or make the King a saver if it should break by their means.

The fort for securing the harbour of Kinsale will immediately be gone in hand with. The only two engineers we have in this kingdom are gone to receive my Lord of Ossory's assistance and directions, and the Farmers have given bills charged on their collectors in those parts for £1,000 to provide materials to carry on the work, and they promise from the 25th of March next to furnish £300 weekly, and all without delaying or lessening their monthly payments of £20,000, which I think implies that it is to be out of the £20,000 they were further to advance.

There are other places fit to be secured whose walls and works are much ruined, but none more necessary than Galway,

the only important sea town in Connaught, where there are more Irish and fewer English than in any other of the provinces, and where an invader may soon fortify himself, and, as I am told, secure his ships. I shall have a better account of the place as soon as one of our two engineers can be spared from Kinsale.

The establishment is cut out so even to the revenue, that, though the revenue should hold as it is, yet every accidental charge must affect some part of the Establishment, and make it by so much longer before any overplus can be expected. The only expedient I can offer to your Lordship's consideration is the endeavouring to borrow from those who advanced the £36,000 five or six months of their £2,000 a month. Their bargain is said to be so good that methinks they should not stick at it, having sufficient security and ten in the hundred interest. The principal of them are on that side, and I should think there can be no hurt in the trial. I shall not fail to order the Deputy Vice-Treasurer to make punctual payment of Mr. Hyde's pension with the arrear, if any be incurred since I came over.

Extract from Letter relative to JOHN HEBDON, Envoy from the King of England to Moscow.

1677-8, February 20. Moscow.—La continuelle indisposition de sa Maste. ayant empeché que le Sieur John Hebdon, Envoyé de sa Maste. Brittanique, n'a pu obtenir aucune audience, le dit Envoyé a depuis ma derniere lettre du 13 courant trouvé bon de faire donner à sa Maste. un memoire par lequel il se plaint premièrement de son malheur de n'avoir pu avoir l'honneur de voir les lieux clairs de S. M., (comm'on parle icy) et mande après la cause et les raisons de sa venue a scavoir les offres de mediation à S. M., au nom du Roy son maistre, entre Sa Maste. de Muscovie et le Roy de Suede, pour assoupir leur differens et prevenir d'autres malheurs pour le futur, y adjoustant que sa Maste. Britanique avoit résolu d'envoyer à L'Orizont l'Este qui vient cinquante vaisseaux de guerre, avec un nombre compétent de bruleaux et autres navires necessaires proveus de quinze mille hommes pour obliger les parties combattans a une paix.

Translat et Extrait d'une lettre escrite a Muscou le 20 Fev., 1677.*

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 22. Castlemartyr.—I presume to present your Grace with a treatise of the *Art of War*, which I finished last spring, but could not get it printed off by reason of the gout till the beginning of this winter. I have two excuses for this confidence. The one is that your Grace was the first general who gave me a commission to be an officer; the other is that your Grace is the last general that I have the honour to

* The orthography of the original is followed in this transcript.

serve under, so that your Excellency has a double title to this book. Those who are not accustomed to flattery assure me that it hath met with a much better reception in England than I could reasonably hope it should, or than I fear it does deserve. I attribute this wholly to its being the first book on this subject that has been published in our language, and therefore the novelty more than the treatise itself may be liked. Those books sent me over stayed three weeks at Bristol, and I have stayed three weeks for a conveniency to send this to Dublin, which are the causes why this mean tribute has been no sooner laid at your Grace's feet.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, February 23.—In most of the sessions of Parliament I have been at, complaints were brought of the great mischief to the clothing trade of England by the transportation of Irish wool into foreign parts, and committees were appointed to prepare some remedy, but the work was still left imperfect. Since my last coming to the Government, I have endeavoured all I could to prevent that abuse, both by the issuing of a proclamation, and by causing severe prosecution of those who have been guilty of it. But after all, I find nothing can be done on this side effectually to prevent it, without something on that side be done to hinder the obtaining of false and fraudulent certificates from the officers of the Customs in England. I have therefore advised with the most skilful men here, and send you their opinion in the propositions enclosed, which, if there be a Committee of Lords appointed to take that work in hand, as heretofore there has been, you may offer to their consideration; but first it may be fit for you to receive my Lord Treasurer's approbation, because what is proposed concerns His Majesty's officers, and such as are under his Lordship's government and jurisdiction.

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING WOOL EXPORTS.

1677-8, February 23.—The mischief and prejudice done to the clothing trade of England by exporting wool from Ireland to foreign parts under the pretence of shipping it for England is great and manifest, and also the bringing from England into Ireland fuller's earth and clay, under the notion of tobacco pipe clay, which is brought as ballast; and as such it goes with the wool to foreign parts, contrary to Acts of Parliament both in England and Ireland. And this cannot be prevented here, although all care is taken for it. For though it is felony to ship any wool out of Ireland without license,* and though those that have such licenses do enter into bonds to land such wool in England, and to return certificates from the Customs Houses in England that it was landed there accord-

* See the particulars regarding wool licenses printed at the end of this volume.

ingly, yet still both wool and clay are carried in great quantities for France and Holland, and certificates obtained or procured in the names of the customers that such wool was landed in England, after which fraud strict inquiry is making, as appears by the enclosed proclamation. But so long as clay is suffered to come from England, and that such certificates can be procured, it will not be possible to prevent this mischief by anything that can be done in Ireland. It is therefore proposed that if the more effectual prevention of this mischief shall fall under the consideration of either Houses of Parliament this session, as in most sessions it has, this following expedient may be offered: That it be enacted:—

1.—That no certificate for landing wool in England shall at any time be given but in the open Custom House, and signed by the Customer, Comptroller and Searcher, and under the seal of office.

2.—That they express the name of the ship and master thereof, from what port or place she came, the quantity of wool landed, with the marks and numbers of the bags or packs, and the day when they entered and landed such wool.

3.—That such customer do not sign any such certificate but in the presence of such Comptroller and Searcher, and that they do all sign such certificate at the same time, and that it be entered in some book for that purpose to be kept in the Custom House.

4.—That four times in the year (to be expressed in such Act) they send duplicates of all such certificates under their hands and seals to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to be examined and compared with those that are brought by the merchants.

5.—That if any certificates shall be signed where the wool shall not be landed, or if they shall suffer any such clay or earth to be shipped contrary to the Act in that case made and provided, such officers to forfeit their offices and estates.

6.—That the aforesaid officers shall take an oath (to be inserted in such Bill) not to suffer such clay or earth to be shipped, or to give any certificate of the landing of wool, contrary to what is before proposed.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, February 23. Dublin.—When I sent you the copies of my last letters of the 19th, I was in a relapse of my gout, and so could not write to you with it. I think that post will have given you an account of the sentence of the Council of War against Maunsell. The truth is, nothing of that nature could be more against the obedience and respect due to a superior officer in chief command upon an expedition, or might more probably have brought him into distrust with the party he commanded. Jones has his company, and Morris commands yours. Sir Cha. Derrick makes scruple of being lieutenant to Jones, but desires rather to be ensign to you, if the ensign will quit to be lieutenant; if he will not, they must

both remain as they are, and then the lieutenancy is in dispute betwixt Paget and Lucas; but I think Lucas will carry it, though my wife interposes for her officer, and says he is valiant and diligent. Dr. Meara says that he much apprehends Major Broughton may die of the sickness he now labours under, which sure will hasten Hungerford over. If the Major dies, Morris must not take it ill if I give the company to Bradston, who is much the elder officer in this service. I would be glad to have the King's regulation there of commands and precedences in field and garrison, and especially betwixt horse and foot officers who shall happen to be garrisoned in one place; for that is first like to breed disputes, and would already at Cork, if my Lord Shannon were not Governor by special commission. Let me know all that is settled in those matters that I may conform the discipline in the Army to that in England. The letter I send you about the wool I desire may be produced as mine to my Lord Treasurer and to the Committee, if the matter is or shall be before a Committee; if it be not, and yet shall be in the House of Commons, Sir Cyril Wyche may produce it and the proposition there.

I have just now received yours of the 16th, and shall add the answer to this letter.

In Mr. Secretary's of the 9th, he says that whether a sum of money by way of subsidy, or an addition to the constant revenue, should be demanded of the Parliament here, was the only point referred to the Committee, of which I wonder my Lord Privy Seal, my Lord Burlington, yourself and Sir Cyril Wyche were not, as well as the Lord Conway and Lord Ranelagh.

I presume what the Duke of Monmouth proposed unto you was but a conception of his own, or something accidentally discoursed of, for to think of calling away any part of this Army, as things now stand, without sending at least as many in their room, and expecting that this people will at the same time give money to the King, are so irreconcilable that it cannot be the effect of a serious consideration; at least I take the liberty to think so till I shall receive it as a command from the King, and even in that case I shall presume to represent my thoughts of it before I shall dare to put it in execution. This I doubt is too severe a reflection to be shown to any but the Secretary, and I think there will be no need of your saying any more than you have done on the subject. Just now Will. Flower tells me there is little hope of Broughton's recovery, but great probability that he will die within forty-eight hours. If he does, I believe I shall give Sir Charles Feilding a commission to be Major, and justify it by Hungerford's not having seen his company these seven years, but the little time he stayed very uneasily here since my coming. When Broughton was, as he called it, put over his head, he had a pretence, such as it was, for his absence, which he has not now; for four or five of the years he has been absent. The other gentleman has scarce ever been from his post for sixteen years. Sir Cyril Wyche has obtained a reference to me upon a petition of his

to His Majesty for a pension of £500 a year, and to be put upon the Establishment from the 25th of March, 1676, calling himself Chief Secretary of Ireland, which is not his title, and alleging that some of his predecessors have had it, that many of the King's affairs pass through his hands without fees, that the perquisites are lessened, and the duty continued. None of which motives, as they may be understood, and as he seems to desire they should, are possible for me to affirm. But if they were all true in the sense suggested, it cannot be proper for me to give my opinion that it is fit for the King at this time to add to his Establishment, when what is already upon it will be too heavy for the revenue, and when that revenue must lessen and the charge increase, if there be a war; and if it be not when it is very probable the contention betwixt the Farmers will break the farm. But beyond all this, at my first entrance upon the Government, I have taken a resolution which I have not yet broken during my continuance in it, never to advise the King to add any private charge on his revenue, till it shall be able to support all the public expense of the Government.

At Sir Cyril's departure he desired a recommendation to the effect of the report he would now have me make, but I excused myself as obligingly to him as I could, and that he should now desire the same thing in effect and put me upon a necessity of doing what is not fit for me (of which I will presume to be judge), or to refuse him under my hand, I have no reason to take kindly. If he could have obtained a positive order with full *non obstantes* to all rules and instructions, I should have obeyed without reply.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 25 (received).—Mrs Gwin has commanded me to give your Excellency an account that as yet she cannot get the money due on her pension Michaelmas last, according also to the payments in Ireland, and also in all the accounts she receives she has intimations that if she will give twelve pence in the pound she may have it advanced, that is, besides the usual fees in the Exchequer. I shewed my Lord of Ossory last night one of the last letters, which he would needs have to send it to your Excellency, which had not so much started me by giving an account that it could not be paid till the civil and military lists were satisfied, but that it might be had for money more than ordinary. That experience that I have here makes me know that this is not for the King's interest nor honour, and therefore I know 'tis enough that I present it to your Excellency, and beg I may receive your commands by Mr. Mylius, who presents this to you.

ORMOND to DUKE OF YORK.

1677-8, February 26. Dublin.—Your Royal Highness' command in yours of the 18th inst. by Major Russell is obeyed, as

appears by the enclosed copy of my letter of this day's date to him, wherein I hope I have pursued your R.H. pleasure, which shall always find the like punctual obedience from me. I do not doubt but he will readily accept of the honour, unless his having laid out all his substance in and about Galway and his going from the management of it should hazard his undoing.

An army of 30,000 is quickly named, and I hope will not be longer a raising than must be allowed in a nation so universally clamorous for a war as England has been for this they are now like to be engaged in; yet if there should be a slackness in the coming in of men, I cannot tell why Scotland and Ireland might not be permitted to furnish a regiment or two each. Against Scotch I know no exception that can be taken by the most zealous [] [] they have apprehension of the Irish [] [] may in case of an invasion I [] how they can secure themselves better against them than by letting the most active and dangerous of them to spend their mettle and themselves against the French. Perhaps such a proposition may be too early now, and yet when recruits shall be necessary it may take place, I humbly beg your R.H. pardon for so impertinent a diversion from things of greater moment.

February 27.—Before my letter to Major Russell was able be sent to the post he came to town and [] of your R.H. favour to him, most thankfully accepts of the honour of the employment you are pleased to give him, for which he will fit himself the best he can, and to that end returns immediately to settle his affairs at Galway, and will make all the haste he can into England to receive your R.H. commands.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, February 26.—I have with some difficulty read your much blotted and ill-written letter of the 19th inst.; pray write your letters more decently and legibly. You have from some other the information of the changes made in the regiment, and my last tells you of more like to be by the death of Broughton. Yesterday there seemed to be some hope of his recovery, but this morning I am told Kirkham says there is no hope of his recovery, and just now Will Flower told me he will die to-day. It is not like I should outlive my Lord Granard in this Government, so that if your letters be not directed to me, and any other Chief Governor after me, it may be insignificant; and if it be, and entered in the Signet Office, there, and enrolled here (which are, I think, necessary circumstances), I know not why a grant may not pass as well and as privately. Captain Trelawnys' complaint, as you state it, is very extraordinary; you say he has received more money than he should have done. I believe he will expound it otherwise, or somebody for him. I shall be very glad Mr. Villiers may have encouragement to settle here, but there is little appearance that there will be any levies for this place when the fear is of carrying some of our Army away.

Postscript.—I have received your letter by young Rogers, but will admit of no more traffic for money in the Army, except where men have bought their employments, or may pretend to longer service in this Army than that gentleman can. If I would have permitted it to anybody, it should have been to Bromwich, who is yet alive. I shall write another letter to you about my Lord Treasurer to be shewn him. I am just now told Major Broughton is dead, and within this hour Feilding shall have a commission to succeed him.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 26.—My duty obliges me to send your Grace all I received from Scotland, which is the enclosed account from my Lord Duke of Lauderdale and his Secretary. From one Campbell, who is employed to manage the packet-boat at Donachadi (Donaghadee), I have this further relation that many in those western countries have deserted their habitations, whether upon the account of the rudeness of the Highlanders, or that they are conscious of their own guilt, I cannot judge.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 26.—I find by yours of the 16th that I express myself so ill in one of my letters, as you concluded by it that I thought yours of the 22nd last month to Mr. Secretary had propounded a way to put that kingdom in a good posture of defence without expectation of supplies. I keep no copies of my letters, and therefore can't tell how I came to mistake. I know and remember very well that I left you in such a condition that a considerable sum was necessary, either to be furnished from hence, or raised by a Parliament there, even for the very being of that kingdom, in case our now very near neighbour King should cast his eye that way. Gaunt he has already taken in two days time, and it is believed Bruges, Mons, and Brussels may be had as easily.

What I writ concerning the Militia has not, I believe, taken vent, for what was said was in the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I cannot inform you what has been done concerning Ireland since the last Committee was appointed, of which neither the Secretary nor Lord Chamberlain are named. As I informed you before, I conclude that by this time Mansell has received his sentence, for my Lord Longford informed me he was to be tried on Tuesday last. I hope you have disposed of his command, as I desired in mine of that date, that being like to accommodate several; and for George Binnion, now I hear Rolleston is provided for by the death of Sir Francis Gore, I hope you will give him the next company that falls. Sir Thomas Newcomen desires me this post to recommend him to you, that he may succeed his colonel; pray own that I writ in his behalf. Truly the man is very stout and diligent, and is of late become a great martinet, but the King told me some time

since that you should have orders to recall the northern party ; if so that design must fail.

Mr. Richard Seymour, Lieutenant to Cary Dillon, intends for Ireland this week. I am informed he was checked last muster ; pray, if you can retrieve that, favour him in it, for he is a very honest gentleman. He had to my knowledge lost a considerable sum of money if he had gone sooner, and the money he has recovered he resolves to lay out in Ireland. If the wind should hinder his getting over before the next muster, I desire you will not take the severity, since his intentions are to live and die in Ireland.

As I was sealing this I had brought me Mr. Gascoigne's of the 19th, with the copy of your letters of that date to Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary, and the computation of the duties upon wines. I will study those papers well, though I believe I shall scarce have opportunity to discourse upon the subject they treat of, the aforesaid Committee engrossing all. Mr. Gascoigne informs me that Maunsell is sentenced to lose his command, but does not tell me who is to succeed him.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1677-8, February 27.—I presume Ellis gives you notice of his delivering to me the letters you direct to him for me, and that you [do] not think it needful that I return answers to those that are only advertisements. In your last but one came enclosed a reference upon a petition of yours to His Majesty for putting you upon the Establishment for a pension of £500 a year, as some who have been in the place you are have been, and I must confess to you I am under some difficulty what report to make. My opinion is in direct terms required, and I am to declare what I think fit should be done. If I could have thought it fit for His Majesty to increase his charge before his revenue will pay the Establishment, I should not at your parting refuse to recommend your pretension. The plain truth is, when the King named me to succeed my Lord of Essex in this Government, the first resolution I took (and it shall be the last I will break) was that, directly or indirectly, I would never advise the King to remit any part of his revenue. or to add anything in any man's case to his Establishment till his revenue should over-balance it and all that should be necessary for the safety of this kingdom. I had more reason to make, and consequently to keep myself strict to this rule than any man that could have been sent hither in my place. After this I leave it to you to judge what room is left for me to serve you on the present occasion, tho' I am very really your very affectionate servant.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, February 27. Dublin.—On Monday last all the Farmers were at the Board, called thither to declare which of them would sign and seal to an instrument prepared for them,

whereby they were to renounce any pretension to the £80,000. Sir James Shaen and his party brought in a long and intricate discourse, composed, I believe, by Sir James, yet what he said being much more material than what he writ, we have given him and his friends time till Friday to set under their hands certain things they offered, and to produce some such demonstrable arguments and calculations as may satisfy us that they are able to perform what they offer. This is the state that affair stands in for the present, but I give no account of it to my Lord Treasurer or Mr. Secretary till after Friday, though Mr. Ryder is very impatient to have the commission by which they now acted superseded, for which he supposes the King's commands are positive, as indeed they seem to be, and I think at length he will have his desire. But since the disordering of all receipts and payments may follow for ought I know, I think it reasonable to consider well before I do a thing that can be done but once. I know not how I am gotten into so much of this subject, for the principal business of this letter is to let my Lord Treasurer know that in the hot contention that was before all the Council they fell to criminate each other of breach of articles, covenants and oaths interchangeably entered into and taken to and betwixt themselves. In the dispute Sir James Shaen charged Mr. Ryder with having said in the presence of several of the Farmers that if they would permit of the disposing of £10,000 at the end of Wallingford House Gallery, he would undertake to procure an abatement of £10,000 a year of their rent, and as I remember, Richbell bore witness with Sir James. Being surprised at such an assertion, which came not very naturally upon the occasion, I took no notice of it, but let it pass as foreign to the matter in hand; yet I hold it to be agreeable to the friendship and service I profess to my Lord Treasurer by you to inform him of the passage, and to assure him that if I were able to advise him as a faithful friend and servant what would be proper for him to do or not to do in the matter, I would freely do it; but since my ignorance of circumstances renders me incapable of performing that office, he shall find me ready to pursue any directions he shall think fit to give me, if he shall judge the thing worth his taking any notice of. I shall not need to tell you that this is to be imparted only to my Lord Treasurer.

ORMOND TO SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1677-8, March 1. Dublin.—I have yours of the 15th inst. containing His Majesty's directions concerning the calling of a Parliament. I am confident he will receive the fruits of his great goodness and care expressed toward his subjects of this kingdom to the uttermost of their ability, and that there will be more difficult to find what and how they shall give, than to persuade them to give. The leading bills shall be prepared with all diligence for transmission, and had been more ready than they are if His Majesty's pleasure had been sooner known.

That which is to confirm the decrees of the Court of Claims, I am told, will not be so easily drawn as was supposed. If it shall not put an end to all the fears of those in possession, and to the hopes of those that are not, it will not reach the end designed. And if it shall, many hard cases will want relief; which, if they shall endeavour to get by particular provisos, much time will be lost, and perhaps the bill upon which that of supplies will depend. We shall therefore have tried all such as shall be offered, and do hope His Majesty may think fit to do so there.

The bill of subsidies will soon and easily be drawn, if the augmentation of the revenue must not be comprehended in it; but if it must, it may take up more time by reason of His Majesty's two most necessary cautions not to overcharge trade, nor entitle the Farmers to defalcations. How to raise the revenue to the proportion proposed, that is, upon what to impose additions, and not to obstruct trade, and how to satisfy the Parliament that they shall not be kept perpetual beggars by the exportation of the overplus of this revenue (which may by the retrenchment of the Establishment be at any time enlarged) are the most difficult parts of the work.

I am for the present humbly of opinion that it will be better to raise new companies than to fill up the old. But the latter being the more frugal way, it will be hard to resolve upon the other until the estimate I am commanded to send shall be compared with what we hope to raise in addition to the revenue. How far the remitting of old debts, forfeitures and arrears will entitle the old Farmers, or the Lord Ranelagh and his partners, to defalcations, may very well be judged of where both the bargains were made, and where all pretences to defalcations have been heard and determined. Yet the judges and the King's Counsel here shall be consulted about it, but I conceive it will be very difficult to ascertain the proportion of what will be remitted till the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners shall have fully accounted, or at least given in a list of arrears standing out, which also must be done by the old Farmers, that care may be taken that no allowance be given for desperate arrears in case of remittal.

I am humbly of opinion that it will be enough that I declare His Majesty's intention to reinforce his Army to ten thousand, and keep it so till we have some more certain prospect of what may be raised to support it, and till His Majesty shall think fit to declare and ascertain what those unavoidable debts amount to which must be paid, besides the money lent by Mr. Brydges, before that part of the new revenue can be applied to the uses mentioned in the latter end of your letter.

I conceive it is not His Majesty's intention I should make any public use of the caution he commands, concerning the arming of the Scots, the Nonconformists, or the old Militia. Any distrust of the last would be very unreasonably expressed at this time, and I think not very reasonable in itself, considering the time that may be spent in the discourse of it, and preparations towards it, the care that may be taken in the

choice of officers, and the great difficulty there is in bringing it to anything serviceable or dangerous, if more pains should be taken in it than, now I know His Majesty's pleasure, I mean to employ upon it.

I am afraid I shall not be able to satisfy Mr. Ryder by my proceedings upon His Majesty's letter of the 3rd of February, and yet my inclinations are (as far as they ought to be) for him, not because I know him better, but because I do not know him so well as some of the others. The King will have that matter once more represented to him, to receive his final determination, and care shall be in the meantime taken that his revenue shall not suffer by the delay.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND

1677-8, March 2. London.—I had last night two letters from you, both dated 23rd last month, and with one of them a proclamation and propositions for this country how to avoid the fraudulent transportation of wool out of Ireland. I did intend to have discoursed at the House upon this subject with my Lord Treasurer, but he was not there this day. The first opportunity I will know his Lordship's pleasure in the matter, and have his advice whether it should be moved in the House of Commons or House of Lords first. I had some discourse with his Lordship yesterday about Ireland. He has promised to despatch with all possible speed what relates to the empowering you to proceed according to your propositions. The alarm of Ghent's being taken, and the King of France his design to besiege Ostend, occasioned a great detachment out of the King's regiment of Guards here to be sent into that place. Lord Howard, with a great number of volunteers, went up with the Duke of Monmouth, but both he and the volunteers are remanded home. What he proposed to me about having men out of the regiment is no more thought of by him, and when I asked His Majesty whether he had any intentions to send for men out of Ireland, he answered no, but he had designs of sending some there. The Duke of Monmouth desired me to write to you about Captain Chetwynd; he stays here about a week upon his occasions, and then he will go for Ireland. When the Duke of Monmouth returns I will have authentically the several stations and commands of officers in garrison and in the field.

I hear from several that Maunsell's crime was so fully proved that nothing could be said for him. I am very well pleased with the disposition you have made, as I shall be with your design if Broughton should die, my inclination being much greater for Feilding, both upon the account of friendship and that of my believing him the better officer, if you are satisfied the hardship would not be great upon Hungerford. I could have wished my ensign had been preferred to be Will Flower's lieutenant, because he parted very frankly with a lieutenant's place to be my ensign.*

* The suggestions concerning regimental promotion in this letter and in those of Feb. 19 and March 5 refer to the regiment of Irish Guards, of which Lord Arran was Colonel. See 14th Report, App. vii., vol. ii., pp. 177-247.

I very seldom see Sir Cyril Wyche, but if it be thought necessary the wool business should be brought to the Commons I will find him out and give him your instructions. I am sorry he has put so great a difficulty upon you as you mention, for I take him for a modest man.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to ORMOND.

1677-8, March 3. Lisburn.—This enclosed paper, signed by several of the leading Presbyterian ministers, drawn up by way of petition to your Grace, I received at my coming last to this country, which now I presume to transmit to your Grace, and if it be thought of moment to His Majesty's service I presume most, if not all, will sign it. My Lord, although all things seem still at present in Scotland, yet I find several persons of quality refuse the tendered bond, and that they and others are outlawed, which in my judgment has no quiet aspect if ever they find opportunity to stir, wherefore this declaration from those in this country may probably slacken their confidence there.

The companies quartered at several ports in this country are drawn off. I desired Sir William Flower to acquaint your Grace therewith, and that others might at least for some time be ordered to quarter in those places, for I expect that shoals of people from Scotland, and those not of the best principles, will land. For by what I can learn, multitudes of them are so plundered by the highlanders that they have left their habitations, and have not put plough in ground this year. As for the biscuit, I could not get it given out to the soldiers before their march, for their money began to fall short and I was necessitated to despatch them whilst they had any left to march with. If it may stand with your Grace's pleasure I humbly conceive if that quantity was still kept in the Castle of Carrickfergus, I think it not amiss, and when it grows stale they can sell it to merchants trading to the Indies, and so renew it from time to time. Your Grace's pleasure in these particulars shall be punctually obeyed.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, March 5. London.—I had last night yours of the 26th and 27th of last month, and will now begin to take pains to write with fewer blots, but for the ill sense, which I suppose is your meaning by ill-written letter, I can't promise to mend, having taken as much care of that in my letter of the 19th as the time would permit. The explanation I make about Captain Trelawny's business is, in short, that my Lord Blessington received three months' pay of the arrears due to Cap. Trelawny, which by contract his Lordship ought not to have done. I was the more careless in that matter because Mr. Trelawny told me his agent would inform your secretary particularly how the business stood.

I heard of the death of Major Broughton from nobody but yourself, and am not yet informed how all the vacancies are filled up; but I hope you have not forgot my Lord Charlemont's son. If he be provided for before Bromwich dies, I think there is one Mr. Dingley, who trails a pike in my company, will very well deserve his colours. I am very glad you have favoured Major Feilding with Broughton's employment, and am the more so that it was done in my absence; for I confess notwithstanding my great bias of affection for him, if I had been upon the place I should have appeared for Hungerford, especially since the account I gave you of what he said to me. I am also much against lieutenants succeeding captains in that regiment, at least against making a precedent of it.

I showed my Lord Treasurer yesterday your letter of the 23rd last month, and gave him the proclamation and proposals about wool, which he perused before me, and has kept them in order to advise with his officers upon them, and has promised an answer within a little while. He is of opinion that when the matter is agreed upon it ought to be brought before the House of Commons; but it is believed the bill now passing, prohibiting all French commodities, will in a great measure do the work you desire; for when we can have nothing in truck for our wool, we shall be forced to work it at home. Besides there is a clause in the bill that everybody shall wear cloth or a garment made of wool for five months in the year.

This afternoon I waited upon my Lord Treasurer at his house, and gave him your letter of the 27th, which he desired me to leave with him, and to return you his thanks for the favour you have done him in it, which he will do himself by letter either this night or next post. His Lordship, I believe, intends to show your letter to the King. He used me very civilly, and has invited me to come often to his house. He seems to wonder very much at this aspersion, for he told me if he had not singly opposed Mr. Ryder he had got £10 a year abated upon a contrived meeting with his Majesty at Will Chivers his house.

This night goes away with your authority for your proceedings in the Parliament as full an account of all the particulars you sent over as could be procured. I have not had a sight of the paper, and therefore can make no observations; all I know is from my Lord Ranelagh, who intends to go for Ireland next month, in order to be at the meeting of Parliament.

My Lord Burlington desired me to put you in mind to send a company again to his town of Youghal, now the party is come out of the north.

You sent me with your last letters two enclosed for the Duke, but not mentioning anything of them or the matter they contained, I was afraid you had mistaken, and that one of them might be for the King; but I delivered them both this morning to his Royal Highness, for whom it seems they were both designed.

I suppose it will be the middle of May before the Parliament can meet, therefore I design to go towards Ireland some time

next month, for it would be too soon to travel with a wife and children before that time, especially with a wife who had as lief go to Jamaica as Ireland.

The Duke declared yesterday that by the first of May he would be ready to go with our army into Flanders, and after he is gone one makes but an ill figure here.

We had this afternoon at the Committee of Privileges many long and learned speeches upon the manner of trying my Lord Pembroke for the killing one Mr. Cary; it was agreed that report should be made to the House, that during the sitting of Parliament a peer is to be tried by the whole House, and the King is to appoint a High Steward. About ten days hence matters will be ready for his trial.

The King has not yet signed my letter for the reversion, but I believe he will this night. I do not intend to enter it at the Signet Office until I am just going away.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, March 7.—I have yours of the 26th of the last, to many parts whereof you will find answers in former letters of mine if you keep them by you and will look over them. I confess all the part allowed you in the Irish affairs needs not the keeping copies of your letters, yet it will be of use to you to practise it even when you think the subject trivial; for without it you may be said to have written what you did not, and not to have written what you did, and if your letters be pretended to be lost there may be many affirmations against your single negative. Your business being now for yourself there, and but of little use to this place or to me here, you may take your own time and convenience for your return, only the sooner it is the better. I send you in a paper transcribed into a better hand my conceptions of the farm of this revenue, and of the contest betwixt the Farmers. My inclinations are really for Mr. Ryder, not because I know him more but because I know him less than some of the others; yet, as the matter stands referred to me, I do not think I shall be persuaded to revoke the commission unless Mr. Ryder shall this day give me better evidence than he has hitherto done that those that have the management of the farm in present have it in their will and power to break with advantage to themselves and loss to the King. At least I shall not venture upon a dangerous experiment till I shall have once more stated the matter, and represented my sense to the King, and this I think I am warranted to do by my instructions, by a clause in my Lord Treasurer's letter to me of the 8th of February, and in another of my Lord Ranelagh's of the 9th of the same, both which I send you transcribed; as likewise because His Majesty's of the 3rd of February, which seems positively to direct the revocation, takes no notice of mine of the 31st of December, nor of any of the objections therein made against the revocation, though that letter was written wholly upon that subject. But His Majesty's of the 3rd is only grounded upon some parts of my letters of

the 12th and 15th of January, occasionally mentioning that affair. But above all this, I think I may presume it to be the King's intention and pleasure that I should take the most probable way to prevent his loss in the revenue, and the inconveniencies that must attend it; and that, all things considered, I believe will be not to hazard the unhinging of the whole frame and method of receipts and payments, by superseding the commission upon Mr. Ryder's affirmation that that will not be the consequence of it. Possibly my letter to Mr. Secretary on this subject, to be offered to His Majesty's consideration, may be little more than a repetition of the substance of what I write to you, and possibly Mr. Ryder may this day offer that which may give me cause to alter my opinion; which I have set down, partly for your information, and partly to serve as a memorial to myself. Mr. Seymour shall not suffer for his absence at the last or this present muster if he arrives before the third; yet nothing but severity will serve to persuade many of the officers of this Army that any duty is to be done but getting off of cheques and receiving pay.

Though this letter of the 7th seems only to be intended for your own use and perusal, yet I wish you may find an opportunity to shew it to the Secretary, and let him make what use he will of it; as also of the copy of a letter from my Lord of Orrery to his friends in Kerry, which, together with his double diligence, his wonderful care of the English and fear of the Irish, had made all the English in those parts mad. But I think they begin to come to their wits, observing no appearance of those dangers he fancied. I desire you would shew the business part of my letter, and the paper about the Farmers, to Sir Robert Southwell.

SAME to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, March 9. Dublin.—Before mine of the 22nd could get out of the harbour, yours of the 2nd was brought me, owning the receiving both mine of the 23rd of the last. The proposition touching wool is like to come too late for the House of Commons, a bill for that affair having proceeded for there; so that if anything I sent shall prove material, it must be offered at a committee of the Lords when the bill shall be brought thither. Where any occasion shall be fitly offered, I wish you would ask the King why he may not think it fit to send one or more regiments of Scotch and Irish out of this kingdom, which might as well be spared here as easily raised if men of their own nation might have the command of them.

It is, and always shall be, my rule to prefer men who attend their charge; and do their duty, before those that do not, whatever pretence they may have to gradual succession, which is the case betwixt Feilding and Hungerford. Chetwynd, I think, never saw his company since he bought it; yet if he come in any reasonable time, that is, before Easter, his absence till then shall not hurt him. I doubt Sir Cyril Wyche will be pleased with the return I made to him on his pretension. I

believe him a very honest gentleman, and a modest man; but his pressing me so hard for the 500*l.* a year is no argument for it, but a strong one that he loves the sum.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, March 9. London.—You have by this time His Majesty's commands upon your representation, which will put you out of any apprehension that any forces will be sent for out of Ireland. When you think it time to levy the number of men desired to make up the Army to 10,000, upon notice with my Lord Derby's interest, which he has promised to make use of in Cheshire and Lancashire, I don't doubt but they may easily be had with very little advance money. Major Feilding gave me an account this post how you have disposed of the several employments lately vacant by the death of Broughton and cashiering of Maunsell, all which I am very well pleased with, especially since Hungerford is still loitering here. I told his brother-in-law, Sir James Hayes, who came yesterday to see me, that his brother's absence was the occasion (and that justly) that he was put by this employment; what he will do now I can't tell.

Mr. Secretary Coventry, it seems, got the King's hand to the letter for the reversion of Lord Granard's employment on Tuesday night last, after I left him, and sent it away unknown to me; for I desired to have writ a letter to my Lord Granard about that matter before anything of it might become public. This enclosed is to him, which I desire may be sent him, for if he is superstitious, or thinks this matter any breach of friendship, I will waive the grant.

Colonel Vernon desires me to recommend this proviso to you, which I do if it is as reasonable as he informs me it is; for he says it grants no more than what is out of dispute. But this I know you will take good advice in for precedent's sake.

There is no necessity yet to move in the matter you mention concerning your grandchild, neither do I believe there will be any. My Lord Chamberlain is of that opinion; he will send you over the news my brother writes out of Flanders.

I went this day to dine with my Lord Treasurer, and there was the cloth laid and a great table, my Lord Saint Albans, Lord George Barkley and others, expecting my Lord's coming down to dinner; and after near an hour's expectation, the cloth was taken away and word brought us that my Lord did not dine in public, so I retrieved a dinner at my Lord Chamberlain's.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1677-8, March 9.—By the hands of my Lord Chancellor I have received your Lordship's of the 22nd of the last month, and your treatise of *The Art of War*, wherein I have reason to expect great satisfaction. I hope I shall have time to profit by the reading of it before we shall be called to the practice.

I humbly thank your Lordship for the present, and for the obliging letter that accompanied it.

Our letters of the 26th of the last from London gave us great apprehensions that the quick and successful progress of the French King would have produced what he wishes and labours for with much art, and I doubt some money; namely, such a disunion and inquiry into the miscarriages which people say have so much contributed to the facility and extent of his conquests; which certainly would very unreasonably have given him opportunity to have gone far towards the completing his design. But our letters of the 2nd instant have revived us and our hopes that like such an assembly as that is, that they will first endeavour to get out of the danger the Crown and three nations are in before they fall into the examination how they came into it.

His Majesty is well pleased with the diligence used in the preparations for the fort at Rincurran, well knowing the advantage England as well as Ireland has by securing that harbour; and to the end there may be no stop in that work, I have got an assignment from the Farmers upon the collectors in those parts for the £300 a week from the 25th of this month, which I send your Lordship and desire you would send for the collector upon whom we are to depend for payment, that he may declare to you his acceptance, and undertake to comply with the assignment preferable to all other payments, and notwithstanding any further orders or revocations. By the enclosed order of Council your Lordship will see part of my reason for this caution, for if the combination (to call it by a mannerly name) betwixt the Farmers and Sir John Champante shall be proved as Mr. Ryder undertakes, there can't be too much circumspection in our dealing with them, and tho' it should not there is but so much forecast.

Anonymous Letter to SIR GEORGE HAMILTON concerning
MINES IN IRELAND

1677-8, March 12.—I do not wonder that you make no considerable advantage by your general grant of the mines of Ireland, neither can you ever expect you shall do it so long as you are not in condition to work them yourself, and that there are but few or no men in this nation so forward as to open or work them for you, this country being so much inexperienced in matters of that kind. But if you will part with your grant of the whole mines (reserving to yourself your interest in the work you now work on, and in any one or two more works where you shall think fit in Ireland, and that you let me speedily know what rate you propose to have for the said grant, I hope I may serve you in this matter to your content. And if you think fit to admit me a share in such particulars of the mines as you shall reserve (if you will part from the whole grant) I do not question but I shall serve you to advantage in the management of those parts you reserve; but if you shall not think fit to admit me any share therein, I will, however,

endeavour to serve you in the other to your content, by which you will also free yourself from the hazard of the assumption of that grant. *Anonymóus.*

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, March 16. London.—I had nothing worth the troubling you last post and have very little to say now, but I choose to write rather than be thought negligent. We had a pretty long debate in our House this day upon the address that the Commons sent us up yesterday, which I take for granted will be sent you this night. Monday next is appointed for the farther debating the matter at a committee of the whole House. Lord Essex and Lord Shaftesbury touched a little upon the ministers, but not so much as to receive a debate; but perhaps they may design to proceed further the next day. Binnion, I suppose, has written to you himself what his intentions and expectations are, and therefore I hope to be freed from troubling you any more upon his account. Mrs. Gwyn sent for me the other day and desired my advice concerning money she should receive out of Ireland. Mr. Mulys, one of your servants, is her agent in the matter; but Sir Robert Howard being not in town, I am to be informed from him, when he returns, out of what funds he is to be paid, for she could not inform me, and I don't find hers nor Sir Robert Howard's name in the list of pensioners, who she says is her trustee in the business. She hopes to have your favour when you are applied to and better instructed in the matter.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1677-8, March 17. Dublin.—I have yours of the 7th instant, containing His Majesty's directions concerning the calling of a Parliament. I am confident he will receive the fruits of his great goodness and care expressed towards his subjects of this Kingdom to the uttermost of their ability, and that there will be more difficulty to find what and how they shall give than to persuade them to give. The leading bills shall be prepared with all diligence for transmission, and had been more ready than they are if his Majesty's pleasure had been sooner known. That which is to confirm the decrees of the Court of Claims I am told will not so easily be drawn as was supposed. If it shall not put an end to all the fears of those in possession and to the hopes of those that are not, it will not reach the end designed; and if it shall, many hard cases will want relief, which if they shall endeavour to get by particular provisoes much time will be lost, and perhaps the bill upon which that of supply will depend. We shall therefore have to reject all such as shall be offered, and do hope His Majesty may think fit to do so there.

The Bill of Subsidies will soon and easily be drawn if the augmentation of the revenue must not be comprehended in it; but if it must, it may take up more time by reason of His Majesty's two most necessary cautions not to overcharge trade, nor entitle the Farmers to defalcations. How to raise the revenue to the pro-

portion proposed, that is upon what to impose additions, and not to obstruct trade, and how to satisfy the Parliament that they shall not be kept perpetual beggars by the exportation of the overplus of the revenue (which may by the retrenchment of the establishment be at any time enlarged), are the most difficult parts of the work.

I am for the present humbly of opinion that it will be better to raise new companies than to fill up the old, but the latter being the more frugal way it will be hard to resolve upon the other till the estimate I am commanded to send shall be compared with what we may hope to raise in addition to the revenue.

How far the remitting of old debts, forfeitures and arrears will entitle the old Farmers, or the Lord Ranelagh and his partners, to defalcations, may very well be judged of there, where both the bargains were made and where all pretences to defalcations have been heard and determined; yet the Judges and the King's Counsel here shall be consulted about it. But I conceive it will be very difficult to ascertain the proportion of what will be remitted till the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners shall have fully accounted or at least given in a list of arrears standing out, which also must be done by the old Farmers, that care may be taken that no allowance be given for desperate arrears in case of remittal.

I am humbly of opinion that it will be enough that I declare His Majesty's intention to reinforce his army to 10,000, and keep it so till we have some more certain prospect of what may be raised to support it, and till His Majesty shall think fit to declare and ascertain what those unavoidable debts amount to which must be paid, besides the money lent by Mr. Bridges, before that part of the new revenue can be applied to the uses mentioned in the latter end of your letter. I conceive it is not His Majesty's intention I should make any public use of the caution he commands concerning the arming of the Scots, the Nonconformists, or the old militia. Any distrust of the last would be very unseasonably expressed at this time, and I think not very reasonable in itself, considering the time that may be spent in the discourses of it and preparations towards it, the care that must be taken in the choice of officers, and the great difficulty there is in bringing it to anything serviceable or dangerous, if more pains should be taken in it than, now I know His Majesty's pleasure, I mean to employ upon it.

I am afraid I shall not be able to satisfy Mr. Ryder by my proceedings upon His Majesty's letters of the 3rd of February, and yet my inclinations are (as far as they ought to be) for him; not because I know him better, but because I do not know him so well as some of the others. The King will have that matter once more represented to him to receive his final determination, and care shall be in the meantime taken that his revenue shall not suffer by the delay.

JOHN BAXTER to ORMOND.

1677-8, March 23. Kilkenny.—Your Grace's of the 18th instant I received by Mr. Wemys on Thursday last in the afternoon,

since which time I have not failed to make the inquiry commanded by your Grace, and do find that applications have been made to all the Corporations in this county for elections in Parliament, as also for Knights of the Shire (where I believe your Grace hath the most freeholders), and have used my best endeavours to persuade men to their duty, not to promise their votes to any person whatsoever without your Grace's advice who is their landlord; which I have pressed on them as reasonable from myself, to give your Grace the respect that every landlord will expect from his tenants. And I find this city very ready to take it, as also Callan, where your Grace may recommend whom you please, and I have made some progress to bring Inistioge to it, and hope shall effect it, where Mr. Harvey Morris hath made an interest. But what will be done at Knocktopher (where the same person hath made an interest) I cannot give any account, but have employed some persons among them to inform me, of which your Grace shall have an account, as also of Gowran. The manner of elections in all the Corporations are by freemen and freeholders, and for Knights of the Shire by freeholders only; where, your Grace having the most, I have advised Mr. Luke Archer (who knows them best) to speak to them, to put them in mind of the duty they owe their landlord, which he hath promised to do without delay. I told him nothing of your Grace's commands to me, but that it was very necessary to serve your Grace therein, and that what he did your Grace should have an account thereof.

Postscript :—My Lord of Strafford is not yet come hither. At his coming his Lordship shall be received according to your Grace's commands.

MEMORANDUM OF PRESBYTERIAN DISCONTENTS IN SCOTLAND.

1. To desire a general indemnity to all persons, whether preachers or professors, nothing less being likely to allay the present discontent and remoter fears.

2. Upon this same account to demand a general liberty to all Presbyterian ministers, declaring all civil restraints taken off them, that so they may be capable of receiving calls to Kirks in all places in the Kingdom without exception, or to return to their own Kirks when they are vacant, or when they shall happen to rate. These favours would be granted upon the fairest and most obliging narrative may be, as that His Majesty compassionating the sufferings of his Presbyterian subjects in Scotland upon the account of the consciences, mainly because they cannot conform to the laws anent Church matters, and being confident not only of their loyalty but also of their affection to his person and government, therefore, etc. And the liberty so to be granted would carry ground of confidence that it may be a lasting favour, and would be simple and absolute, and without qualifications, restrictions or certifications, there being laws strict enough against transgressions in so far as the said laws shall be dispensed with.

3. It would be demanded that taking notice any more of meetings for worship in houses (except meetings of Papists and Quakers) be discharged, whereupon the ministers foresaid are very confident that meetings in open fields will of themselves cease, and they will use their endeavours for that effect. And since joint endeavours will be more effectual than these that are single, therefore, if for regulating themselves and the people and keeping them peaceable they shall meet together, they desire they may not incur hazard thereby, since meetings amongst themselves are necessary for the foresaid effect.

4. It would be demanded the proceedings against masters of schools and colleges, chaplains and pedagogues may cease, and that no universal oath be put to students, the aversion of the country therefrom appearing by the Lauriations this year.

5. It would be demanded that when any of the Kirks shall rate, which are at His Majesty's or Bishop's presentation, if the people shall desire to have a nonconforming minister, that way may be given thereto, and that in the meantime the supplying of Kirks now vacant may be delayed.

Endorsed :—This paper was given by some to some of the Council as it is reported.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, March 26. Dublin.—You may assure Mrs. Gwyn that I understand her affair here very perfectly, and that she shall be very punctually paid, whoever is not, as long as I am in this place.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, March 26.—The Earl not being altogether satisfied as to the plans proposed for the fort and batteries to be erected at Rincurran, summoned Mr. Robinson and Captain Archer to a conference on the matter, desiring them to bring the estimates prepared. The original estimate of the cost of construction of the fort being £18,800 they were of opinion that the additional amount required would not exceed £5,000, and would give a fort and defences £10,000 better than that first proposed. His Excellency's consideration of the additional works described is solicited.

Abstract.

ORMOND to EARL OF DANBY.

1678, March 30. Dublin.—I did not think what passed relating to your Lordship in the heat of a violent dispute betwixt these Farmers worth the taking any serious notice of, and yet I thought it to be agreeable to the respect I owe your place, and the service I have professed myself ready to do your Lordship, when any opportunity shall be offered to have you informed of the passage, that you might judge what might be fit to be done for your satisfaction; which I find myself obliged to endeavour as far as

it shall be in my power, not only by your late favour to my son Ossory (which I take as done to me), but by the disposition he writes to me he left your Lordship in to accept of my service and friendship, and so afford me your kindness and favour. I must confess the advantage of such a friendship is very great, if not altogether on my side. I am very remote from the place and occasions of rendering your Lordship any service, but the Province assigned me and the state I find it in are such that the disappointment of many expectations, the calling of men to strict accounts, and the keeping of others to the performance of those duties they are well paid for, will be displeasing to them and attributed to me. This may produce enquiries into my management in the Government I am trusted with, and perhaps misconstructions and misinformations of what I intend and believe to be for my master's service. In such a conjuncture I am not ignorant how useful and obliging your interposition may be to prevent early and disadvantageous impressions, that they take no place till a fair disquisition of the matter shall be allowed, that then it may appear whether private interest or discontent or the King's service is the true ground of the information. Your Lordship in your station cannot serve His Majesty well without being subject to the like necessity of dissatisfying some pretenders; but as your precautions will be more prudent, so your being upon the place will sooner afford you means to discover and frustrate such suggestions, wherein I can offer no proportionable returns—so that unless your Lordship shall give credit to my professions, or direct me how to manifest the truth and reality of them, there may be room to suspect that it is my own interest that dictates to me the subscribing myself your lordship's, etc.

Postscript:—I had almost forgotten to send your Lordship a paper brought me by Mr. Ryder, with a desire I would transmit it to you. I can bear him witness he disowned the accusation, but more warmly afterwards than at the time the thing was said, which may be attributed to his surprise.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1678, March 30. London.—We have been so long upon doubts whether we should engage in war against France that I would not trouble your Grace with bare conjectures; but now that moneys are given for a war, and both Houses have obliged themselves to continue supplies, I shall, as occasion presents, give your Grace information of what occurs of moment. The House of Commons have pressed the Lords hard to join with them in an address to His Majesty for proclaiming, declaring, and entering into actual war against the French King, but our House hath hitherto delayed it, till our alliances be more completed; wherein the States of Holland hang back most, being unwilling to bind themselves from making peace without ours and the Confederates' consent; and we are as unwilling to engage in a war without such an obligation on them, lest instead of helping them we fling away our commerce to them and put the thorn

into our foot which we take out of theirs. But I believe in a short time matters will be so adjusted between us and the French that either they will strike first if they meet an opportunity, or we shall begin with them who have used our auxiliary forces very ill of late, and keep them upon the matter prisoners though they have suffered most of the officers to come away.

The French, expecting war from us, have quitted Messina and the rest of Sicily, and come off with all their men and ships. It is fit this should be a warning to your Grace to put things in as good a posture in Ireland as you can, for though it be not so good a country as Sicily, yet 'twill be of more use to the French to divert us, and their seeing that your Grace provides for them may disappoint any intendments that ways. I wish, now their fleet is free, Sir John Narbrough may escape them till we reinforce him.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, April 5.—The Duke of Ormond having promised, at the instance of Doctor Hall (agent to the Earl of Orrery in Dublin), to consider the question of the lapsed money and the signing of the order therein, the latter nobleman begs leave to acquaint His Excellency with the history and present condition of that affair. The lapsed lands being vested in His Majesty the King, he was pleased to grant them to the two then Secretaries of State and the Earl of Orrery, and the latter duly passed his patent for his one-third share of them. On the occasion of the marriage of his eldest son with Lord Dorset's daughter, the Earl, to provide portions for the younger children of this union, undertook to settle £600 per annum (to be raised out of the lands so granted) for that purpose after his own decease. Subsequently to smoothe the passage of the Act of Explanation, the grantees above referred to consented to surrender their lands, and Lord Orrery was to receive £27,000 in lieu of his share, this compensation money to be raised by Act of Parliament. Moreover a friend of his without his leave (or knowledge even) promised a third of his third to Lord Anglesey, and this promise he had agreed to abide by. Consideration for the condition of the public revenue stayed his hand from following up his claim during some years, till Lord Dorset began to grow insistent with regard to the fulfilment of the undertaking for providing for their grandchildren. Then the matter was heard and re-heard—finally, indeed, before the King and Council, who acknowledged the justice of the claim and ordered its discharge. Lord Orrery urges that the grant was not of his seeking; that he has gained nothing by it, but has lost rather by the charges and expenses incurred in prosecuting his cause; that he stands committed to his promises to Lord Dorset and Lord Anglesey as above stated, and has no means of redeeming them if the King's order is not carried into effect; that the £27,000 he agreed to accept is £500 per annum worse than the lands originally granted; and that even the King's order has whittled down the amount of the compensation money. Therefore he asks the Lord Lieutenant to follow one of two courses—either to cause the order

to be perfected, or, should His Majesty think fit not to raise the lapsed money as provided by Act of Parliament, that his pleasure therein should be made known to him, and in the latter case that some means should be found to enable him to fulfil his promises or give him a legal discharge therefrom.

Abstract.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, April 13. Whitehall.—Since I acknowledged in a former letter the receipt of one from your Grace of the 20th of March, I have received one of the 30th which I have put into the hands of a clerk of the Council to be read there, and shall return an account of what shall be ordered upon it.

As to that of the 2nd of April I have received it by Mr. Ryder with all the papers attending it. I received it this morning and shall immediately acquaint His Majesty with it. Sir James Shaen is likewise arrived, and I suppose both will press for a hearing. As to that of the 4th instant, there is an order for a new order to be drawn up conformable to what your Grace demandeth, and indeed the Earl Ranelagh had petitioned much to the same effect. I suppose the next Council day it will be perfected.

On Monday we meet in Parliament to present our new speaker, Sir Robert Sawyer, Mr. Seymour being sick of rheumatism in the country.

Our levies go on too fast for our money, I fear, but our friends the Hollanders are not so quick as we expect them. I doubt they are not without illhumour there, What they are in Scotland you know, and what they are here I am afraid before the end of this session we shall know but too much. For all that I can see you are in the best temper in Ireland. I heartily pray yours may continue, and as heartily that ours may mend. The enclosed will give your Grace the news, and by it you will see without expecting any mediation he hath pleased to declare upon what articles he will have a peace, and if those not accepted by the 20th of May a submission will come too late. Never was so great a part of Christendom united treated to *de haut en bas* since it was Christendom, and yet the disorders and diffidencies are *everywhere* so great that I doubt he will bear it out.

I am to acquaint your Grace that though my Lord Treasurer hath returned me your letter of the 20th of March, yet he hath not given his opinion upon the main point concerning present subsidies and a constant increase of the revenue, nor any expedient how that constant revenue should be raised. I shall press the receiving a final resolution upon it. All I can say is that the acquainting your Grace with it shall not be delayed one minute after I have obtained it.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, April 20. St. James' Square.—The King and Council begin to be very sensible of the great delays the Undertakers

have used in passing their accounts and paying several sums due from them, and therefore have quickened them by some late orders, notwithstanding the opposition my Lord Ranelagh made by petition. I was this day to Mr. Secretary's to see whether letters were prepared upon them to be sent to your Grace; and finding they were not like to be sent this night, thought it a necessary part of my duty to transmit copies of the orders in the mean time. Upon passing the accounts the Commissioners will meet with some new demands, which my Lord of Essex foreseeing, and being the best able of any man to give them a full answer, has dictated to me the substance of a paper to that effect, which your Grace will receive from himself within a post or two. The demands are for interest of such money as they have passed to uses not undertaken, or as the King has stopt; for defalcations for cheques taken off; and for damages for money not brought into the Exchequer, which, as the clause is drawn, the King has covenanted all the revenue shall be, to all which his Lordship has prepared full and satisfactory answers, and will in a little time send them over to your Grace.

SIR STEPHEN FOX to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1678, April 27. Whitehall.—The office of the groom's place of the confectionary hath had a very great change. For His Majesty being displeased with their service and taking a liking to a confectionary man's service at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, ordered that Delahay and James Frontin (who did serve by months) should be quite put out, and this other confectioner, Peter de Rains, should serve him alone, with whose service His Majesty is well pleased, and commanded me to draw a warrant to swear him; which I did, and therein making him an additional servant in that office. The King did not sign it when it was offered to him by Mr. Secretary Coventry, but called me to him at dinner next day and asked me how it came to pass that I made the said de Rains an additional servant? I said that there was no vacancy in that office, to which the King answered that "I will make vacancies by turning out the others," to which I replied that his Majesty had never hitherto turned away any sworn servant. "How so?" said His Majesty, "Can I not turn away my servants that serve me ill?" To which I said no man will presume to dispute your power, but your goodness has been hitherto such as that never any sworn servant hath been put away since your happy restoration, nor can there hardly be found a precedent in any of your predecessors' times. To which the King said, "If that be the consequence of swearing servants he would have this man serve him without being sworn." And so he continues singly to serve without being sworn, and that because the King did not think fit to sign the warrant; for the fellow, tho' a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic was very willing to be sworn upon having the oaths read to him at the Board.

JAMES LANE to ORMOND.

1678, Saturday, April 27.—Ever since the Parliament adjourned we have been expecting with impatience whether the Dutch will effectually close with us in breaking off all trade with France. Sometimes they will and other they will not; yet this day some I find have better hopes of them than hitherto, and say that our ministers and all the foreign ministers are endeavouring to conclude this day something of consequence that way. Others report that the Dutch are set upon peace, and have proposed a cessation of arms to the French King in order to peace, which, 'tis said, he has yielded to, though he is either marched or marching into Flanders about this time. Somebody out of Holland is expected by His Majesty every hour. To-night, they say, the Parliament will not be adjourned, though that has been thought of. Some think the new Speaker will be sick, and the old one come in again, whom most think fittest for the post. The *aigre* prosecutors of the war in the House of Commons are very much nettled at the Secretaries who said at the opening of the session that the alliance with Holland was absolutely made, when it appears not yet concluded; most think there will be great heats at the House's meeting on Monday. The Duke of Hamilton and the rest of his faction are not admitted to come to His Majesty yet, though the narrative of my Lord Cashel's loss by the free quarter be given in. My Lords of Athol and Perth, by asking His Majesty's pardon for acting in the business of free quarter, are become suspected by both parties, Lauderdale's looking on them as deserters, and the others as spies. Some of the faction against the Court in the House seem inclined to favour the Scotch complaining Lords, and wonder His Majesty does not let 'em be heard. Abundance more of either faction, they say, are upon their way hither. I heard from one that His Majesty should say that before the late trouble, my Lord of Montrose and the Earl of Argyle, and my Lord Lauderdale and one who is now Master of the Rolls for Scotland, did meet three women fortune tellers, whom they thought witches, and had each his fortune told—Montrose that he should be hanged on a very high tree, Argyle that he should be beheaded, and Lauderdale torn to pieces of the people, and the last that he should live to see all this come to pass. This Master of the Rolls being sick like to die sent every moment to see whether my Lord Lauderdale was well, but, after recovering my Lord Lauderdale asked him how he came to send to him so often? He reminded his Grace of the speech the witches made them and that as long as he was sure his Lordship was out of danger, he could not but hope to live. They say His Majesty should tell somebody that he believed nothing that was said of my Lord, but he thought his enemies would endeavour his ruin. I heard His Majesty say not above a day ago to an officer going into Holland (who was Lieutenant-Colonel O'Farrell, nephew to Colonel Lewis Farrell, who is in the Spanish service) that he should tell the Prince of Orange, his nephew, from him, that his brother should be with him very suddenly, in order to which I believe it is that several regiments are ready to embark for Flanders.

They say that Sir R. Strickland has taken one and sunk three Turks men-of-war, and that Captain Herbert being engaged with one who had 500 men aboard, and having fought a long while, Strickland came unto his aid, and presently laid the Turk aboard, and with the loss of thirty men took her. 'Tis said that besides these five the Algerines have but five men-of-war more that are considerable left. Captain Herbert, the King says, had like to have lost his other eye by some fireworks which the Turks are expert at, but he hopes it will only be a burn.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, May 3. Castlemartyr.—I received last night the honour of your Grace's letter of the 1st instant from Kilkenny. I have very diligently read it over and over, and I faithfully assure your Grace I entirely believe what you are pleased to write to me in it, that neither partiality or animosity did or does actuate your Grace in this affair of the lapsed money.

I have often experienced that a considering person's judgment (as well as his conscience) does govern him and not he it. And, therefore, I am satisfied that it is with reluctancy that your Grace cannot persuade yourself to be of the same mind in this unhappy affair with His Majesty, with his Privy Council of England, with his late Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, with his Judges of this his Kingdom, and with the late Commissioners of the Court of Claims. For either, by all these authorities, the grant of the lapsed money has been passed, or before these authorities this unlucky affair has been more often and more solemnly heard than possibly ever yet any particular business has been, or will be again. And since I find your Grace would, if you could, have brought your own opinion to be the same with all theirs, it might be a fault in me so much as to imagine that your Grace had not heard all that has been urged on both sides, and consequently an impertinency to trouble your Grace with a repetition of it.

Only I will beg leave to say that since your Grace could not prevail with yourself to believe the money ought to be raised, I did more than hope that your Grace might have thought fit to have moved His Majesty either to have given me some compensation for what your Grace did not think fit I should receive by your orders, or at least that I might have been legally discharged from my engagement to my Lord Dorset and his family (one of which I presumed to move your Grace in by my last letter on this affair). For certainly, my Lord, after those renewed assurances of your Grace's favour to me, and the renewed assurances of my respects and service to your Grace, I could not well think that it was decent in me, or proportionate to the duty I pay your Grace, to solicit His Majesty to send your Grace new orders (for the orders already sent are not to my Lord Essex only, but to the chief governor or governors for the time being) to do that which your Grace yourself has written to me your obedience only, and not your judgment, can engage you to execute. Now, my Lord, after that declaration, in my belief it more behoves the trust

and sincerity of my professions to your Grace to do what methinks is expected from me. I will rather never myself appear again in the lapsed money business, and lose any share of it and all the expenses I have been at in prosecuting it, than reproach myself that I have put a hardship upon one to whom I have solemnly and truly professed faithfulness and service, and if I may use a word which is to me most significant, friendship also. And I assure your Grace this is not only my own intention, but I shall also endeavour to persuade my Lord Dorset and his family to the like compliance and enjoin it to my son.

And if by the spending of so much time, so much money, and undergoing so much trouble, I can convince your Grace that I am in your opinion what I am in my own heart, I shall not at all repent what I have undergone, and what I and my grandchildren are disappointed of. Such is the value I have for your Grace and such the desire I have to be esteemed as without disguise, etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, May 7. Kilkenny.—I received yours from Breda in eleven days here, which is as quick as can be expected. I do not look you should write Gazettes to me, but let your Secretary give us what he thinks more true or important than Gazettes are usually furnished with. I could not till now in eight months get so much spare time as to see this place. It begins now to look very pleasantly as your mother has ordered it, and will be little inferior to any you will see abroad, if we can compass the making of a house in some degree proportionable to the seat and what is doing abroad. I am glad my Lord Treasurer is pleased with the letter I sent him, but I have not yet known so much from himself. From him and others you will receive what passes in England as soon as I can have it here. The opening of the last meeting looks not very auspiciously. It will, I hope, mend and help the ill state the Prince of Orange's affairs are said to be in if he can get all the English to his assistance. I should think it a great misfortune to be depressed by any party in Holland. Whatever happens, I resolve to steer my old course for the few years I can expect to live in any vigour, of which, I thank God, I yet feel no great decay. But one year after the age I am at brings more than three before; and I have neither the folly to hope nor much appetite to wish I should be exempt from the rules of nature. I hope the Prince you serve at present will not measure my zeal to his service, or my gratitude on your behalf, by ceremonial applications which is not my talent, if I have any. I desire you would take all occasions to assure him of my real affection to his person and interest, which shall be manifested whenever he shall honour me with his commands. I think your mother will tell you herself that she is well, and finds this place agrees better with her than Dublin.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, May 7. Kilkenny.—I received yours of the 30th of the last here yesterday, having gotten, I think, a spare time to be

absent from Dublin, where the Council are hammering at a Bill of Confirmation, with which it is fit they should take time and good care to satisfy themselves, since the Bill of Supplies will not stay for it or depend upon it. I believe to be back in Dublin on the 11th of this month. I wish Captain Chetwynd should know that he must not expect that he will be allowed much time to find a chapman for his company, but that the next muster he will be checked, and the next after that his company will be disposed of. Binnion I have heard nothing from, but must take it for granted he thinks no more of Ireland, since what is proposed to him does not like him. What Hungerford said was very fair, but he appears not; and Captain Hale keeps not his word no more than Captain Ashburnham, who would not be forborne but for his uncle's sake, and so much I wish old Will should know. I do not like the complexion of affairs there, and therefore wish you here as soon as you can get off.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, May 7.—I this evening received the honour of your Grace's of yesterday's date. I presume your Grace's stay until Saturday will put but little obstructions to any proceedings here, though I expect very little to be done effectually without the authority of your presence. But I shall not trouble your Grace with any particulars until your return.

Your Grace proved very fortunate in taking those infamous villanies; your brisqueness upon them will doubtless clear all that county from being infested with such rascals, and give a very great encouragement to the poor inhabitants of that country to proceed in their husbandry.

I wonder much Sir William Talbot should make such a representation as your Grace apprehends. It was certainly a very disingenuous act, but I shall not make any observations upon it, though it gives a rise to very many, nor shall I pass the patent till I receive your Grace's farther commands.

I wish my son Richard might live to a capacity of serving your Grace, but in what condition soever he is I shall look upon him as a much greater villain than he yet can be if he adds ingratitude to his other demerits. But whatever the so many prove his father ever was and ever will be your Grace's, etc.

Postscript :—I doubt your Grace will not be well pleased with my Lord of Orrery's letters—not only for their length but for something else. But most men have their blind sides, and his Lordship is not without his. I shall reserve my Lord Ranelagh's letter for your Grace till your coming to Dublin. That nobleman is much to be applauded for his ingenuity, that he knows how to time his behaviour; he understands perfectly just when to seem pleased and when to do otherwise. He will not prejudice himself by indulging an unreasonable humour.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1678, May 11. London.—I did fully intend before the end of the last month to have paid my duty unto your Grace in Ireland,

in order whereunto I did obtain a command for the *Garland* for my transportation; but she having been engaged to make two voyages into Flanders with soldiers, I missed that conveniency, and the Parliament continuing to sit here longer than was expected, and that in Ireland being not likely to meet so soon as it was believed it would, I have put off for some time the making of that journey, which I shall be ready to undertake when your Grace's commands shall call upon me to do it, and would now have laid aside all other considerations if the Parliament had been to have met in June or July as it was believed it would. But some unexpected and important business lately befalling me which requires my attention, I am engaged for some time to look after it, and do hope that your Grace will be pleased to give me leave to do so. The weather grows very hot here and the humours of some keeps temper with the season. I doubt the Louvestein party in Holland grows very powerful, and will have a peace though upon very unreasonable terms. Our House have ordered those members of theirs who have not given their proxies by the King's permission to attend if they be not at a remote distance; and this day the Commons have ordered that those of their House who leave the town shall be fetched back by their Serjeant at Arms. At their committee room yesterday there happened a quarrel between my Lord O'Brien and Sir Thomas Chicheley which came to blows, and occasioned the confinement of them both to the Serjeant at Arms.

ORMOND to EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1678, May 21. Dublin.—I am very sorry any public or private occasion should deprive me of the pleasure and advantage of your conversation. Your attendance in Parliament there must, I think, be very short or very long. I hope the latter, because it cannot be without a better correspondence betwixt His Majesty and the House of Commons than their last address, and the mention made of it by the King in the House of Peers, do seem to promise. Your Lordship and I (if you will allow me to rank myself near you when age is in question) cannot possibly live over again so many ill years as we have done, nor did I believe you were very fond of eating champignons at Caen. I am sure a thatched house in Ireland or a grave anywhere will please me better than the Louvre or Palais Royal. Our Parliament here depends much on your nephew Ranelagh and his partner's accounts, and they are of themselves, or are designedly made, so intricate that it is not easy to guess when we shall have one. I am sure it cannot be so soon as the King's service will require assistance. Yet I must confess nothing can be more just, reasonable or dutiful to the King, or more fair and compassionate towards the country, than the letters I receive from my Lord Ranelagh upon the subject; and I have done him the justice to send copies of them to Mr. Secretary, that if we meet with unreasonable demands or affected delays it may appear his Lordship is not to be accountable for them, but that those who are may be found out and brought to

reason. Whenever your Lordship shall be at liberty and in a disposition to give us your company here, order shall be given for what manner of transportation you shall choose.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1678, May 25. London.—I have yours, part of the 14th and part written of the 18th. My Lord Chesterfield about two or three months since had so given himself over to melancholy that I was afraid it would distemper him, but I am informed that now of late he admits of company and has been prevailed upon to walk abroad, which he had not done since the death of his lady. I shall not fail to wait upon him before I go over and give you an account of his daughter, who has invited me down in a letter she writ to Mrs. Mason.

SAME to SAME.

1678, May 28.—I am sorry to tell you that I am afraid what I writ last to you concerning my Lord Chesterfield was not grounded upon so good information as what I have to tell you now to the contrary is. My Lord Wotton told me yesterday that one Mr. Lane, who lives within a very few miles of Bath, informed him that he is very much distempered, and that he makes his cousin William Stanhope lie in the room with him, and that he often starts from his bed and takes his sword or a pistol to defend himself against Woolly whose ghost he fancies comes to him. I am desired not to make public these particulars, for this happening only in the night it may be kept secret, but I intend to write a letter to Will Stanhope, who, I believe, will inform me of the truth.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—Our Primate* has from great health fallen into the jaundice and laboured under it for some days, and I am now told he falls into frequent fainting fits, insomuch that his friends are in great fear for him. It is in many respects of great importance to His Majesty to have in that place a man of activity and courage, which have not been such qualifications in the present Primate as his gentleness and piety. If His Majesty would make it his own choice to send the Bishop of Rochester† to us, I think he would fit the place well and discharge it with great ability, and so he would the place of Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor if the present Archbishop would change both for the Primacy, and I think he should be offered his choice. If this cannot be effected the next best choice His Majesty can make in this Kingdom is of the Archbishop of Tuam,‡ for whom I will

* James Margetson (1660-1678), Archbishop of Dublin 1661-1663; Archbishop of Armagh 1663-1678. He came to Ireland in 1663 as chaplain to Strafford.

† John Dolben, Bishop of Rochester 1666-1683; Archbishop of York 1683-1688.

‡ John Parker, Bishop of Elphin 1661-1667; Archbishop of Tuam 1667-78; Archbishop of Dublin 1678-1681.

write to Mr. Secretary and desire this proposition may now be taken notice of. If His Majesty approve of the thing he will give you leave to move it to the Bishop of Rochester as from himself, or employ any other he thinks fitter. But let me know what His Majesty's pleasure is in case the Primate should die.

SAME to SAME.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—You will receive other letters from me of this day's date by a gentleman of mine who goes to London and thence to see little James in France. I am much troubled at the condition my Lord of Chesterfield is said to be in, but am still hopeful the particulars are but discourses raised upon his retirement, because they could hardly be known unless Stanhope has talked of them, and that I think he would not do. But whatever the cause of his being in that manner is, it is equally prejudicial to his daughter at the age she is come to, and not for the advantage of his other children, for whom my Lord of Essex* is or ought to be enough concerned to enquire after them; so that if you can fall unaffectedly into any discourse with him of my Lord of Chesterfield and his children, you may perhaps find something of him and them. I think it will be found that it is not in the purpose or power of those employed in my Lord of Ranelagh's accounts to give any reasonable man satisfaction that they are just or final, for I find they are more intent to contrive delays than to prepare for accounting; but till the time limited shall be expired no representation can fairly be made of their tricks. I have yet no new application made to me in what relates to the Sarsfields; when I have I shall remember what you write of the Duke of Monmouth's declaration. I believe I shall find it necessary to make a journey into the north, especially to Londonderry, about three weeks hence, unless something from England divert me. By that time I hope some Bills may be transmitted in order to a Parliament here in October; at least it shall be put into the King's power to have one about that time if he pleases. I write at Chapel Izod, though I date from Dublin, and have left yours of the 28th, wherein if there be anything to answer you must expect till the next post.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—Yours of the 28th of the last came so wet that it was hard to read some parts of it, and so torn that it was easy for anybody else to read it as well as I; yet I think I have found out the mislaid letters and papers you suspect my Lord of Longford for—I mean the copies of them which you will herewith receive, by which you may find how desirous my Lord of Ranelagh is that all things relating to his and his partners' accounts should be fairly and speedily despatched, and that if there be any delay or other ill practice it is to be imputed to his

* Lady Essex was the sister of Lord Chesterfield's first wife, Lady Anne Percy, daughter of the 10th Duke of Northumberland.

partners and not to him, if his proceedings shall not be answerable to his professions. The time limited by His Majesty's order in Council, fortified by a letter undersigned by you, draws near, and yet I do not find that those accounts are in the readiness they ought to be, but till the time shall be fully expired it may not be just to forespeak them.

I know little of the affairs of Scotland, but many of that nation find themselves so uneasy in their own country that they come over hither in whole families, and seem to have a mind to settle here if they could find land to take. There is a post, but no correspondence settled betwixt this place and Edinburgh, at least not betwixt the Government there and here. If there were it is possible that criminal persons who fly hither might be found and, if desired, returned to answer for their crimes where they committed them.

Our Lord Primate, from almost a miraculous state of health and strength, considering his age of near eighty, is lately fallen into the jaundice, and it is to be feared he will hardly recover. It much imports His Majesty in case the good man should die to provide him an able and active successor, that Province being inhabited by the greatest and most united body of Nonconformists. The fittest man I can recommend to His Majesty in this kingdom for such a charge is the Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Parker, a man of prudence, piety and courage, of which last qualification he has given good proof—having been my chaplain all the time of the war. If the Lord Chancellor would change that and his Archbishopric to be Primate no man could be fitter for it, nor would he, I think, be a loser by it. But I doubt His Majesty would, because it will be hard to find a churchman fit to be Chancellor, and the Chancellor's place alone is so ill provided for that it is almost become necessary that the Archbishop of Dublin should be Chancellor unless one could be found that has a private fortune which he would be content to employ to support the dignity of the place. You will be pleased to move His Majesty to have it in his thoughts beforehand, for that Province ought not to be long without an Archbishop. I will no longer interrupt your divertisements at Westminster.

Postscript :—You will find by the blots I wrote in some haste. The truth is the hounds stay for me.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—You will by this bearer, Barrington, receive this despatch, which I was not willing to venture by the post, not that I am afraid of owning it anywhere, but because I do not know how it may suit with the King's desire or service that I should. If what we hear out of Scotland be true, that Kingdom is not in the posture I wish it, and I am much afraid the King will not find that all that pretend zeal to his service there will abide a day of trial. However, I am confident a good party of sure men in the north of Ireland will have no ill effect in Scotland, and that can not be well spared from hence without we have

recruits, for Tories begin to grow bold and numerous, and may in a short time, if they are let alone, arrive at the dignity of rebels, and I am assured many families and some preachers come daily out of Scotland, and you may be sure they are not the well affected. What these and their numerous brethren already planted here may do when the flower of the army is transported into Scotland may well be apprehended, and possibly the Council of Scotland may look again for the same countenance from hence which they called for the last year. This is not the only argument for His Majesty reinforcing his army here. The rest, as my Lord Chancellor said in his speech, is fitter for contemplation than discourse. I would have you to take a fit time to beg an audience of His Majesty and to show him my other letter and the proposition for recruits, and then attend his pleasure for what he will command to be returned.

SAME to SAME.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—Upon the best information I have of the state of affairs abroad and at home, and upon the best judgment I can make of them, I conclude that if His Majesty shall disband his army in England or any part of it, it will be for his service to inforce this here. It is not my part, considering the distance I am at, to enter upon a particular enumeration of the advantages that may accrue to the King and all his dominions and good subjects by having as considerable an army here as can be maintained, nor do I think long discourses on the subject very proper or seasonable. But I think it is my duty to let His Majesty know that it will exceedingly contribute to the peace and happiness of Ireland and to the safety of a Protestant English interest, and I am hopeful that I shall be able to provide for the subsistence of such recruits as shall be sent over, let them come as soon as His Majesty pleases. I am sure all my industry, credit and fortune shall be employed towards it. I choose to acquaint His Majesty with my conceptions this way by you rather than by a formal letter to Mr. Secretary, that it may be in His Majesty's choice to let the proposition fall, or to consult who he pleases in it, as the conjuncture shall direct to either; and I have put my opinion of the manner of reinforcing this army in a paper by itself, that if His Majesty shall so think fit the whole matter may appear to be the result of his own thoughts and not of mine.

Paper referred to in the foregoing letter.

That His Majesty would cause five hundred common foot soldiers to be transported into this Kingdom to be distributed into the regiments of guards and army in place of so many unserviceable men.

That he would send twenty complete well-officered companies of foot with their arms unregimented by reason of the charge of field and staff officers, unless those officers will be content to serve six months without pay.

That ten of these companies may be landed at Dublin, Drogheda, or anywhere north of Dublin, and the other ten at Waterford, Youghal, Cork, or Kinsale.

That the charge may be borne till the men shall be landed in Ireland.

That I may have notice of His Majesty's pleasure as long as it is possible before the disbanding, that I may send officers to receive and conduct the five hundred common soldiers (unless they may conveniently be joined to the complete companies and transported with them), and that I may have time to provide quarters and subsistence for them all.

Copy.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, June 10. Castlemartyr.—This letter, which gives a detailed account of the fortification works at Rincurran, Kinsale, has been printed in full in *Hist. Comm.*, Sixth Report, Appendix, p. 732.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1678, June 15. London.—I rather choose to write another letter of the same date than intermix any other business with what I have in command from His Majesty or by his orders to say to you, lest it may hereafter be thought necessary to produce my letter. At the same time that I attended the King about your proposal, I spoke to him concerning that of the vacancy now like to happen, and His Majesty gave me leave to sound the B of R,* but before I did I acquainted His Royal Highness with it, who approved of it, and withal said he would speak to him himself about it; but the Bishop excuses himself upon the account of his bodily infirmity, having been lately very sick, and being at present indisposed. He told me he had formerly some discourse with you upon this subject, and owns himself infinitely obliged to you for the favour you designed him, and with a great deal of a Speaker of the House of Commons' modesty protested he was not fit for so great a trust, and desired me to tell you (though I did not own I had anything in charge from you) that you might find a thousand persons properer than he for so great a charge; so that you must pitch upon some other, though the King was of opinion he would have accepted of it when I said it was worth £4,000 per annum, for he believed most Bishops would think that gain is great godliness. I don't doubt but whomsoever you please to recommend will have the place if the other should die.

Mr. Stanhope is lately come to town, and he assures me that all the reports concerning my Lord of Chesterfield's great disquiet of mind are false, and that although he is very much troubled yet for the loss of his lady, he goes abroad and intends to come to London at Michaelmas. But at best I am afraid that way of living will do no small prejudice to his daughter, who has nobody to converse with but his young children.

* Bishop of Rochester, see p. 145 note, *supra*.

I was desired by an old friend and acquaintance of yours to know of you whether you would part with your employment here. His proposal is to give you so much a year (and good land security) as you shall agree upon. I would not refuse the giving you his proposal, but I shall be far from encouraging or giving you my advice that you should part with it in this conjuncture.

My Lord Carbery desired me to write in his favour that he may have his creation money paid him.

My brother being lately come over I showed him your letters and acquainted him with the resolutions upon them, and would have gone along with him to the Duke, but he left it to me.

SAME to SAME.

1678, June 15. London.—On Tuesday night last Mr. Barington brought me your despatch, in which I had four letters from you all dated the 4th of this month. The next morning I waited upon His Majesty with the proposal for reinforcing the army of Ireland, and showed him your two letters which had relation to it, with which His Majesty was exceeding well satisfied, and commanded me to carry them to the Duke, which I immediately did, and His Royal Highness did also very much approve of the design; and the whole matter being left to him he commanded me to attend this day for an answer, which he gave me at the House this morning in presence of my Lord Treasurer. He commanded me to tell you that twenty companies shall be very soon sent over and that you need take no further care in the matter, for they shall be transported and sent to the places you mention with their officers, who will be contented to be without pay for the time you mention, and he has promised me to choose such officers whose dependance here shall not make them desire often licence to be absent from their commands. His Highness has your proposals in his hand, and when the men are ready to move you shall have timely notice, that you may dispose them into such garrisons as you shall think fittest for the work you design them; and for the recruits, you will also be furnished as you desire with 500 men of the best that shall be disbanded, which may be conducted by some of the officers that command the other companies, and save the trouble of sending an officer out of Ireland to command them. This is the sum of what I have in charge from His Majesty by his Royal Highness.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, June 18. Whitehall.—Since my last of the 15th instant to your Grace His Majesty hath had a debate at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and the resolution was that your Grace should make all the preparations for a Parliament. I objected the not finishing the Earl of Ranelagh's accounts, which was not only urged as an impediment necessary to be removed by you but confessed so by himself. It was answered that need not hinder your preparation, for all possible diligence should be used to expedite that; but yet I find some great ones more inclined to give him time than they lately were. To-morrow it will be

debated in the Council, but I doubt the Parliament will not rise time enough for me to have a share.

I acquainted them with your opinion how difficult the Act of Indemnity would prove, which is still left to your Grace to consider further of. *The King is much more desirous of a revenue than subsidies, and would have your chief application be to improve that to £300,000 a year, and he hath commanded me to tell your Grace you may assure them it shall all be spent in the Kingdom, and none sent over hither.* We have had a day full of debate in Parliament, wherein we of the Court have not been so successful as usually, neither do I know well how we shall thrive to-morrow, but it is like to prove a day of debate enough, and this is all the hunting I have been able to enjoy this summer. We and the weather both grow hot, and what that will produce both in our body and affairs may be very reasonably apprehended. I am very weary and so would your Grace should I write longer.

Postscript :—My most humble service to my Lady Duchess.

ORDER IN COUNCIL, 14TH JUNE, 1678, FOR THE PROSECUTING OF
LORD RANELAGH AND HIS PARTNERS.

1678, June 14. At the Court at Whitehall. Present:—The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.—Whereas His Majesty, by his order at this Board of the 13th of May last, was pleased to appoint the 10th of this instant June as the utmost day for bringing in the accounts, pretences and demands relating to the contract of the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners—And whereas it appears by a letter from His Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and His Majesty's Council of that Kingdom, dated the 31st of May last, this day read at the Board, that they had called before them the persons employed by the said Earl and Partners in this affair and enquired of them when they would be ready to bring in their said accounts, and that they made answer that they could not assign any certain day for the same. Now in regard the bringing in of the said accounts hath been long delayed to the prejudice of His Majesty's service, it was this day ordered by His Majesty in Council, and it is hereby ordered accordingly, that His Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, do forthwith cause process to issue forth in that Kingdom against the said Earl of Ranelagh and his partners for not perfecting their said accounts upon their contract with His Majesty. And likewise that the Right Honourable the Earl of Danby, Lord High Treasurer of England, do give order for their prosecution from the Exchequer here.

Endorsed :—Lord Ranelagh and his partners to be prosecuted on their contract.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1678, June 22. London.—Since my last to your Grace I have received your Grace's of the 12th instant, and shall make no use of the historical part of it, if I find not a proper occasion for it. I suppose by Tuesday's packet both Dr. Topham's and Sir Theophilus Jones' business will be despatched, for Mr. Bertie

told me this day he believed my Lord Treasurer had spoken to His Majesty about them, having had my memorial for that purpose in the top of his bundle. On Thursday a message was sent from the Lords for a present conference grounded upon a letter His Majesty received that morning from Sir Lionel Jenkins acquainting His Majesty that the French Ambassador at Nimeguen had declared that his master was resolved not to deliver up any of the towns in Flanders he had formerly proposed to restore, till the King of Denmark and Marquis of Brandenburg made restitution to the King of Sweden (his ally) of Pomerania, etc. This was imparted to the Lords by commands from His Majesty by my Lord Treasurer, with the asking their advice whether they thought it fit in so critical a conjuncture the new raised forces should be disbanded till the peace were better secured. This message the Commons had not leisure to receive that morning; but the matter being delivered to them yesterday at a conference, after two hours debate upon it, they resolved not to stop the disbanding of the army, and therefore by a message desired the Lords to proceed upon and despatch the Bill for disbanding the army. Their reasons for it were that since the States-General, after a league offensive and defensive made with them, had so unhandsomely left us in the lurch as to make a peace with the French King without making any provision for us in it, and since the Spaniard had used us no better by concurring with the States in the peace, after His Majesty had so generously put his forces into the towns to defend them against the French, into whose hands they had otherwise inevitably fallen, our keeping up our army would have no other effect than to awe the King of France and to force him to give better conditions to the Spaniard and the States, and consequently draw the war upon ourselves, by which means the Hollanders then would grasp all the trade of Europe. Upon which considerations they concluded they could not give a good account to their country for putting them to any further charge in keeping up the army, since they had already been at the expense of a million of money for only the talk of a war. Yesterday we voted £414,000 to be raised (besides the Poll Bill) for the discharging the extraordinary expenses of the fleet, the reimbursing His Majesty that £200,000 which he had borrowed (upon their credit) for the preparations for the war, and for paying £40,000, the Princess of Orange's portion. But they have not yet agreed upon the manner of raising it, for which several projects have been offered but none approved of, so that 'tis thought we shall at last have recourse to a land tax. This morning the Lords sent us down the Bill for disbanding, etc., to which they agreed with three amendments, which I send your Grace enclosed. They added further that the penalties being very severe upon the officers if they did not disband at the time mentioned in the Act, and it being impossible for them now to comply with that time in regard so much of it had been spent in the passing the Bill, for remedy of which they proposed their said amendments, to which they desired the concurrence of the Commons. This took up three hours debate, not but that we thought it very reasonable what the Lords proposed, but we found great difficulty

to comply with them, in regard if we did it, we did thereby tacitly let the Lords into the giving of money, which the Commons have always affected to be their essential privilege, and therefore not to be departed from. For this reason we disagreed with the amendments their Lordships sent us; and yet, that we may not lose so advantageous a Bill, we appointed a Committee to draw up reasons to be offered at a conference why we did not agree with them, and search into precedents and find an expedient how we may accommodate the difference, which it is thought will be a short explanatory Bill, to commence with us, for the enlarging the time as the Lords have proposed it. Thus, my Lord, I have in short given your Grace an account of our proceedings since my last, and though I have reason to believe your Grace sufficiently by this time tired, I must crave leave herein to repeat a request I desired my brother Cuffe to make for me to your Grace in my last to him, viz., that your Grace would please to give me as favourable a recommendation to His Majesty for my creation money as Earl (£20 per annum) as you were pleased to give my Lord Lanesborough, which, having met with good success, I am thereby encouraged to beg the like favour from you; which if your Grace please to grant, I shall furnish Mr. Secretary Coventry with the draft of a letter, as I also shall for making Granard a borough town to choose two members to sit in Parliament, if your Grace pleases to recommend that also to him. In the last place I am desired by Captain Edward Brabazon to beg your Grace's favour to recommend him to His Majesty for a troop of horse, in case any horse be sent from hence to increase the army in Ireland. Your Grace knows how he has suffered, and I doubt not but your Grace as well knows his devotion to yourself and family, and if there be room for your Grace to show him favour I hope you will not think him the less fitter object of it because he is recommended to you by your Grace's, etc.

Postscript:—If Will Ashburnham happen now to die His Majesty and His Royal Highness have done their parts to get my Lord Ranelagh chosen in his place. I suppose Mr. Secretary Coventry will acquaint your Grace that my Lord Essex is on Wednesday next appointed in Council to speak his knowledge of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts and his vast demand of arrears.

ORMOND to EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1678, June 22. Dublin.—Professing and intending as I do to give all the despatch I can to whatever comes properly before me, your Lordship has reason to expect I will be careful, more than in common cases, to expedite what may concern you; and if my Lord of Ranelagh, or those who act for him and his partners here, had come to me for liberty to make payment to your Lordship of anything payable by them in virtue of their undertaking, I had certainly immediately done, it and in that disposition they shall always find me. But none of them have yet come to me upon that account, and to deal freely with your Lordship (as I wish they would) I do not expect to hear from them for that purpose, because that in a list they brought me of payments

they desired leave to make, I do not remember your Lordship was mentioned; and of those that were, and who had warrants from me for payment, I have not heard of any that have been paid. I am sure many have not, so that I suspect (I ask their pardon if I do it wrongfully) that when they proposed to me to restrain any other payments than those I should give order for, it was not with a purpose to pay any, but designed for a temporary shift to answer the many persons that had demands upon them, for I have hitherto refused none, and I think they have hitherto paid none. I have given your Lordship the more trouble in stating this matter, as I take it to be that you may have more effectual orders for your satisfaction than I doubt you yet have, and that if you miss of it I may stand acquitted, being as I am most ready to serve you.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, June 22. Dublin.—I have yours of the 15th instant and shall lose no time to provide for the twenty companies. His Majesty knows that his revenue is fully charged by the establishment and will from thence conclude that the present pay of these new men must be by making the old stay something the longer for theirs, which I do not doubt but I shall persuade them to. One reason that moved me to propose the sending over of these men was that His Majesty, having resolved to reinforce his army here, it could not be done with better officers, better men, or those better armed and furnished than out of those who are to be disbanded, and have been for some time under discipline. But for the constant future support of them and the old army I depend upon these particulars:—

1. That His Majesty holds his resolution to call a Parliament here and to comply with their reasonable expectations in relation to the securing of their estates and to the improvement of the Kingdom, as also to give them no just ground to suspect that what they shall give will be diverted from the support of the Government and the security of this Kingdom.

2. That His Majesty will not charge the revenue here beyond the present establishment with any new addition.

3. That according to His Majesty's declared purpose the overplus of the revenue (after Mr. Bridges and his partners shall be repaid the money advanced by them) may be applied to the payment of the establishment, whereunto the pay of the twenty new companies is to be added.

Without His Majesty shall approve of and resolve to command the observation of these things, the sending of these men will but the sooner bring his affairs here into disorder; but in the observation of them I do not doubt but he may plentifully provide for the old and new men and for a further increase of his army, and there appears to me little difficulty in them, unless it may be in the application of the surplus after the payment of Bridges, which fund was intimated to stand charged with something else, but if that be not much it will not much disappoint the thing designed. It is fit you lose no time in acquainting the King, the Duke and my Lord Treasurer with this letter, that His Majesty's sense of it and pleasure upon it may be known.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1678, June 22. London.—The two thousand men intended for Ireland with their officers and the recruits were named and once ordered to march, but that order is countermanded for a time upon the French King's refusing the peace with Holland unless the places taken from the King of Swedland be restored. I dined this day with my Lord Chamberlain, who desired me to excuse his not writing this post, being a little troubled with the gout in his writing hand, and to tell you from him that the public news will inform you all that is necessary for you to know since his last letter, only that he believes we shall have a war with France yet, if the Dutch will join, and not otherwise.

My Lord Essex is appointed on Thursday next to be heard against my Lord Ranelagh, at a committee appointed for that purpose, and this post or the next you will have a letter concerning Mr. Ryder and Sir James Shaen, etc., referring the whole matter in difference to you, as Mr. Ryder informs me.

My Lord Chamberlain informed me that Sir John Duncoms' pension is stopped, though he had it granted with a clause that no suspension should be upon it.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, June 22. Dublin.—My answer to a former letter of yours upon the same subject of that of the 15th from London gives you my sense of your affairs in reference to Holland and is conformable to what you have hitherto done, for certainly there being no action in prospect, and there being some doubt whether the troops you command will stand or be cashiered, the best place you can attend the event is where your duty calls you. I am yet of opinion that if a considerable body of the King's subjects shall be kept on foot it may be proper enough for you to accept the command of them, His Majesty and the Duke approving of it; that is if your so doing do not engage you in expense beyond what the employment will leave. But no full judgment can be made till you see what is done and what you may expect in Holland. Your brother has informed you of what relates to the affairs of this place, which now are taken notice of at the Council Board, and therefore you should do well to be frequently there. I am sorry Sir Robert Carr is fallen into the King's displeasure because I think him a worthy gentleman, and that it cannot but trouble my Lord Chamberlain, to whom I have nothing to say, and am therefore not willing to trouble him with empty letters.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, June 22. Dublin.—As long as the matter of sending men to reinforce the army here shall be in agitation, it is like you will receive two letters a post from me on the same subject. My other letter of this date you will soon find is to be offered to His Majesty, the Duke and my Lord Treasurer. If it should be

looked upon as a retraction because I seem to add conditions not contained in my first proposition, it will easily occur to you to answer that though they were not expressed they must necessarily have been supposed; for nothing can be expected from a Parliament that shall not be satisfied that they shall be safe in their properties, encouraged to improve, and in some measure assured that what they give is like to be spent amongst them and to keep them in peace. But if any great sum be charged on the overplus after the payment of Bridges, it will exceedingly dishearten and discompose all here, and therefore, though it be fit to know the worst, yet I am afraid to ask how it stands or to press to know it, having once written to Mr. Secretary Coventry about it and had no answer.

EARL OF DANBY to ORMOND.

1678, June 25. Treasury Chambers, Whitehall.—His Majesty upon hearing what was offered by Sir James Shaen and Mr. Ryder at the Treasury Chambers before him the 17th of the last month, did think it convenient for the security of his revenue and safety of those who are most concerned in this present farm to change the hands by *taking advantage of the forfeiture which they had made of their grant*, and so be rid of these men and all their unjust pretences, provided it might be done without any loss to His Majesty. In order thereunto Mr. Ryder was directed to deliver in an account of the advance money as it now stands and see whether good men could not be found to undertake the same. *In the meanwhile direction was given by His Majesty that no money should be drawn out but for payment of His Majesty's rent and real charges of the management*, for notwithstanding your Grace had taken care to secure the revenue that it might not be diverted from the uses designed by the grant, yet it was alleged that the Farmers did on pretence of salaries, interest and poundage draw out and dispose of several sums of money, though in truth there is but little of the interest money due to them, who have now got the disposal of the whole in their hands.

On Saturday last His Majesty did again take this matter under consideration, and the proposals that were offered by one Mr. Heron, in order to a new farm (a copy whereof you have here inclosed). *But your Grace's letter produced by Secretary Coventry did in a great measure hinder His Majesty from proceeding thereon, because you therein seem to not doubt the Farmers' performance for the time to come*, and by the certificate which they procured from the Pells they make it appear that they have paid their rent for the time past, which certificate is dated the 28th of May and takes in only April rent, when in two days (their utmost days of grace allowed them) there is twenty thousand pounds more to pay; with which Mr. Ryder being acquainted does say that it is usual with them to make up their rent by assignments, *though the collectors have at that time no money on their hands*, but are forced to pay the same out of the growing revenue; to prevent which for the time to come direction is given that the Vice-Treasurer should call for the assignments, so that they may become

payments within their days of grace. And that had they paid in the whole proceeds of the revenue they might by that time have paid not only April but within three thousand pounds of May rent, and yet must run in arrear before the last of September above forty four thousand pounds; to prove which he offered a computation of their monthly receipts and payments taken from the last year's produce, from which though no certain account can be made, yet may the first three months thereof be compared with the real produce of this quarter ending the 24th of this month, to see whether it exceeds or falls short thereof, and from that and the last year's produce make a near guess at the rest. And it is further alleged by Mr. Ryder that in case they have been forced to make use of the produce of May month to pay April rent, *as by that certificate appears*, they are twenty thousand pounds worse than he imagined, and must by the last of September owe (instead of £44,000) sixty four thousand pounds, for which and the month's rent allowed them for days of grace His Majesty has in advance money but thirty eight thousand seven hundred and forty eight pounds, twelve shillings, eight pence security, the rest being paid out of his own revenue. If this be so it will be high time for His Majesty to look about him and prevent that loss which he must then sustain by their failure.

Wherefore His Majesty does desire that your Grace would fully inform yourself in this matter and inquire from the Commissioners of Inspection a true state of the Farmers' condition, viz., what solvent arrear there is standing out in the country to answer the three months allowed them in the beginning of their farm? What rent they have actually paid in money and assignments, and what remains unpaid to the last of their works? And what cash there is in their collector's hands (over and above the running assignment) to answer the same, which may be taken out of the collectors for the present quarter? This being done it will be no hard matter to make a near guess what the revenue these summer months will fall short of the rent. And then upon the whole matter His Majesty desires your Grace's opinion whether you think it best for him to continue the present grant or accept of the new proposals. And, if His Majesty should think fit to continue the present grant, whether you think Sir James Shaen and his party, or Mr. Ryder and his friends, the best security and safest hands for His Majesty to entrust with his revenue; *for it is concluded on all hands that this commission is contrary to the whole body of His Majesty's grant, as well as the law of that land, and that no officer in the Kingdom has a legal authority to act by.*

It is certainly high time that this matter were settled one way or other, for while this difference lasts the revenue must suffer for want of management. Wherefore His Majesty desires your Grace's speedy answer and opinion to what is now remitted to you.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, June 27. Dublin.—I had none from you with the letters of the 18th; others had notice in theirs of the twenty companies to

be sent hither—particularly Stradling's Lieut.-Coll. tells Jeffreys he is to be one. Mr. Secretary Coventry writes nothing to me of it, so that I suppose it was not spoken of at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, or perhaps the warmth of debates in the House of Commons puts it out of his head; we are in great expectation, and not without apprehension of the conclusion of those heats and of the counsels that will be taken upon them.

I cannot imagine what old friend and acquaintance of mine it was that desired you to make the proposition you mentioned in your last—if you mean by old an aged man, I can think of none but one that sold a place some few years since.* The proposition may perhaps meet well enough with the conjuncture and with my conveniency, but I can say nothing to it till I know the person, therefore if the caution be necessary let me have his name in cipher.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1678, June 29. London.—I had yesterday your two letters of the 22nd instant, but the King and the Duke were gone to Windsor, and this day they had a review upon Hounslo' Heath of a great part of the new raised men. They made up, with two squadrons and two battalions of the guards, about 10,000 men. They were all very well clad and most of them very promising men. The dragoons and grenadiers were but indifferently horsed; the rest of the horsemen were very well mounted. The King will come back so late that I shall not have an opportunity to show him your letter this night; but on Monday at the House, I believe I may find the Duke, His Majesty and Lord Treasurer together, and that will be in my opinion the properest time to show him your letter, and I don't doubt but I shall give you a satisfactory answer; for I ventured, knowing how the revenue is charged already, to inform His Majesty before I received these letters that I believed you depended upon what the Parliament would give and the overplus money, when Bridges his contract is satisfied, for the subsistence of the forces you desired should be sent over, and told the same thing to His Royal Highness. I never knew before that anything was charged upon the overplus fund, and I confess I went very much alarmed immediately to the Secretary's to know how that matter stood, but he was gone to his lodge; for I took it for granted by some letters I had formerly from you that the King had granted that fund entirely for this or the like use.

The army is not to be disbanded here at soonest until the latter end of next month, as you will find by the proceedings of Parliament, so that your charge will not come so soon upon you as you expected; and if the news now rife in town be true you are not like to have any of these forces, for they say a war with France is not to be doubted of.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, June 29. Whitehall.—I am debtor to your Grace for three letters received all by this post of the 22nd of June, and

* See p. 150 *supra*.

with them the reference accompts and abstract of them as delivered by my Lord Ranelagh's partners to the Commissioners and from them to your Grace. I wish I had had them a few days sooner. My Lord Ranelagh and Sir James Hayes appeared before a Committee of the Council—there they averred the having delivered in their account and, as we understood them, complete.

I, urging the want of vouchers, my Lord Ranelagh made answer they should be ready at the day appointed, or that they ought reasonably to suffer as wrong accountants. He acknowledged moreover that he was obliged to acquit himself of having paid the military and the civil list so far as the £172,000 extended, according to his abstract, without mingling any other accounts to cross that. That for the debts owing him he was willing that your Grace should prefix a day for it. His Majesty was not at Council this last Friday, so nothing was done in it; but on Wednesday I suppose some resolution will be taken, and then I shall have occasion to show the accounts I received by the last. I have likewise received the papers you sent me concerning the officers of the Exchequer, and shall not fail to acquaint His Majesty with your Grace's opinion as to the vacating of the office of Contrroller General of his Revenue.

We are much alarmed here upon the likelihood of a war breaking out again in Flanders, of which the first entrance will be the loss of the town of Monts, [Mons] wherein the Dutch have at least five or six thousand men, and no provisions but from day to day by M. de Luxemburgh's leave. This will stop the recruits you expect from hence, five regiments being already commanded for Flanders, and it is not unlikely the rest may follow, so the war is likely to be revived. God grant the inclination and confidence in the Parliament may be so, but in my poor opinion if the F[rench] King should publish his design to conquer Christendom under his hand, he could not reveal it better than by this last proceeding.

Mr. Thynne sent you an Order of Council last week, I being gone to my lodge, and it came after my departure. I believe it containeth as much as the sense of the last Committee was.

Postscript :—My most humble service presented to my Lady Duchess.

CAPTAIN FREDERICK HAMILTON to SIR JOHN DAVYS.*

1678, June 30.—About a fortnight since I received an order from his Grace to send a serjeant and three files of men to Lysneske, [Lisnaskea] which is within ten miles of my quarters, there to prosecute Tories. That the business might be the speedier effected, I went myself to hunt after them, took two of their party and pursued the rest so close that were it not for the cots, by which they get from island to island in Lough Erne where they chiefly reside, I had certainly before this taken them all. But the chief of the Tories, one James MacManus, finding I gave him little rest, has written to me to desire to speak with me, and to let me know he would very

* Sir John Davys was Clerk of the Irish Privy Council.

willingly come in and bring all his party with him. I know he would surrender on any terms, either of transportation or what else his Grace would think fitting, so he may have his pardon. Neither he nor any of his party has committed any murder, have been but a little time out, and have done no great robberies. But I have not spoken with him, nor will not till you do me the favour to wait on his Grace and let me know his pleasure whether I may treat with him or not. If I must continue open war, pray let me beg the Tories may be proclaimed, and that I may have liberty to destroy the cots that are on this Lough, and I will quickly make the country as peaceable as ever. Sir, your answer to this by the first post (if you think fitting) will be a most singular favour.

Postscript :—Pray my most humble duty to my lady.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1678, July 2. London.—The account I gave your Grace by my brother of my not writing was so true that though I was very sorry I had it for so long together, yet I know your Grace was so just as to receive it. I will not presume to say 'tis now at an end, because that God Almighty can only tell; but yet thus much is certain that I am just now going aboard for Holland, and upon such measures as His Majesty seems more resolved to pursue than ever I thought to see him. In case the States will be prevailed with to fall into them, he will be sure to have all the help the Prince can give him, who seems to have recovered a new soul upon this incident from France, which has given at least the appearance and overture of new measures in the world. The truth is the refusal to restore the Spanish and Dutch towns till the restitution of Sweden has been so plain language that it has at present opened many eyes both here and in Holland, which have long been shut to all our cost; but whether they are proof against all charms I will not venture to determine. I can only assure your Grace that the Duke has been the most constant that can be imagined in his opinions of the French designs and intentions to His Majesty ever since my Lord Feversham's return, and declared himself the plainest that ever I heard yesterday at the Foreign Committee that nothing could be more evident than that France intended an universal monarchy, and nothing but England could hinder them, and that without it the King would endanger his crown. And for His Majesty I have some particular reasons (which I cannot entertain your Grace with at this distance) to believe that he is perfectly cured of ever hoping anything real from France, and past the danger of being cajoled by any future offers from thence, so that I see nothing left to shake his present resolutions but the fear of being well seconded in them at home or in Holland. The last I shall soon be able to give His Majesty an account of, but the first I must leave to others that are better acquainted with the scene where that game must play. I am of opinion both that must be played ill, and the war managed ill, to fail (if we go into it); but I have no reason to believe but both those may very well befall us. All that is to be said is that all

men agree the present measures are of absolute necessity, since no *penchant* to a peace can bring it about if another will have a war, and if it must be at one time or other, though this may be a worse time than any past, yet it is a better than any is like to come.

This is all I can say worth your Grace's trouble, at least if this itself be so, for I am sure nothing can be so unnecessary as to repeat any of those professions I have so long made and so justly of my being ever and with as much passion as I am sure it is with reason and truth, my Lord, etc.

EARL OF LONGFORD to DUKE OF ORMOND.

1678, July 2. London.—The Bill for raising the supply to disband the army is like to be lost. For at a free conference this morning (at the desire of the Commons) when the managers for the Commons would have entered upon the argument for asserting the privileges of the Commons their Lordships waived it wholly, and by my Lord Privy Seal intimated that their Lordships having adhered to their amendments could not receive the Bill again; upon which the managers for the Commons telling their Lordships they had orders to leave the Bill with them, they accordingly left it before their Lordships upon the table, where it remained after the conference was ended, and for aught I know it remains there still. My Lord Privy Seal further told them that the Lords had power to make alterations in a Money Bill, but confessed the Commons had the privilege of beginning the granting of money. Upon the report from the conference the Commons have ordered a Committee to search into former precedents and the method of granting of money, and resolve to assert upon their books their own privileges for granting of money. And because they will not altogether lose the benefit of having the army disbanded they intend to add the £206,000 (which in this Bill was intended for the disbanding the army) to the £414,000 which they have voted for the discharging of the fleet, etc., and will appropriate both sums accordingly. In the meantime we talk high of war, an account whereof I doubt not but your Grace will have from better hands than mine. I presume to renew to your Grace the request I formerly made to your Grace of recommending to Mr. Secretary Coventry the making of Granard a borough town to choose burgesses to sit in Parliament, which your Grace was pleased to promise me before I left Ireland, but Mr. Secretary Coventry tells me your Grace has not yet mentioned anything of it to him, which I hope your Grace will remember to do in your next, it being no more than what my Lord of Essex did for my Lord Granard in favour of Mullingar, and I also hope your Grace will not omit my creation money, for both which I shall furnish Mr. Secretary with drafts of letters suitable to the precedents of my Lord Granard and Lord Lanesborough.*

* By a Charter of this year Granard was given the privilege of returning two members of Parliament, and this representation continued until the Act of Union. The Charter of Charles II. to Mullingar did not confer the privilege of representation for the first time. Mullingar appears to have been continuously represented by two members from 1559 to the Union.

This morning I overheard Mr. Speaker telling Mr. Progers that that my Lord Ranelagh was to be baited this afternoon, but by whom or upon what subject he would not tell me.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1678, July 2. London.—I have shown yours of the 22nd of last month as I was directed, though the men you expect are to be sent for Flanders. I have authority from the King to tell you that he consents to the three particulars; neither has he (that I can find) either by Mr. Secretary, my Lord Ranelagh, or my Lord Treasurer himself, charged anything upon the overplus found, and you are safe for the future, because there is a standing order of Council that no grant shall pass concerning any part of His Majesty's revenue in Ireland without a reference first to the chief governor. The Duke would not have you take any other measures yet for reinforcing the army of Ireland, for three weeks or a month's time will show whether a war or no war—and this is what he has given me as his Majesty's pleasure in that particular. The King has commanded me to recommend to you George Wilde for a command in Ireland, and it was upon the solicitation of my Lord Bath.

You know that my Lady Portsmouth has a grant from the King for placing deficiencies, and that an Act of Confirmation will cut off that protection, therefore I desire to be informed what you propose for her satisfaction; the first particular of your letter mentioning that all the money given by the Parliament should be employed for the security and support of that Kingdom. I forgot to tell you in my last that my Lord Athol is paid his money, and when the writings come over your bond shall be cancelled.

Postscript :—Yours of the 27th of last month was brought me after I had made up this letter. You have guessed right at the person that made the proposition to you about the place, and though his name is not your cipher, if I had liked the thing, or thought it proper for your to deal for your place in this conjuncture, I had made the matter more clear to you, but that business may stay until we meet.*

ORMOND to the EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, July 6.—I have just now received yours of the 29th of the last. I am now sorry I wrote those letters to you of the 22nd of June—lest that now the sending over the twenty companies is at least deferred it should be thought all my propositions are unnecessary; but so quick a turn in affairs abroad could not in reason have been expected, and I am sure the things I mentioned are still needful. We have with great difficulty and wrangling yesterday past the Bill of Confirmation at Council, but were fain to sit morning and evening at it. It cannot be expected but that many will be displeased at it, especially the

* See p. 158 *supra*.

unrestored nominees and others, for whom no proportionable provision could be made; but the King must have a Parliament and considerable supplies if he will put his Kingdom into any tolerable condition of safety or usefulness, and you know who are like to be the major part in the House of Commons, and must consequently be satisfied, at least not put out of humour. The other Bills of Subsidy and addition to the revenue will pass more easily, so that I hope in ten days there may be a transmission and a day named for the meeting of the Parliament. I wish you here in order to prepare for good elections where you have interest.

I am sorry we are like to have no recruits, for the regiment wants them extremely, what with old unserviceable married men and townsmen, and there is no less need for the army. The truth is I am ashamed the King should pay so well and be so ill served, but know not how to help it till we are able to send for men out of England. I cannot yet bring the officers to think it their duty to stay at their garrisons. Not long since there happened a difference betwixt the townsmen and soldiers at Londonderry, where there were then seven companies in garrison, and yet the best officer in town was an ensign. Such neglects must be severely punished, and I am resolved they shall be for the future.

ORMOND TO EARL OF DANBY.

1678, July 6. Dublin.—Before my last coming to this Government there arose a question betwixt the Farmers and the brewers of this city about the measure by which the Excise was to be taken, the Farmers alleging that the law warranted their taking it by a measure more beneficial to them by about a fifth part than had been taken by the former Farmers or by any other since it became a duty. A complaint was brought by the brewers to the Council Table and was there heard and dismissed, and the Farmers, taking advantage thereof, have ever since taken that duty accordingly, but not without several attempts on the brewers' part to bring the matter in question again in the Courts of Justice, to which they are the more encouraged by reason that the Judges who are of the Council declared their opinion in favour of the brewers, and if application shall be made to the Parliament in the case it is to be feared that the Farmers will find few friends there; and though the Parliament should not take upon them to judge it, yet it is very probable they may declare it to be proper for the determination of the ordinary Courts of Justice, which would not only be as bad in the particular case of beer and ale, but introduce the same way of trial upon disputes concerning other branches of the revenue which are frequent, and wherein the Farmers can expect little indifferency from juries.

Upon consideration of the damage His Majesty would sustain in his revenue if controversies concerning it should be brought to such trials, I have caused some of the principal brewers and other merchants to be treated with and have brought the matter to this conclusion if His Majesty shall approve of it: These

brewers and merchants undertake that if an additional Excise shall be imposed by a Bill upon beer, ale, and aquavitæ to the proportion they advise, they will prevail with the brewers to suffer it to pass quietly, by which means His Majesty will gain an indisputable title to about £25,000 a year more than it yielded to the former Farmers, in consideration whereof and of the other services they promise to do His Majesty in the Parliament, (of which they are like to be members) they desire to farm those additional duties on beer, ale and aquavitæ for seven years at the yearly rent of fifteen thousand pounds. If this should not be granted to them I am not sure but they may turn their endeavours another way, and obstruct the most considerable and certain part of the addition I expect to His Majesty's Revenue. I have therefore been advised to promise to recommend them to his Majesty for such a farm, which I humbly do by your Lordship, and beseech you as soon as you can to procure me the signification of his pleasure upon it, and that in the meantime the proposition may be kept secret lest the knowledge of it should lessen the credit and interest of the proposers with those they are to prevail upon.

ROBERT MOSSOM, BISHOP OF DERRY* to ORMOND.

1678, July 8. Londonderry.—In your Grace's absence my brave *aerie* of hawks forsook their black rock of Magillegan; and this year they have (auspiciously with your Grace) made their return, so that if duty and gratitude did not oblige the present this good omen would do it. Be pleased then to accept a cast, being a falcon and a tassell, the gallantest (I am assured by the skilled in falconry) which are in Ireland. And by this right they must be your Grace's too, for to whom shall I make the best present but to the best personage, by the influence of whose favour I do enjoy the manor of which this famous rock is a part and the *aerie* of hawks a royalty.†

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, July 9.—Sir William King, Deputy Governor of Limerick, wrote to the Earl of Orrery with regard to a dispute there arisen between Captains Fane and Honiton as to whose colours should take precedence. The latter alleged that he had been captain for thirty-two years, but could not produce his commission, which he said was taken from him when he was made prisoner in the West of England during the Civil War. Captain Fane had his commission which "bears a much elder date than Captain Honiton's late commission." There was another dispute as to whether a captain of horse should give orders before a captain of foot, the Deputy Governor being absent.

* Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry, 1666-1679.

† It is not clear whether the Bishop uses the adjective 'famous' in reference to the hawks, which have always abounded at Point Magillegan, or to the more ecclesiastical circumstance that the place was the site of one of St. Columba's monasteries.

Ensign Rontinge, having become a lunatic, it is proposed that a son of Sir Ralph Wilson should get his place, as being in every way well qualified for the post, and being moreover willing to pay a sum of money to the ensign's widow to support herself and seven little children. These are dependent entirely on her husband's pay for their subsistence at present, and all the officers and Corporation of Limerick join in their advocacy of the unfortunate officer's claim to consideration—he having served eighteen years, and being most zealous for the King's restoration in 1660.

As Mr. Robinson is proposing to close the crown work at Rincorran fort on the north side with sod, Lord Orrery wishes this to be done by means of a "good lime sand and stone wall."

His Excellency's pleasure on all these matters is requested—especially on the last, in order that the contractors may have sufficient time to provide materials necessary for the stone wall before the season is too far advanced.

Abstract.

ORMOND to EARL OF DANBY.

1678, July 10. Dublin Castle.—Though I have no sooner given your Lordship an account of my having received yours of the 25th of the last, yet I lose no time in causing the contents of it to be put into the properest way of examination in order to execution. Some of the matters to be inquired into will require time, and the more for that the Farmers themselves have not accounted among themselves, nor taken the accounts of their collectors, so often or so regularly as they ought to have done, and as I suppose they would have done if they could have agreed better than they have.

I find it is here at least a question whether by the covenants the farm can be seized for any other reason than the nonpayment of their rent within the uttermost days of grace, which are seventy, and to this they must be heard and judged before a seizure; but it seems to be no question but that the illegality of the commission they act by will not forfeit the farm. It may put it into His Majesty's power to supersede the commission and grant another, but then it is by the covenants to be to all the Farmers or to such other persons as the greater number of them shall desire; and then those who have the majority now in the execution of the present commission are like to hold it when they shall come to desire another. Upon the whole matter (as far as I understand it) it will be most for His Majesty's service not to make any new bargain for this revenue till it shall be seen how far the Parliament will augment or make any alteration in it, but that in the meantime those that act in the managing the revenue be as narrowly watched as is possible, that they misapply no part of it, and that if upon further enquiry it can be found they have given His Majesty any advantage to determine their grant, it may be reserved to be made use of when it shall be most for his service. If His Majesty shall approve of this course I suppose I shall not need

to give my opinion whether his revenue will be safest in the hands it is in, or in Mr. Ryder's and his party's. Nor could I well answer the question unless I knew who were with him in the undertaking and what stock they will bring into it, for the King hath already not only Mr. Ryder and those who now manage the farm for his security, but other good estates in this Kingdom; so as if they bring no additional stock nor security, but pay only what they receive out of the revenue, I conceive (as care is taken) those in possession must do as much; and it was that care taken to observe their proceeding and payments which gave me ground to write what I did of their performance, which yet was far from expressing any confidence I had that they would or could be punctual in their payments out of the proper months. But on the contrary I said it was doubted they would make use of the income of subsequent months to make payments for those that were past. As soon as any returns come to me from the Commissioners of Inspection to the accounts they are required to give they shall be transmitted.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1678, July 11.—I know not whether it will more become me to excuse the confidence of making an address at this time or the forbearance thereof hitherto. It has been frequently in my thoughts that your Excellence ought to have an account of what passes in this place, which has the honour to be under your patronage; but there having nothing of moment occurred I was still diverted in expectation of somewhat of more considerable importance. The little difficulty given by our neighbours of the city to our Proctors in their night walk will, I presume, find of itself an effectual remedy besides that other of a legal determination. Our omission of an Act at this season, when we have soldiers quartered among us, is no more than what the present condition of affairs made necessary. But whereas your Excellence was pleased to direct my Lord Arran to enquire of me concerning the learning and other qualifications of Mr. Old, a student of this house, in reference to the government of your College at Dublin, in case there happened a vacancy there, and I accordingly rendered such an account to his Lordship as I thought myself bound in justice to give; yet it since happens that Mr. Old being fallen under encumbrances of the law in pursuit of a temporal estate that will require his attendance here, I conceive it requisite to signify this to your Excellence, to prevent your being disappointed by a dependance upon his being in readiness to make a supply. And upon the same ground I take leave to inform your Excellence that we have here another qualified in all respects for that employment, being a man of learning, virtue, gravity and diligence—one already under your particular patronage—being principal of Alban Hall in this University, by whose care the society does very much flourish, which is no ill proof that he may be as successful in a larger

province if ever it be entrusted to him. I the rather make this mention of Mr. Marsh,* the principal of Alban Hall, as considering both the importance of having a fit man for that weighty charge and the difficulty of finding such a one; withal remembering that when your Excellence was last in this place you mentioned a desire to prefer a person to a Hall when it should be vacant, which may be done if this person approve himself to your Excellence. I am further to render an account of my Lord Courcy whom you were pleased to entrust to me, and can assure your Excellence that he does very well in all respects, so that I hope he will grow up to be a man of sufficiency and honour, and one who will be sensible of the great obligations he has to your Excellence. I have to add the tender of my duty and to beg leave that I may be continued in the honour of being your Excellence's most humble and faithfully devoted servant.

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1678, July 12. Dublin.—Among the arguments of our real deliverance from the delusions of France which have too long prevailed upon us, it is not to me the least that your Excellence is again returned to your post. It is neither civil nor well-natured to reproach those who have been deceived when they have found it themselves and are ready to remedy and revenge the loss and scorn. But it is little below madness for the Parliament of England and the States and people of Holland, for fear of losing some part of their privileges to expose them all, and that so apparently, to a foreign Prince; so that I cannot look upon any man of moderate sense in either of the countries that is against arming and vigorous acting but as upon a man bewitched or corrupted, and if the States who have undergone the burden of so long, so chargeable, and so successless a war will continue it longer in conjunction with us, who may come full and fresh into it, I know not what can be said for our excuse if we refuse it. I hope to find the Parliament here, when it shall meet, so sensible of their duty and interest that they will give four times more in proportion than is required or necessary for England to give; for I think nothing but the fear of the misapplication of what they shall give, or having nothing more to give, will limit their liberality on this occasion; and I hope the King will find some expedient to remove their misapprehension of misapplication, and then I do not doubt but within the compass of a year I shall bring his army to 10,000, and his revenue to about £300,000 a year. Your brother gives us very usefully very much of his pains, and I think must afford us more in the quality of Speaker;† if there were greater choice I could think no man so fit for it. I hope my opinion will carry it against his own.

* Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713), Principal of Alban Hall 1673-1678), appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, January 1678-9, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin 1683-1691, Archbishop of Cashel 1691-4, Archbishop of Dublin 1694-1703, Archbishop of Armagh 1703-1713.

† Sir John Temple had acted temporarily as Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1661, in the absence of Sir Audley Mervyn.

I do not know whether my son Ossory be gone to his charge under the Prince or no, nor will inquire upon what terms he is to be there. If the Prince and he are satisfied with it I will content myself as long as the war shall last; I am sure I shall approve the more of it whilst he may have the advantage of your advice in his conduct. You will not need to give yourself the trouble of letters to your brother and me in what relates to the public; one despatch of that nature will serve us both.

DUCHESS OF ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, July 13.—I was doubtful of your being at London until I received your letter of the 2nd of this month, as I hope you have done a late letter of mine, which I sent you so soon as I heard of your arrival in England. I take very kindly your intendment to have made my Lord and me a visit if there had been peace; which, it being now taken for granted will be otherwise, I cannot reasonably expect, nor will desire until you may be at more liberty to afford me the satisfaction of seeing you in this country. The meantime I shall pray for your safety and happy success in all your undertakings. Mr. de Lange, your son's governor, gives me great hopes of his perfect recovery, which I am the apter to believe by reason I hear he is much grown and looks well, so that as soon as Barrington returns it will be then convenient to consider of removing him where he may be put to learn his exercises, and receive such other advantages as will be fit for one of his quality, which I suppose cannot be in any place so well taught as at Paris, and therefore I wish I knew your opinion whether you approve of putting him into an academy there or otherwise, since there shall be nothing wanting towards his education and maintenance that shall be requisite, nor any course taken therein (with my consent) but with your approbation; therefore I pray consider well of it, and let my Lord know what your desires are in this particular.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, July 16.—Having visited Rincorran¹ Fort Orrery proceeds to lay his views before Ormond. The crown work needs considerable additions to make it defensible even when fort would be finished. According to plan presented to His Excellency the crown work can receive but little defence owing to the great descent from certain points specified. Having viewed ground round the work by land and water he explains what has been done. The whole wall work is to the sight the best and handsomest he ever saw, and all assure him the inside is close and well wrought on a foundation of rock. The platforms finished are well laid, etc. The point L (on diagram) is so far advanced southwards and sunk that the east side of the Light House hill will rake all along from L to I H; as remedy he proposes to carry lines on arches over gullies of sea and continue platform. At small charge a battery

for eight guns can be made between E—A on S.W. of the lower batteries (between K and G, which can only fire at ships entering. The one he presses for will take ships on the broadside after they pass line of the tenailles E—D, and there the channel is narrowest. When all these are finished no harbour will be so well defended. Next follows some adverse criticism on the crown work, and then an account of money expended from last of February to 13th inst. —total of advanced money, £425; to Mr. Chidly for 65 bodies of carriages, £165; wheels and axletrees, £160 (this sent to Dublin); to Smyth and Armisted (the two undertakers), £100; advanced and paid in all to undertakers' labourers, £1,677 19s. 4d.; in all advanced and paid off, £2,102 18s. 4d. Nearly 5,000 perches of wall work are finished. Mr. Chidly made substantial carriage bodies; had they wheels and axletrees, fourteen guns could be mounted, and daily embrasures, etc., are made, for more crown work can hardly be made strong of itself, but by extending a capital line eastwards from thence, a half bastion running along east side northward which, well ramparted and raised high, would cover all platforms from L to K now exposed to east side of Light House hill as is also the curtain I H. The half bastion near L and a whole bastion at M with a ravelin without the groff on the east side will make said side very defensible.

For west side between A and N the like fortifications it as to the north between N and M. At N a full bastion to be erected, at M the like bastion, etc. If these command the glen running eastwards from "Somer his cove" no more will be needed, otherwise instead of the ravelin a horn work should be run out from counterscarp of curtain and carried as far as two half bastions if it and the curtain between them may fully overlook said glen. Hereby the crown work may be made very defensible and without the fort being erected, and it will cost at least half less and take less men to defend the fortifications and secure the harbour. Should this not be done the fort according to present plan cannot be made defensible, for if fort and crown work were finished and a fleet to be protected in the harbour an enemy that had men enough could land them, and they marching past the fortifications could plant guns on shore behind the works and destroy the fleet in the harbour.

This was why, in 1667, he gathered by His Excellency's leave a good party of horse and foot, for the Dutch having 5,000 land men could have ruined their fleet as pointed out. All which inclines him to believe that the crown works alone will be sufficient. If the fort is to be gone on with, the fortifications of the crown work must be designed accordingly. He thinks the north side should not be closed up with sod work but with a substantial stone wall, no suitable sods being at hand, and it would cost more to carry them from afar, and besides sod work on such a height and so exposed would soon moulder.

There are many other points too tedious for a letter, and he would not have troubled His Excellency so much only that it is for His Majesty's service and to discharge his duty to his Excellency. *Abstract.*

JOHN EYRE* to JAMES CLARK.†

1678, July 16. Eyrecourt.—On my parting Dublin His Grace was pleased to command me to make an inquiry into the value of that part of the Manor of Aghrim now in the possession of the Countess of Fingall and to return his Grace an account thereof, which I knew not how to do by any hand more proper than yours, being a stranger to all others about the Castle. What her Ladyship enjoys is about 531 acres of land with the town and mills, for which her Ladyship pays his Grace £6 per annum, and about £5 10s. per annum quit rent. Her Ladyship's yearly profit is £50 ultra reprises from one Mr. Dowdall, her tenant, who lives in the castle, and hath suffered a part of what is standing to lie uncovered and running to ruin. I presume about £100 well disposed of would repair the castle and raise a good wall near it that would render it defensible against running parties, and if a good tenant were in it it would be an encouragement to the Protestants living in the other parts of that Manor; the place is improvable were it in good hands, which I humbly submit to his Grace's consideration.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1678, July 20. London.—I had never a letter from you since the 6th, which I wonder at, especially now I hear by this packet that my good friend Sir James Cuffe is dead, with whom I left the management of all my affairs in that country. I writ to him a good while ago to take Mr. Ware's house for me for a twelvemonth, but have had no account; therefore I desire you would employ somebody to take it, for I am resolved to leave this place soon enough to have it in my power to take the advantage of next full moon. I was much surprised at this news for I never heard that he was sick, as you may see by the enclosed letter I writ to him this afternoon. The troops desired for Flanders are eighteen.

My Lady Arlington desires to desire my mother to send her marble for two chimney-pieces. I was with my Lady Richmond since I wrote the enclosed, and I never saw anybody take on so much, but I left her in better temper than she has been in since her husband lay languishing. When I had written thus far I went to Court to see who was to succeed Sir James Cuffe in his Commissioner's place;‡ the Duke spoke for George Binnion, but the King told him he was engaged to Sir Robert Hamilton, who it seems outrid the post, and brought the news to the King last night. The King has promised the next that falls to Binnion. I have just now yours of the 14th, but I have not time to answer it and overtake the post.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1678, July 23. London.—I was on Sunday last with my wife at the Wells near Tunbridge, where about five in the afternoon

* Col. the Right Hon. John Eyre, M.P. for Galway.

† James Clark was subsequently comptroller of the Customs' Warehouse at Dublin, 1682-1702.

‡ Sir James Cuffe had been one of the Commissioners of the Customs in Ireland.

I had the honour to receive your Grace's of the 14th instant, and in it the sad account of Sir James Cuffe's death, with which though I was not a little surprised, however I made a shift immediately to get on horseback, and with very hard riding came to this place that night, and had not been long here before I found the effects of your Grace's generous recommendation of Sir James's son to Sir Thomas Chicheley, who very frankly concurred with your Grace, and that day had acquainted the King and the Duke with his resolution of making Sir James's son his successor, who both approved of it, making mention of my brother with kindness and expressing their sorrow for the loss of so useful a servant. Both the share the father has in His Majesty's esteem and the success the son has to be his successor must be acknowledged to be the effects only of your Grace's great goodness and noble favour towards them, by which as you have been pleased in a great measure to preserve a sinking family, so I assure your Grace neither they nor I can ever forget the obligation which we must while we breathe pay your Grace and your family, by all the grateful and faithful services within our power. What part I have in the loss of so dear a friend your Grace can very well judge; and though by the severe blow my family has lately received in the death of my brother in India I might have been inured to have entertained this last misfortune with patience, yet I confess these alarms come so thick upon me that I am almost weary of the world, where now my greatest comfort is the hope that I may live to serve your Grace, and by my faithfulness demonstrate the grateful sense I have of your favours to myself and family. This morning I presented my nephew to Sir Thomas Chicheley, who received him with great kindness, and gave order for his commission which he is to receive to-morrow, and on Friday he intends to take post for Ireland, that by his diligence to attend your Grace and receive your commands he may give your Grace some taste of that zeal with which he is resolved to serve you. Sir Robert Hamilton made such haste hither that he outrode the packet some hours before it arrived here, and by that means and the assistance of my Lord Ranelagh with my Lord Treasurer had obtained a grant from His Majesty of being Commissioner of Inspection, an order being given to Mr. Secretary Williamson to prepare a warrant for that purpose, he intending to pass his patent here. But as soon as my Lord Arran received his letters and understood by them that your Grace had made choice of Dr. Topham he immediately went to the King, the Duke, and my Lord Treasurer, and represented to them the hardship it would be upon your Grace to turn out one of your own putting into employment to make room for another who had so undecently passed by you and got the advantage of the first application by riding post so well; upon which they all three declined our nimble knight, stopped the warrant, and approved of your Grace's choice. Since which Sir Robert has taken great pains to excuse to my Lord Arran his unmannerly deportment towards your Grace. And now he is at liberty to ride back at his leisure and prepare himself

for the raillery he will encounter at his return for his disappointment.*

The pulse here seems to beat still towards a war, only we wait for my Lord Feversham's return from Holland before we declare. In the meantime three troops out of my Lord of Oxford's regiment and as many out of each of the four new raised regiments of horse are ordered to be ready to embark by the last of this month, and 'tis said that five regiments more of the new foot regiments shall accompany them. Sir John Lanier, lieutenant-colonel to the Duke of Monmouth, is to command the horse. Last night my Lord Treasurer, the French Ambassador and young Monsieur Ruvigny were so closely locked up for above two hours in his Lordship's closet that his Lordship was denied to all whatsoever that came to speak with him, and after, they three went together to Court, where the Ambassador and Ruvigny attended as long in the antechamber to the bedchamber, whilst His Majesty, the Duke and my Lord Treasurer were in His Majesty's closet. After His Majesty and the Duke came out the Ambassador and Ruvigny had discourse with my Lord Treasurer in the bedchamber. When the Ambassador and Ruvigny went away they were observed to have dissatisfied countenances, and this morning early Ruvigny is gone for France. Your Grace having encouraged me to propose something that may be for the advantage of my brother Cuffe's family, from thence I presume to acquaint your Grace that my brother's pension upon the present establishment was granted to him and his son and the survivor of them, and my humble suit to your Grace is that by your favour that pension may be continued to his son upon the establishment, out of which they who pretend to be brought upon the establishment in succession will, I fear, jostle him if he have not the support of your Grace's protection. I most humbly thank your Grace for your letter of recommendation to Mr. Secretary Coventry of my creation money and the making of Granard a borough. I shall by my nephew send His Majesty's letters for both, and beg your Grace's farther favour in the passing patents for them.

ORMOND to [EARL OF OSSORY.]

1678, July 23. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 22nd from Hounster Dyke and the post before one from my Lord Chamberlain with the Prince of Orange his letter to you, which certainly justifies the haste you made over. I will say nothing by way of conjecture of the state of our affairs at home or abroad as they relate to war or peace; you will certainly know what we can but guess at. I may tell you that this week all necessary preparations towards a Parliament here will be sent into England and that I do not doubt but I shall do the King and this kingdom, good service in it. My Lord of Ranelagh and his partners are so close hunted that their doubles begin to be discovered; he has reason to be glad of Sir James Cuffe's death, for he was a sore

* Sir Robert Hamilton's ride was not entirely in vain. A month later he was appointed an additional Commissioner at a fee of £300 per annum.

pursuer, but as it is he will have much ado to escape foul discoveries. I believe I shall shortly send you over one Toby Purcell, but as a very valuable present, for he is as honest a creature as lives, very brave and well experienced. I wish him near you on all occasions ; if a place fit for him shall fall here I will keep it for him. I am confident he would make an excellent captain, major or adjutant ; he has something of all the languages there in use, and is a Protestant by conviction and not for interest,

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, July 23. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 15th instant I have received, and was extremely sorry to find the ill news of Sir James Cuffe's death in it. Sir Robert Hamilton outrid the post and brought the news before your letter was delivered me. He had, by his friends, solicited the King to have been made successor to Sir James Cuffe, but upon shewing His Majesty your Grace's letter, and your having disposed of it to Doctor Topham and the necessity of making one, there being but one upon Sir James Cuffe's death left to officiate in Ireland, His Majesty replied he would not think of altering what you had done, and accordingly by His Majesty's commands I acquaint your Grace with his approbation of the choice you have made. Here is one Colonel Wanklyn, lately a member of Parliament, who had a letter a year since at least for a reversion. I could give him no other answer than that there were so many of the Commissioners that resided in England your Grace was necessitated to choose one upon the place that the King's business might not receive a disappointment.

I am glad your Bills for the Parliament are in that readiness. I can yet say nothing determinately concerning war or peace. Sir W. Temple hath signed a treaty with the States General, which is to take effect if by $\frac{1}{11}$ of August the most Christian King does not consent to evacuate the places mentioned in the late treaty. His Most Christian Majesty sheweth a particular respect to your nation, for though he hath broken the Duke of Monmouth's and Earl of Dumbarton's regiments, he retaineth the Irish still. The Earl of Feversham and the Marquis of Borgomene are gone to together to Flanders to concert matters with the Prince of Orange and the Duke de V. Hermosa, but the effects of all those councils will depend upon the most Christian King's answer concerning his evacuating the towns. Some action there hath been betwixt the Duke of Lorraine and Monsieur Créquy ; the former hath by an extraordinary march with a detachment of 6,000 horse and dragoons prevented a design the latter had upon Offenburgh, but not without the loss of some men, though we have not the particulars as yet nor the news, but from the French Court.

Monsieur Ruvigny went hence yesterday morning, but Monsieur Barillon remaineth. There is great talk of the Prince of Orange his attempting to succour Mons ; but I doubt it is hardly practicable, and the loss of it will be a fatal blow towards the entire loss of Flanders.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1678, August 2, S.N. Hague.—Since my arrival here I have had the hardest pinch of business that ever befell me in my life. I have concluded and signed a treaty between His Majesty and the States, by which he is obliged to enter into the war and they to continue it and not make peace without much greater conditions, if France does not agree to those the States accepted about a month since by the 11th of this month. The Prince would not stir till this treaty was signed, believing all his own interests and the greatest of the Crown of England to depend upon it. After it was done he went away immediately to the army, a great Prince in all others' opinions and a happy one in his own, which he had been far from in both for some months past. The French have used all the artifices imaginable to hinder these measures between us, and to take them separately with this state in our exclusion and even that of the Prince of Orange; their last was two days since by a memorial of their Ambassador at Nimeguen offering that the King of France would advance himself as far as Saint Quentin to meet any deputies the States would send thither, and treat with them in person. The States having yesterday consulted with me upon it have refused the offer, desired a positive answer upon evacuating the places in Flanders, and let the French Ambassadors know they should not be many days *en leur entier* to receive it. This is a strange change of style in the world, and the King is once more at the head of the affairs of Christendom. What use we shall make of this conjuncture is in the stars. Your Grace and I will not venture to guess, considering how well we know our Court; but I am sure we shall join in our wishes, and mine shall ever be for all the good health and good fortunes that your Grace can propose to yourself, since no man can be with greater passion nor truth than I am and shall be ever, etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1678, August 2. Dublin.—Mr. Cuffe made such diligence that he came with the letters of the 23rd and 27th of the last. Your Lordship's of those dates require little to answer. Your nephew will find all the encouragement to pursue the steps of his father that I can give him whilst I am in this Government, and when I am not all the friendship I can express. I am very highly obliged to His Majesty for the support of his own authority exercised by me in the disappointment of the affront Sir Robert Hamilton's confidence and hard riding would have put upon it; to complete the injury he would have done me it is certain he could not be ignorant of the disposition of the place designed by me, and had but just then himself and a little before by Sir Hans Hamilton, his father-in-law, made great professions of his respect to me and of his resolution to rest upon me in all the pretensions he should have. What credit to give to the like hereafter he has taught me. The Bills are ready to pass over with the next opportunity. Some are endeavouring to give the English ill

impressions of them ; but I hope that, if it take, will last no longer than till they come to be more truly expounded and better understood. My Lord of Ranelagh's accounts are come to a period for the present, and the state they yet appear to be in will shortly be represented, though I observe not that warmth in the prosecution of them as at first. I do not write to my Lord of Arran, because if he holds his purpose he will not be at London when these letters are like to arrive there ; if he chance to be there be pleased to let him know. I expect these south winds will bring the yacht from Bristol and then she shall be sent to Chester water, but I wonder he should think a fifth rate frigate should draw too much water when the *Montague* stayed for me and transported me from Beaumaris, and my Lord of Strafford means to go to Liverpool in her.

As to the pension for which Mr. Cuffe's life was with his father's I can do no otherwise or more than I am or shall be warranted. My Lord Lanesborough and Cary Dillon pretend to succeed. Mr. Cuffe's friends are of opinion the Auditor has sufficient warrant by the patent to insert Cuffe into the Establishment. The question lies referred before Mr. Attorney.

ORMOND TO EARL OF DANBY.

1678, August 5. Dublin.—Though the Bills in order to the calling of a Parliament here went off yesterday, yet I believe this letter by the post may get to London before them. The principal are that for the Settlement of Estates and those for His Majesty's supply. I never thought it possible that the first could be so drawn, but that many would find fault with it ; men's interests are so opposite and their expectations various. I have written my thoughts of those Bills at large to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and my humble opinion that it will not be for the King's service to admit of any private provisoes and much less of any public debates upon them. Your Lordship well knows the need there is of as speedy supplies as this kingdom can furnish to put it in a state of safety and usefulness in all events ; and therefore I cannot doubt but you will use your endeavours to hasten the return of the Bills ; after which there must be forty days allowed for the return of the Writs, and it will be necessary that the Bills of Supplies should pass before Christmas, several of the additions to the constant revenue being then to commence. My Lord Conway arrived here this morning and is but just now gone from me. I promise myself much assistance from his advice and interest.

EARL OF ANGLESEY TO ORMOND.

1678, August 5. London.—Having in concert with my Lord Chamberlain fully considered of what moment it may be to all the King's dominions and to our common safety and advantage that the design of planting of hemp and flax and making of cordage and sailcloth may be improved in Ireland and encouraged by the King receiving some of his revenue and duties in those species,

your Grace will receive from Sir Peter Pett, a person long versed in the study and examination of that affair, such measures thereof as may incline your Grace to give a rise to the work by the transmission of some Bill from thence in this concern, wherein by a subsidy of sailcloth and linen yarn His Majesty may be invited to expend the value thereof in money employed to purchase Eastland hempseed and flaxseed to send into Ireland to stock that country therewith, and artificers for this trade from Flanders and Germany and other parts, with their engines and looms and tools: and to be discharged of the penalties already incurred the people will be the willinger to such a subsidy. I do now only introduce my thoughts to your Grace in this affair; if it relish with you I shall second it with further notions for the promoting of it and obviating objections, as becomes your Grace's most humble and affectionate servant.

ORMOND TO SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678, August 5. Dublin.—Now that the Bills and the Report of the Commissioners who are to take the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners' accounts are transmitted, those of the Council here have taken themselves to be at liberty and are gone to their country houses, so that if I should stay longer I should be in danger to carry the King's sword to church myself or stay with it at home. I therefore begin my journey to-morrow towards Kilkenny, and when I have stayed a few days there I purpose to go to Kinsale to see how the work goes on there and to give His Majesty the best account I can of it. I take my going thither to be the more necessary because there seems to be some difference in opinion betwixt my Lord of Orrery and our engineers, Mr. Robinson and Captain Archer, which I confess I cannot apprehend, much less determine without seeing the place. I wish I may be able to do it well then.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY TO ORMOND.

1678, August 10. Whitehall.—I have this day received three from your Grace, one of 1st of August by Colonel Fitzpatrick, one by Sir John Bellew, and a third of the 31st of July with the Bills for Parliament. I acquainted His Majesty that I had such a letter from you and the Bills, but the consideration of it is put off till to-morrow.

We conceived the peace betwixt France, Spain, and Holland concluded, it having been signed by the first and last, and we were made believe would be so by Spain; but here is this day come news that there hath been an engagement betwixt the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Luxemburgh, which hath been very sharp and lasted long. My Lord Ossory is said to be taken prisoner, but there is no certainty of it. The French acknowledge great loss of officers and many men, and that Monsieur de Luxemburgh was retired nigher Mons, and that they expected the Prince would attack them again the next day, unless he were

stopped by orders from the Hague, which orders our last letters told us were sent away then, but it seems came too late to stop the beginning, whatsoever they might do the perfecting of this attack. What influence this may have upon the peace in general I know not, but it discomposeth our measures here very much. The particulars are not as yet come of this action, neither do we know whether Mons be relieved or no. The wind hath been contrary, so that at present we have neither Holland nor Flanders letters; we hope by to-morrow we shall. His Majesty hath sent to command Colonel Hamilton's regiment out of France, but I hear not that the most Christian King is willing to part with them. Those of Monmouth and Douglas he hath disbanded. Monsieur Crequy hath taken the forts and burnt the bridge at Strasburgh. We are in great impatience to learn the particulars of the late action in Flanders. Our Parliament is put off till the first of October.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1678, August 10.—Since the writing the enclosed by Mr. Secretary we have received letters from the Prince of Orange, and several others from his army, which assure us that my Lord of Ossory is safe without any hurt, and the news of his being taken prisoner absolutely false. The English under his command did extraordinary good service, having beaten the French from a post they had taken. The Prince it seems had received the news of the peace being signed that night, after the engagement; which it is thought will hinder his attacking the enemy again the next day. His Majesty intends to spend the remaining part of this summer at Windsor unless news from abroad make him alter his resolutions.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1678, August 13. London.—By Saturday's packet your Grace had an account from several hands of the engagement the Prince of Orange had on Sunday was sennight with the Duke of Luxemburgh, and the resolution he had taken of attacking him the next day within his line. The account we have this day is that the Prince, having the next morning received advice from the States General that both they and the French plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen, had signed the peace, immediately communicated the contents of the letter to the Duke of Luxemburgh, and desired him to let him know how they were to live together for the future. When the Duke of Luxemburgh received this letter he stormed and ranted, saying the Prince of Orange was guilty of all the blood was shed, and it being impossible but he should have intimation of the signing of the peace it was a very great injury to his master that he should assault his army in the manner he did the day before. When he had thus vented his passion he wrote a letter to the Prince acknowledging he had the day before received intimation of the signing of the peace; but since His Highness had begun the hostility by falling upon His Majesty's

army he desired five days' time to consult his master and receive his orders. In the meantime he propounded a cessation of arms, which being consented to by the Prince, within that time he received orders from France to permit the Prince to put in what relief of men or provisions he thought fit into Mons and to treat for a cessation of arms of five weeks from Saturday last; which being signified to the Prince together with a condition that the Baron of Quincy should remain in those parts to fortify their posts they had made about the town, the Prince absolutely refused the condition, saying he would have the town left free and that both armies should at the same time march out of the field which way they pleased; which latter proposition of the Prince's being not consented unto nor absolutely denied, I leave your Grace to your more authentic correspondences for the better information in the point. But it is most certain that Mons is relieved, and that five weeks' time of truce from Saturday last is consented to by both sides in order to the ratification of the peace, which has yet been denied by the Hollanders, because the Spaniards have not yet signed the Articles. And the truth is they have no reason to do it, for there is no mention of the King of France's evacuating the towns in the Articles, the Ambassador of France only promising that within six weeks the towns should be evacuated, for which it is said Van Beuning, the Holland Ambassador, is much censured at home and like to be in disgrace for his thus hastily huddling up the peace to the disadvantage of his masters and their allies. The Duke of Monmouth is upon his journey for England, and when he arrives we shall have a more particular account of all this last action. In the meantime, for your Grace's satisfaction, I must tell you that I was this morning in the park with His Majesty when Monsieur St. Gile, the Duke of Monmouth's servant, (who was sent express from his master) came to His Majesty and gave him an account that, passing through the French army, he met with the Duke of Luxemburgh, who made great professions of service to the Duke his master, extolled his courage, and said he was sorry it was his own misfortune to be enemy to so brave a man; and then asking for the Earl of Ossory and enquiring how he did. Monsieur St. Gile replying he was very well, the Duke replied he was heartily glad of it, and the rather because the day before he had found him so brave an enemy. The whole of this gallant action was performed by the Prince's guards led by himself, and the King's subjects led by my Lord Ossory; the last of which were forced to quit the second post they had gained from the French by the cowardice of two German regiments, who, being to second him and finding that the French with eight battalions came on briskly to attack them who were but four battalions, their hearts so failed them that they retired, which my Lord Ossory was forced also to do, being not able to withstand so great a force, being deserted by the Germans, and therefore retired to the first post he had gained from the French, which he maintained and justified till night parted them against all the power they brought against him. And it is observable that the execution upon his party was very severe, there being not any

officer in those battalions of His Majesty's subjects that escaped wounding or killing, and the common soldiers were not much better treated. My Lord himself had his share of the danger, having received a shot in his headpiece and breast, but (God be thanked) without any hurt. We do not yet know whether we shall have peace or war; but let the issue be what it will this action has gained the Prince immortal honour, and it has given him so great reputation at home that those of his countrymen who before railed at him now highly applaud him; and the States themselves approve of what he has done. And now he is gone to the Hague. If he can govern the Councils there with the same success he conducted this engagement with the French it is hoped the war may yet continue. This engagement was so unexpected to the French that when Sir Leolin Jenkins told Monsieur L'Estrade at Nimeguen that the Prince was marched to the relief of Mons, he said it was impossible he could accomplish it; affirming he knew the country so well, and the Duke of Luxemburgh was so strongly posted, that if he had but 10,000 men and the Prince 50,000 it was impossible for the Prince to drive him out of his post. And when the Duke of Luxemburgh, being at dinner at a convent near the place where the engagement was, heard the Prince's great guns and was told that the Prince was making his attack, some of his officers that then dined with him rising up to go to their charge he bade them sit still and dine for he would answer for that affair. Some think we shall have peace, this cessation being thought to be a prelude to it, but others believe there will be more likelihood of war, because they conclude the reputation the Prince has got by this action will give him new power among the States to make them ashamed of the infamous peace they have been contriving in his absence. The more accurate politicians say that the French are very dexterous in avoiding a second engagement after they were baffled, and that by gaining time to hearten their men again they have got a considerable point; since by avoiding to fight now upon a disadvantage they will be at more leisure to complete their conquests in the winter by the strength of their great provisions and magazines when the Confederate army will be dispersed in their winter quarters and not able to keep the field in that cold season for want of necessary provisions in case the war continues. But what have I to do with the politics? I shall now hasten to give your Grace an account of your commands mentioned in yours of the 27th of July and 2nd instant which I received on Saturday. On Sunday I had a fair opportunity of speaking with His Majesty, which I so well improved that I got him at leisure to read both your Grace's letters, as also the copy of your Grace's to my Lord Orrery which you sent me enclosed. To the last he says that he so well approves of Mr. Robinson's draught of the fort that he finds no cause of exception than what I formerly wrote to your Grace and Mr. Robinson, and therefore would have your Grace pursue your first design with that addition only I wrote to your Grace of the new battery His Majesty proposed, whereof I wrote at large to Mr. Robinson. As to my nephew Cuffe's pension

His Majesty is graciously pleased to signify his pleasure to your Grace that he thinks fit to have it continued upon the Establishment, which I hope your Grace will think warrant sufficient to shew him all the favour you can therein, notwithstanding my Lord Lanesborough's pretensions, who would have jostled out the father as his Lordship endeavours now to do the son, if your Grace had not then protected him. And when your Grace considers the deplorable condition in which Sir James Cuffe has left his family in case they enjoy not his pension, I hope your Grace will allow them to be objects of your charity as well as justice, for my Lord Lanesborough's condition can bear with a little patience that which will ruin them. My Lord Ranelagh the last week told His Majesty that he understood the Commissioners of his accounts in Ireland had made a report in which there were several grave mistakes, and therefore besought His Majesty that he would please to appoint a Committee to examine them and hear his answer to the Commissioner's objections and make report upon the whole to His Majesty. The King answered dryly, telling him he should not have time to examine that matter till his return from Windsor, and then he must send for my Lord Essex who was out of town. This day his Lordship and Sir James Shaen have been close locked up in consultation to prepare against the day of battle. When His Majesty read the first part of your Grace's letter to me, wherein mention was made of Sir Robert Hamilton, he excused Sir Robert and said he had carried himself towards your Grace with great respect; but when I desired him to read on he said not one word more in his justification. There is one Epinetus Cross,* of the County of Cork, who has those three months past been endeavouring at Court to procure a grant for his life of Sheriff of that County, and offered £500 to those that would procure it for him; which temptation begot him several advocates who persecuted Mr. Secretary Coventry about it but with no success. At last he engaged a great fair lady in it (who does not use to be refused anything she asks) who sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry about it, as the King's pleasure it should be done; upon which Mr. Secretary spoke to his Majesty about it, demonstrating to him how insignificant things of this kind would render the Government, how unprecedented it was, and how impossible it would be for the Chief Governor there to give an account of that government wherein Sheriffs had so great a share of the *Posse Comitatus* and the receiving of the King's money. [The remainder of this letter is wanting.]

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, August 13. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 30th of July, together with that from your Grace and the Council, I have this day shewn His Majesty at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, where, after a long debate, after having advanced the reasons in your letter with all the arguments I could, yet I

* Epinetus Cross was Sheriff of Co. Cork for the year 1679.

could not prevail but that His Majesty hath commanded me to press you afresh to think of some expedient how the revenue may be raised to the complete sum of £300,000 a year. Our next consideration was about what time the Parliament should be assembled, and after diversity of opinions and reasoning, His Majesty, before he would take any resolution, resolved that I should write to you to know your opinion of the time, in respect our Parliament beginneth in October and when it will rise it is hard to prognostic. There is no fixed resolution when we shall enter upon consideration of these bills. We complain that you sent not copies of them, which [it is said] was always the custom, so I am enjoined to take care of getting them copied, all but that of settling estates, which we are more tender of. My Lord Chamberlain and Lord Treasurer both said they would write you their minds. His Royal Highness declared his opinion for the Act of Settlement, and to be very well satisfied in it. Our news from abroad mendeth, and our particular apprehensions for my Lord of Ossory disappeared, who is neither hurt nor prisoner, but safe, and with much honour. Mons is relieved by consent, and it is universally acknowledged the greatest one day's action hath been done this war; but whether it will cause a peace or war I cannot tell. We are sending over more forces, and whether we shall please the Parliament as much if we had done it sooner I know not, but I dare aver we have angered the King of France as much.

His Majesty goeth to-morrow to Windsor, and intendeth to stay there the best part of September. I shall follow him within a day or two. Mr. Hyde is gone over to the Hague to look, together with Sir W. Temple, to our concerns in this critical conjuncture; and possibly the ugly treaty the States have signed may not find a ratification at the Hague so soon as it hath done at Paris, whither the treaty being brought in the morning, the ratification was sent back that evening. The Prince, upon the cessation agreed, is gone from his Army to the Hague, where I hope he will be as victorious, it being both his and our concern that he should. I suppose this will meet your Grace upon your journey. It concerneth you to look to your sea coast, for I am confident there are intrigues laying in all three nations, and I pray God all be as still water in Scotland as it is reported.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE CONSPIRACY TO PLACE THE DUKE OF YORK ON THE THRONE.

The conspirators are chiefly the Jesuits, priests, politicians, lay brethren and votaries, formed into a congregation, which they call *de propaganda fide*, in confederacy with the Benedictines, as is since made apparent.

1. Their heads and directors are the Pope, the French King and his confessor, Lessius, the General of the Jesuits and Provincials appointed by him from three years to three years in England, Flanders, Ireland, Spain, etc.: The Archbishops

of Dublin* and Tuam, in Ireland, the Rectors of the Societies and Colleges at St. Omer, Watton, London, etc.

2. Their votaries, contributories, whom they principally boast of are the Lord Powis, Lord Peters [Petre], whom yet they pretend to have a great love to the King's person, and to be ignorant of what concerns his death——Witter gentleman, Lassels of the North. From one Worsley, a tobacconist, at Wild House, they promise to themselves £30,000 or £40,000, and from two other virgin sisters, £20,000.

3. Their Agents and Instruments:—

1. Assassins: 4 unknown Irish ruffians gone to Windsor. Comers and Anderson monks set out August 23rd thither, but returned Friday night and seen in Gray's Inn walks. Honest William, alias John Graves, Pickering, servant to the Monks at Savoy, 4 Jesuits in Ireland, to kill the Duke of Ormond.
2. Poisoners: Dr. Fogarty, Coleman, Sr. George Wakeman.
3. Incendiaries: Blundell and his workmen.
4. Trained and disciplined leaders and commanders, of which they boast to have 2,800 in readiness, to head their cutthroats, sufficient to massacre 100,000 Protestants in London only.
5. Missionaries: English, 400 drawn out of all their foreign seminaries, which are left almost empty; of these sent:—
 1. To Scotland, nine.
 2. To Ireland, several at several times.
 3. The rest into several counties and places in England.
6. Banker: Worsley, the goldsmith in the city; another of that name in Covent Garden prepared the silver bullets for Honest William and Pickering.
7. Many traders, tobacconists, goldsmiths, merchants, etc., by whom managing their stock they make great improvement of them.

8. Trustees, by whom their houses in London, lands and inheritances are secured, Sir Henry or Sir Roger Martyn and others.

Their whole yearly revenue they boast to be £70,000, besides £100,000 in ready money, and £15,000 promised to G. W., and £1,500 to Pickering.

1. The general design of these confederates is to reform, that is, in their sense, to reduce by the sword (all other ways being found ineffectual) all people of His Majesty's dominions to the Romish religion and obedience, without giving any toleration at all; as they have practised in Bohemia and other hereditary countries of the Emperor with desired success to their great enrichment.

2. To effect this the family of the Stuarts are (by the sentence of this Society) condemned to be cut off root and branch, and namely the King, Duke of York, and Prince of Orange, because they have not answered their expectations,

* Peter Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin 1669-1680.

nor given them any hopes that any of them will comply with this, their design. Henry III. of France, though always a Papist, and Henry IV., though he turned to them, were both assassinated on this very reason.

3. They design in the first place with all speed to remove the King's person, and if they cannot take him from his kingdom, to take his kingdom from him, as they boast they did from his father.

4. The Duke of York they intend to put to further trial, and notwithstanding his sincerity to their religion and affection to them, of whose body Bennyfield his confessor is, if he comply not effectually; and to this design they will remove him also, after they have made use of him and his title as far as they can to raise massacres and rebellion thereupon, to destroy the Protestants and introduce foreign force to support and complete their design in Ireland and England.

5. They have sent twelve missionaries to practice against the Prince of Orange, his person and affairs.

6. The conquest and subduing His Majesty's dominions.

I. Ireland to be subdued to the tyranny of the Pope.

1. By a general rebellion and massacre as formerly.

2. By commissions from the Pope and his general and arms already given out.

3. By a Popish Nuncio already there.

4. By assassinating the Duke of Ormond.

5. By betraying the Irish garrisons.

6. By the assistance of the French King, to whom the Pope hath given that kingdom for his son or brother.

7. By money sent and promised to be sent, to

II. England and Scotland:—

1. By opposing them mutually to themselves; I mean each to other.

2. By opposing them to foreign force when distracted and weakened by civil war and rebellion, which they seek to raise by:—

a. Questioning and denying most impudently the King's legitimation, and so his title, styling his brother King James in his lifetime.

b. Confuting the oath of allegiance, forcing their novices to renounce it as odious, heretical, etc., assassinating their own friends that write for it, to deter all from favouring or defending it.

c. By disaffecting as much as they can the King's friends and best subjects against his person and government, by

1. Charging him with tyranny and designs to oppress and govern them by the sword, exposing his best and most valiant subjects to be needlessly wasted and slain in the service of the French King or against him.

2. Exposing, deriding, aspersing, and declaiming against his person, actions, Parliament and Councils, and especially scoffing at his security and confidence in them etc.

- d. By discovering and disclosing His Majesty's counsels.
- e. By misreporting affairs and raising false news.
- f. By disaffecting His Majesty's allies, Holland, Spain, the German Emperor and Princes.
- g. By disturbing and destroying our trade.

Endorsed :—A general brief account of the conspirators and conspiracy, extracted for the most part out of the papers of August 13th, 1678.

ORMOND to EARL OF ANGLESEY.

1678, August 14. Kilkenny.—Yours of the 5th inst. found me here removed from all who are skilful in things relating to trade, so that Sir P. Pett's proposals concerning the planting of hemp and flax and sailcloth and introducing a trade of those commodities into this kingdom must rest till my return to Dublin; only in preparation to it I have sent the papers to my Lord Chancellor, who is nearer Dublin and can consult men of understanding in such things. I am very much pleased with the notion and hope to be satisfied that it is practicable. This I beseech your Lordship to say to my Lord Chamberlain and Sir P. Pett.

I hope your Lordship is satisfied by my Lord Ranelagh and his partners, because I have not of late heard either from those that act here for them or from your agent about it. You will see by the account transmitted how they say your business stands. If there be anything for me to do to serve you I shall be found most ready.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1678, August 14. Kilkenny.—I do not doubt but your Grace has all that the last letters out of England could say. There is matter enough for reflections upon the separate peace made by Holland with France; God send us to make the right ones and to act accordingly. I sent your Grace a large packet, the work of Sir Peter Pett; some part of the despatch I have kept by me. I am better satisfied with the notion than I am yet able to comprehend how it will be reduced to practice. To a man of my talent in things of that nature it seems very dangerous to change a settled revenue to which the people are used to another that must be experimented, at least without the full concurrence [of] the Farmers. But whatever can be done in this must be by transmission, and so we shall have time to advise with the skilful.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678, August 16. Kilkenny.—You will have little to observe in this letter but the diligence and good fortune of the post that brought me yours of the 10th yesterday just I as had dined. We, of this family, you will believe, are as impatient as you were

to know what becomes of Mons, but something more of them that attempted to relieve it. I cannot hope that there could be any more done about the Bills on Sunday last than the putting them into the hands of the King's Counsel-at-Law to consider of them with the help and direction of my Lord Chancellor, and then to report them to His Majesty at the Board; and if this be done it is well. The King's supplies will depend on the return of them, and I can see nothing that should slacken our endeavours to put ourselves into another condition of defence than we are in this kingdom or can be without supplies.

The regiment raised here for Colonel Dungan want nothing but arms and an enemy, and it is pity they should want either; for they are proper men and live in better order than I have observed any that have not been in action or regular garrisons; but if they come to be disbanded here I fear we shall soon hear of them in the mountains and highways, and here of all places they cannot be kept as part of the army. The Lieutenant-Colonel Dempsey has carried himself and governed the levy and the men since the levy as prudently as it was possible, and I believe him to be in all regards a very good officer.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, August 17. Blessington.—I must beg your Grace's pardon that I forgot in my letter of this day's date to give your Grace intimation that Sir Maurice Eustace being lately here, he took occasion to ask me whether I had sent any order about putting Sir Richard Bulkeley out of the Commission of the Peace, according to your Grace's directions. I told him that I had, to which he replied that he doubted your Grace had been misinformed concerning him, for he had inquired into the matter, and he found that Sir Richard Bulkeley went to his parish Church, as well as to the Conventicles, and he did believe that if your Grace knew so much you could not deal more severely with him in that particular than you would do with many others. I made him no return, but diverted the discourse to another subject. Now that affair stands thus:—I sent a warrant to the Hanaper to prepare a writ for the Seal to supersede Sir Richard Bulkeley; that warrant was returned me the same day that Sir Maurice spoke to me; but I have since forborne to put the seal to it, until I know your Grace's further pleasure therein; for I suppose your Grace's discourse to me concerning Sir Richard Bulkeley had been upon something that Sir Maurice had informed you.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, August 17. Blessington.—I have received the honour of your Grace's of the 14th instant, and I have read over all Sir Peter Pett's papers upon the project of hemp and flax. I am thus far of Sir Peter Pett's opinion that by a prudent management of the Act of Parliament, which we have already in this kingdom upon that account, a very considerable benefit may arise thereby

both to the King and kingdom; but Sir Peter Pett hath certainly very much mistaken his measures in making his computations according to the proportion of acres within this kingdom, wherein it is very well known what a vast number of acres we have of bog and mountain and of such a sort of land (viz., boggish and mountainous) which may pass for profitable land and yet will not bear hemp or flax. Nothing in my poor opinion hath given a greater discouragement to the linen manufacture than Colonel Lawrence's failure in his works at Chapel Izod. Either he must not have understood the trade or else he must be a gross hypocrite, for from his failure the argument is thus drawn to the disadvantage of that manufacture. If Colonel Lawrence could not support that small undertaking with all the advance that he had of money from the Government and the continual help of taking of his linen in very great proportions for the use of the army, how can it be expected that any great or considerable benefit may be raised by that manufacture. But notwithstanding the force of this objection I must yet believe that exceeding much more may be made by the linen trade in this kingdom than yet hath been done, and very considerable advantage by the cordage of the hemp; but I cannot as yet approve his proposition of shattering any settled established branch of the King's revenue for what is yet only in prospect and imagination. But as your Grace observes there will be time enough to consider all these difficulties before the second transmission. What your Grace's observer makes upon the state of the Farmers' accounts I shall, according to your Grace's directions, remit to Sir Charles Meredith and unto Dr. Topham; but I shall not presume to interpose between them, for I must confess my unskilfulness in figures.

This last packet will carry your Grace an account of a sharp engagement for the relief of Mons; but I find by letters from Whitehall that they have not as yet any true relation of that matter, and it is written doubtfully whether Mons be relieved or no. But by all letters I find that my Lord of Ossory had a large hand in that day's business, and it is said that he is come off very safe; but others write that he was taken prisoner but released, and I do not in the least doubt but he found the danger if there were any. I pray God in heaven bless him and protect him. What disadvantages this discourse of peace may bring us I shall not presume to foresee, but this certain advantage it hath, I hope, brought unto your Grace—that you have secured a son by it. Dublin hath very little news but what is brought by packet, and your Grace have all that to the full; it would be rude to repeat it. Our Lord Primate continues much as he was, rather worse than better. I hear nothing of the Dean of Armagh,* so that I presume your Grace may have some time to consider upon those matters. The Bishop of Kildare hath been ill †; he is now gone to Dublin for physic. I doubt he is not long lived; he is an honest gentleman. My Lord Conway and my Lord Granard are gone

* James Downhame, Dean of Armagh, 1667–1681.

† Ambrose Jones, Bishop of Kildare, 1667–1678. He died a few months after the date of this letter, on December 15, 1678.

together to the North as I do hear, for I saw neither of them. I most heartily pray for your Grace's health and happiness.

Postscript :—I find that your Grace has changed the journey of your progress. By letters which I this day received I am advertised that my Lord of Orrery hath a sharp fit of the gout in his hand and elbow.

ORMOND to MR. AYRE.

1678, August 19. Kilkenny.—I have seen yours to your son concerning the meeting that is shortly intended in the county of Leitrim for the choosing of officers among the regulars to govern them and would be glad they would choose such (since some they will have) as are best affected to quiet and to the government. But the truth is there has been such a change of that sort of people since I was last in this station that I know few or none of the active Friars, not having any of that religion near me that can assist me, those about me minding either divertisement or other kind of business. So that you will oblige me much in endeavouring to improve the interest you have gained in some of them towards a good election, or at least to get as true a character as you can of those that shall be chosen.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1678, August 24. London.—I had the honour of receiving your Grace's of the 14th and 16th instant this day, and though I have not half so much to write as I am sure your Grace will have from more authentic hands, yet I think myself obliged in the first place to pay your Grace my most humble and hearty acknowledgments for your favour in the despatch of my small concerns, your Grace's generosity and friendship even in those particulars giving me a demonstration of your inclination to oblige me in greater, and therefore my sense of it carries the proportion it ought to so noble a disposition. As for the Bills sent from thence, I doubt not but your Grace has from Mr. Secretary an account of their arrival. And though there are several persons who came from thence with resolution to oppose that for the General Settlement, yet His Majesty has been so dexterous in his disposition of it that they are all mistaken in their measures, and to that degree that I am confident they will have no opportunity to make use of their design. For His Majesty has with great secrecy put it into the hands of my Lord Chancellor (as the person best acquainted with the former settlement), who in this season of retirement into the country has called to his assistance Sir Edward Deering* and they both only have the perusal of it, while our countrymen grope in the dark and rail against the Bill, which they have never yet seen, with open mouth wherever they come. The fate of that Bill here is like to depend upon my Lord Chancellor's report to His Majesty, who will not be much concerned what success it has

* Sir Edward Deering was at this time a Commissioner of Customs for England and Wales.

there. For since it is intended for a General Settlement His Majesty seems contented with whatever resolutions the Parliament there shall take upon it. But we shall be much disappointed here if the Bills for the increase of the revenue do not pass; the addition which they shall make when passed being much short of the expectation they had; for if I am not misinformed they will not amount to above £37,000 per annum, where it was hoped they would arrive to £60,000 per annum. What is granted in subsidies will be looked upon as granted to the kingdom and not to the King, because the design of it is only to be spent there and to put that kingdom into a posture of defence, for we value not what comes not into our own coffers. As for my Lord Orrery's and Dr. Gorges' dissatisfaction with the intended Bill of Settlement, I suppose your Grace will be the less troubled at it when I tell your Grace that the reason of their dissatisfaction is thoroughly understood here, and consequently will not weigh much; though I confess they are very industrious in employing several instruments of several interests to exclaim against it.

I hope ere this your Grace has received His Majesty's letter for inserting my nephew Cuffe in the Establishment for the enjoyment of his father's pension; wherein as I do not doubt of your Grace's justice and kindness, notwithstanding my Lord of Lanesborough's interposition, yet I am as confident your Grace would exercise your charity too, if you were fully informed of the ill condition in which my brother Cuffe left his family and of the impossibility my nephew is in of subsisting without your Grace's favour to him in the continuing of this pension; the history whereof being too large for a letter, I leave it to my nephew to tell his own tale. The Holland and Flanders letters which arrived this day tell us that the Spaniards also lately refuse to ratify the peace upon the terms the Dutch have signed the Articles, because they are not only excluded from assisting the Emperor and the Confederates, but also from paying him the subsidies due before the Articles were signed by the States. Besides the King of France demands the countries of Beaumont and Bovines, to which the Spaniard say they will never agree; and though the States offer to make such provision in the wording of the peace that they shall not be obliged to a neutrality with France against the Emperor and their Allies, yet they say plainly they have been so ill treated by Holland, in their precipitation of the peace without their privity, that they dare not trust them. And I wish they had more confidence in us. This has caused so great a division in Holland that all but Amsterdam have declared against the peace; and they would do so too but that they are jealous there is a private treaty on foot between France and Spain, whereby they fear (by their own example) Spain will be taught to make a separate peace and give up all Flanders into the hands of France, taking in exchange for it Rossillion, Franche Comté and Perpignan. The apprehensions whereof give the Amsterdammers no small alarm lest Antwerp be made again the place of staple trade in Flanders. While thus each party are playing their game, the Duke of Luxemburgh is reinforcing his army (from whence no

detachment is sent to Mareschal Créquy, though the *Gazette* has mentioned it) and will certainly be too strong for the Prince and the Confederates if we do not send over a new supply of men, of which we have talked this week past, and orders have been issued to both horse, dragoons and foot to be in a readiness to embark this next week. And it is also said that there is a new treaty or league offensive and defensive agreed on between us and the States General for five years, but in the last I dare not be positive. It is also said that the French have not prosecuted the siege of Strasburgh, but have removed from thence three leagues to oppose the Duke of Lorraine's passing the Rhine, and have offered to forbear further hostility to the town and grant them the free use of their bridge again in case they will remove the Imperial Garrison they have among them, and admit the French officers into their town to buy of them such necessaries as they want; which they flatly refuse, renouncing any further confidence in France who has so barbarously violated their neutrality, and affirming their resolution of living and dying with the Emperor and his allies, with whom they have made a league offensive and defensive to which they will adhere.

The Duke of Lorraine being marched to pass the Rhine at Philipsburgh to enlarge his winter quarters on that side of Germany, it is expected we shall hear soon of an engagement between him and Créquy.

In my last I acquainted your Grace with the commands I had received from His Majesty to be present here at the next meeting of the Parliament, by which means I shall not be so soon in Ireland as I intended; but yet I hope to wait upon your Grace there soon enough to do my duty in Parliament, where and upon all occasions your Grace may be most assured that I will not fail in my devotion to your Grace. This day my Lord of Arran went for Windsor, where I intend to meet him on Tuesday next, whence I shall give your Grace such further account of affairs as I am capable of collecting.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, August 24. Castlemartyr.—The previous afternoon Mr. Robinson, Captain Archer and Orrery spent the time in agreeing on a model for fortifying Rincorran that might best answer His Excellency's two main ends, viz., the defence of the harbour by the lower batteries and the securing those batteries by fortifications that might resist such forces as an enemy's fleet might be able to land. After Robinson's departure on Sunday, Orrery was thinking on those particulars, and having resolved on what he thought best he called his son Harry, explained it, and told him if Mr. Robinson and Captain Archer did not propose something very like it and Orrery's distemper prevented him entertaining them thereon, he should do it for him. He was glad that on their arrival the lessening of his pain permitted him to discourse so long, and that what they propounded was like the plan he had resolved on. Having propounded some particulars which they

were satisfied were requisite if they could be compassed, they have come to a unanimous resolution of a plan to offer to His Excellency. He hopes it may be to His Excellency's satisfaction and thinks it all the ground already designed is capable of. In little more than the compass first designed for the crown work itself there will be the noblest batteries in the world, a good fortification landward, a citadel on the heights of the fortification commanding the lower batteries should an enemy enter, and a place of arms for eight hundred men that no ground around can look into, besides houses for arsenals, magazines, officers, soldiers, gunners, etc., all at near half the expense of first works designed and manned with half the men.

There are three more particulars to trouble His Excellency about at present, the pentagon fort having been laid aside.

(1) That the two small platt bastions to be erected in the middle of the Longsides of first intended crown work and the two half bastions at H and L may be enlarged proportionately to the two full bastions at M and N, for symmetry is not only graceful but here essential, since the said platt bastions and half bastions will thus be more capacious for planting cannon and receiving soldiers, and therefore Archer and Robinson assured him they will endeavour it and send him a rough plan on Monday and prepare a fair one for Ormond against Thursday.

(2) Had not the wall work of the two long sides of the intended crown work been already raised the citadel on north end of the fortifications might have been made stronger and more capacious than now it will be, for when the pentagon was intended it was necessary to draw inward the sides of the crown work to be defended by the faces of the King and Queen's bastion of the pentagon.

(3) The three believe that the lower batteries with their breast-works, etc., and the whole surround of the wall work of the fortifications ten foot high may be completed by the last of November if the work be pursued vigorously and the undertakers commanded to have hands and material sufficient.

Orerry hopes for his Excellency's approval of the plan. He wishes when the plan is drawn up, etc., and approved of by His Excellency, Mr. Robinson be sent with it to His Majesty to explain every particular. Mr. Robinson is the best for this and can answer any objections of His Majesty or his engineers. The violence of his pain is somewhat abated, but he cannot write his own name and begs Ormond's pardon for using another's hand to give this account, etc. *Abstract.*

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, August. Dublin.—I made a step hither yesterday to visit my Lord Primate, whom I find so extremely ill that I doubt he will scarce survive many days. I here meet Mr. Whitfield, who is within these two days returned out of England, discoursing with him about those Bills which were sent over. He told me that the King had laid by that Bill which was for the

Confirmation of the Estates of the Irish. I asked him what Bill that was, and whether the Irish Agents had presented any draught of such a Bill unto the King: he told me no, but that which we sent over from this Board. By this discourse of his it was easy to guess what a character he had fixed upon that Bill and under what notice he and his friends were used to represent it, so that I doubt they are making parties against it in all places. But yet I find that the gentleman is much deceived in his intelligence as concerning that Bill, for I am informed out of England that it is privately referred to the Lord Chancellor and to Sir Edward Deering to consider of it, because they are most versed in the former Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and that this is kept secret to avoid the troublesome applications unto the King about it.

My letters likewise tell me that although my Lord Ranelagh seems to undervalue the late observations upon his accounts, yet that in earnest he is under much trouble and that he intends to visit France before Ireland. Mr. Wilde is lately landed and was this day upon his duty with the Commissioners, which doubtless will be a great ease and assistance to Sir Charles Meredith and Dr. Topham.

I was yesterday told a pleasant story concerning Sir Richard Bulkeley, who being asked why he was put out of the Commission for the Peace, he made answer that he knew no other reason but that he denied your Grace a pack of hounds which you desired of him. I find that the gentleman is much laughed at for his wit and little pitied for his expulsion, for they now report that he used his authority somewhat tyrannically and influenced others in judgment besides himself. The world speaks very loudly to the honour of my Lord Ossory in the engagement at Mons. That attempt hath made a great change in the face of affairs; the Confederates begin now to think the French are not invincible, and it is now supposed that the French King will court that peace which formerly he would almost disdain to hearken to.

Postscript :—I have made some short return unto Sir Peter Pett, and likewise to my Lord Anglesey, about the proposal of hemp and flax, but withal I acquainted them both that nothing could be said particularly unto the proposal until your Grace's return, who I was very certain would very heartily advance any endeavours that might be for the advantage of the King's revenue and the benefit of this poor country when once you could be satisfied in any indifferent measure of the expediency of the thing.

Endorsed :—Received August 26th, 1678.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1678, August 26. Clonmel.—Tho' I do not know how this letter will get to your Grace sooner than by the Wednesday's post, yet since I am to be in motion every day till I get to Kinsale I take this morning to own my having received yours from Dublin; I suppose written on Saturday last. Mr. Whitfield having gotten to himself a new faith and a new practice in religion I do not wonder he should give the Bill of Confirmation a new title, and by his favour a false one, as he restrains and appropriates it to

the security of the Irish, of whom yet many are honester men than himself; that Bill is disposed of as your Grace is informed.

In a former letter of your Grace's you mention the dissatisfaction of the Treasurer and Vice-Treasurer because they are not nominated to be Commissioners of Defective Titles [and truly I think they have just cause; all that I have to say in excuse is that neither of them were upon the place or had a brother here to put [us] in mind of them as the Master of the Rolls* had; if they can get themselves put in in England I shall be glad of it, tho' I think theirs is not the hardest case in that Bill.

Since I came hither I was shewn part of a letter from Sir Richard Bulkeley to Harry Birne about his being put out of the Commission of Peace, wherein he owns the knowing of another reason for it than his refusing me a pack of hounds, and makes deep protestations, I think imprecations, against his having ever been at a Conventicle in his life; perhaps I shall send your Grace herewith a copy of that part of his letter. I confess I was never told he was but in the coach by Sir Maurice Eustace the day I came to Blessington, at which time I told Sir Maurice I would order his putting out of the Commission, and so that matter shall rest till I return to Kilkenny or Dublin. Then perhaps I shall call upon Sir Maurice to justify his information, which a Privy Councillor should not lightly give a Chief Governor and put him upon the disobliging any gentleman without infallible ground.

It is very possible my Lord of Ranelagh may think the air of France fitter for his constitution than that of Ireland at this time, for he has lately desired and had a new Licence of Absence, yet that may be that he may attend his accounts in England. My cousin Butler, the Tory, is at this instant on his trial, so three of the five will be despatched. I am not without fear that if the Primate should die very soon the King may be importuned for somebody not so fit to succeed him as the Archbishop of Tuam, who I have recommended, and have the King's promise for him by Secretary Coventry; at least if I should send no despatch for his promotion it is possible that of Tuam may fall into other hands than we wish, so that the surest way will be at one time to send letters for all the translations, and therefore I much desire to speak with your Grace as soon after the good man shall be dead as may stand with your conveniency.

ANONYMOUS LETTER.

1678, August 31st. Whitehall.—From the northern quarters we have an account of the new treaty concluded between the King of Danemark, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Bishop of Munster, for the carrying on the war against Sweden; by which it seems those Prince's thoughts are wholly set upon continuing the war on that side, although there should be a peace made on

* Sir William Temple was Master of the Rolls in Ireland 1677-1689. He succeeded his father in that office, having had a grant of the reversion in 1664. His brother, Sir John Temple, was Solicitor-General for Ireland. See note at p. 71 *supra*.

this. And at Nimeguen upon the proposal that was made there of a general cessation of arms, the Brandenburg minister said he was willing to consent to it with relation to France, but for what concerned Sweden in it he had no orders. On Thursday come sevensnight the returns for the exchanging the ratifications of the late treaty between France and Holland expires, and hitherto the States have not given any orders in it on their part, but on the contrary seem resolved, and have so declared to the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen, that they cannot proceed to ratify till Spain have likewise concluded their treaty, which is only hindered by the new demands of the French, seeing without that they should miss their main aim, which was to make the barrier in Flanders by the restitution of those places to Spain; and as for the offer of the French to put those places in the meantime into the hands of the States, they have absolutely refused it. The States have finally with the good liking of the Prince of Orange resolved to reform 25 companies of foot and 25 troops of horse, and when that is done they will have left 60,000 men in their pay. This reduction will only affect the officers, for the common soldiers will be taken into such other companies as are defective. The ill posture of the Emperor's affairs as well in Hungary as the Empire makes the Princes of the latter extremely desirous of a peace and to press the Emperor very much in this point.

On Thursday the Parliament was prorogued by commission till the first of October. On Wednesday the Earl of Feversham parted hence for Flanders to command the King's forces, the Lord Howard of Escrick who had that trust being dead at Brussels and is very much lamented. This morning we have our Dutch letters of Tuesday last; they tell us that some of those differences that hindered the conclusion of the Treaty between Spain and France have been removed, the French having quitted the demand they made of Bovines and Argemont, and that the difficulties which remained concerned Beaumont, the Chastellnie of Aeth and the comprehending in the Treaty the Messinesses that are fled their country, which is stiffly insisted upon by the French and as stiffly refused by the Spaniards. But after all these are points which it's believed will not be looked upon by the parties of so great importance as to hinder the peace, which seems to be not only very much desired by the Dutch, but even by the Spaniards, whose affairs are certainly in the worst condition in the world. The letters we have this day from Germany say that the M. de Créquy had caused a manifesto to be published declaring war against the City of Strasburg, and thus he continued the $\frac{1}{2}$ instant at Werdt; the Imperial cavalry had passed the Rhine near Phillipsburg and the infantry was following. The northern letters say that the King of Denmark was highly offended at the loss of Christianstadt, the fault of which was laid upon his general Arensdorfe, who was put out of his command and would be tried by a Council of War. The Swedes army, which is stronger than the Danes, was advanced within two leagues of Landseroon, with design, as is believed, to attack the Danes

who are encamped near that place. Mr. Knight, the King's surgeon, and others to assist him are gone for Flanders to take care of the English that are sick there. The battalion of Monmouth embarked yesterday. *Endorsed* Anonymous.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, August 31. Dublin.—I received yesterday the honour of your Grace's of the 26th instant. What protestations Sir Richard Bulkeley hath made to Captain Birne of his never being at a Conventicle I cannot say, but doubtless Sir Maurice Eustace would not inform your Grace of an absolute untruth; but I cannot tell how Sir Richard should know that he was put out upon that accompt, or by your Grace's orders, for I never yet heard from him, neither did any of his friends make any application to me to understand the cause thereof. Perhaps he thinks himself above that; I wish he had as much innocence as he hath assurance.

I find by a letter which I received from my Lord Orrery that the engineers and contrivers of the Fort of Rincurran are at length agreed that they will go on with their crown work and let the great work alone till some better season. It seems somewhat strange to me that they ever differed upon that point, for they were your Grace's repeated directions that they should advance and perfect that crown work to secure the harbour and leave the other alone, for you did not design to make that fort a security for the kingdom, but for the shipping. I am glad they are at last come to a right understanding of your Grace's intentions. My Lord Primate was buried last night at Christ Church. I came hither to attend his funeral. I believe the successions which may depend upon this vacancy, if they be soon despatched, may prevent the imposing of any person out of England. I shall endeavour to wait upon your Grace at Kilkenny within few days after your Grace's return thither, but I am apt to believe that if the Primacy be secured there will be no great contest for any other Bishop, especially by that gentleman who is reported to be intended for the Primacy. I suppose he will scarce leave his preferment in England for anything in Ireland except the Primacy.

This last packet brings us no news; we are still where we were as to peace or war, and the resolve of that point depends (as my letters say) upon Mr. Hyde's return. The Duke of Bucks his withdrawing himself into France at this time seems somewhat mysterious; but I find that it is the opinion of some wise men that he is not in France, but is retired into some privacy for the cure of an ill distemper which the skilful say useth to be very troublesome about this season of the year.

I have nothing farther to trouble your Grace at present; all things here are very well, little or no company in town, and by consequence little business.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1678, September 8. Hatchlands.—Your Grace's of the 21st of August from Carrick I received four days since after my return

from Windsor, else I had communicated these your Grace's commands to Mr. Secretary Coventry, to supply which on Friday I wrote thither to my Lord Arran and desired him to do it; and while I was waiting upon His Royal Highness on Thursday last a hunting I read to him that part of your Grace's letter, to which he replied that Mr. Secretary Coventry could not give your Grace any account of the Bills, because my Lord Chancellor has them still under his consideration and has made no report of them to the King. By last Tuesday's packet your Grace will receive from Mr. Secretary Coventry a signification of His Majesty's pleasure concerning my affairs in law before my Lord Chancellor, to whom also His Majesty has been pleased to write himself about it. All I desire is that because my Lady Donegall has protested against her undertaking the further solicitation of them, being resolved not to leave Belfast till the next summer, that I may not be a sufferer by obeying His Majesty's commands during my attendance this next Sessions of Parliament; for the next day after I will take post for Ireland, and if I cannot be in Ireland before the end of the next term I will infallibly (God willing) be there before the term following, so that all I beg is a respite of the Judges' giving in their opinion and my Lord Chancellor giving judgment till the beginning of Hilary term. And I humbly beg your Grace's interposition in procuring me this favour, pursuant to His Majesty's signification of his pleasure to you by Mr. Secretary Coventry; which may fairly and legally be done, since this delay is occasioned by His Majesty's commands in staying me here, where I suffer also considerably in my other affairs in Ireland, and am also not a little mortified that I cannot be there to assist in the elections; but I hope, however, to be there time enough to promote the passing of the Bills. George Legge has a great mind to wait upon your Grace in Ireland, and desired me to acquaint your Grace that if you will please to favour him in procuring his being elected a member of the next Parliament he will infallibly be there and serve your Grace with his best skill.

Yesterday while I waited upon His Royal Highness at Guildford after his hunting, he was pleased to tell me that the peace between France, Spain and the States-General was absolutely resolved on but not signed, the Spaniards having left all matters in disputation on their side to be transacted by the States' Ministers at Nimeguen. He said further that the King of France was very angry with the King and waited now only for a fair opportunity to shew his indignation to purpose, and that he did believe we in Ireland should find the first effects of it. Upon this I took the liberty of beseeching His Highness to interpose his endeavours that the meeting of the Parliament there might not be delayed, that being the only means of putting us into a posture of being able to defend ourselves, being at present without money, arms, ammunition and ordnance. He promised he would do his part, and on Tuesday I shall wait upon him again and make bold to remind him of his promise, and shall also know of Mr. Secretary what progress is made, for I am to dine with him then at George Legge's

lodge in Hampshire, and by Saturday's packet your Grace shall have full information of all I can collect among them. When my Lord Arran waits upon your Grace he can tell you how dexterous of late Colonel Fitzpatrick has been to prevent any underhand intrigues against you here, for he has the full history of it, and will acquaint you with the good foundation the Colonel has laid. I suppose we shall now very soon hear of my Lord Ossory's return. When your Grace shall be pleased to communicate to me the result of Mr. Robinson's and Captain Archer's meeting with my Lord Orrery I shall further discourse upon that subject with His Majesty.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678, September 11. Kilkenny.—About the time I was at Cork I had notice of our Primate's death; but having written to you concerning a successor when a vacancy was first believed to be near, I thought I might take some time to offer His Majesty my thoughts of the removes and promotions which I conceive may be for his service and the good of the Church upon this occasion. I remember I then mentioned the Archbishop of Tuam as the fittest person I could recommend, but it was upon a supposition that either the Archbishop of Dublin would not change his station or that there was, if not an incompatibility, yet much incongruity that a Primate should be Chancellor.* I have since not only considered further of it, but upon inquiry I find that both offices have heretofore been several times in one person, and I will presume to say there could be no time wherein it could be more allowable and necessary than now. Yet I am so far from retracting any part of the character I then gave of the Archbishop of Tuam that, in case His Majesty shall please to make my Lord Chancellor Primate (which I think it will be highly for his service and the Church's to do), I humbly propose that the Archbishop of Tuam may be removed to Dublin; which is a considerable promotion, and I have reason to believe will content him, because I gave him no expectation of any advancement. I do not conceive that in what I now propose I have changed my opinion, or, if I seem to have changed it, that it will be convenient to give my reasons for it. If His Majesty shall think fit thus to dispose of those two Archbishops, I then further humbly offer the Bishop of Limerick as very fit for the Archbishop of Tuam and Dr. Digby, now Dean of Kildare, for that of Limerick; they are both young men compared with other bishops, but elder by some years than the canon requires. The signification of the King's pleasure upon the whole matter requires the more haste, for that whatever should come to His Majesty by the vacancy of the Primacy will by contract fall to the Farmers of the Revenue, and it will be fit there should be a Primate as soon as is possible. The forms of letters for all these removes will be sent to Mr. Thynne lest they may not be readily found there.

* The most recent instance of the union of these great positions in one individual prior to Boyle's appointment to the primacy was that of Primate Loftus, in the reign of Elizabeth. Under Henry VIII. Primate Cromer held both offices concurrently.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1678, September 14. London.—I am just now come from Mr. Secretary Coventry's lodge, where, with all the formalities requisite, we have celebrated the day of Holyrood; yet amongst the crowd of glasses we did neither forget your Grace nor your business. I suppose ere this your Grace has received my Lord Chancellor's Apostiles (as he is pleased to call his objections) upon the Bills, which you are to look upon as my Lord Ranelagh's notions; for ever since the Bills have been lodged in my Lord Chancellor's hands his Lordship has been every day at Kensington, where he has been as assiduous to influence (as in other places) all he can against the Bills. Mr. Secretary is of opinion it had been necessary (as he thinks it still) that Mr. Solicitor-General, or some other person well acquainted with the Bills, had been sent over to justify them and answer all objections that are made against them; for then they had not been carried in hugger mugger, and His Majesty could not have received those impressions against them that are now laboured by many hands in private. He tells me he has sometime since given your Grace his opinion in this particular, as he had done also this day, had not the crowd of his neighbours whom he treated prevented him. All the discourse is now of peace, which I wish we may have our share of; but yet I cannot hope we shall long enjoy it, because the King of France is very angry with us, which we shall have the less reason to regard if we are unanimous amongst ourselves the next Session of Parliament, in the success whereof much depends. Sir Humphrey Ferrers, my Lady Arran's brother, was lately drowned and has left never a son, which gives my Lord Arran a fair prospect of a title to that estate;* whether this accident will retard his journey into Ireland I suppose your Grace will know from himself by this packet. My Lord Ossory arrived here this day and went immediately for Windsor.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1678, September 14. London.—My wife is returned from Windsor and finds herself much better for the few days change of air she has had there. She has taken her leave at Court, but because the doctors find the diet of asses milk agrees so well with her she must continue it some few days longer. I came from thence but last night, and met then with the news of Sir Humphrey Ferrers his unfortunate end, occasioned by a runaway horse that carried him into the Trent, where he was drowned before any of his servants could come in to help him. He left only two daughters behind him, which does very much afflict his father, for he has now none of his name left that have any relation to him. About Wednesday next I intend to take my leave of the King, and will then move him about the business Mr. Ferrers

* This is the "sickly young man" referred to by the Duchess of Ormond, in a letter dated May 13th, 1672, as the only obstacle to her daughter-in-law's inheritance of £3,000 a year. See Vol. III. of this series, page 452.

has so long desired, which, if granted, may be of future advantage to me. I hear the yacht is in Chester water, and I have written to the captain of her to remain there until I come, being informed that the dogger and the frigate are returned. My brother and my Lord Ambassador Hyde are just now gone in my coach to Windsor.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, September 20. Castlemartyr.—Encloses a letter brought by Mr. Robinson from Captain Hamond. Above twenty-five cannon are mounted on the platforms at Rincorran. A guard is necessary, and without a guardhouse, fire and candle the duty cannot be done, and the men in that bleak place will suffer much. Orrery hopes £8 or £10 will provide fire and candle for the winter though another company be added, which seems necessary. He suggests that a guardhouse be speedily erected in one of the places; it must stand when the fortress is finished; this will answer the present need and put His Majesty to no needless expense.

By letters from Limerick the writer is assured the late firing of the cannon in the King's Castle there has so shaken the tiles of the storehouse, the forge for fixing arms and some portholes, that it will need £10 to repair them, and cost more if not repaired before winter, as well as prejudice the arsenal there, of which he still took good care, and hopes his Excellency found it not ill looked to.

Orrery humbly begs Ormond's pleasure in those two particulars, and that what money is ordered for Rincorran, fire and candle may be given to Captain Hamon, and that for the Castle to Captain Barry Foulks (who commands under him there) or to Sir William King, Deputy Governor, to lay it out and account for it.

Abstract.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, September 20. Blessington.—Your Grace's of the 14th instant with my Lord of Orrery's enclosed came so late to my hands here at Blessington that I had not time to acknowledge the honour of the receipt thereof by the return of the same post. I shall not entertain your Grace with any observations upon the particulars of that large letter; your Grace's strokes take notice of the most considerable places. Doubtless his Lordship writes very rationally upon those grounds he sets himself to write you, viz.: That the Acts of Settlement and Explanation are their Magna Charta, and that nothing in either of them is to be touched upon. But I find nothing insinuated in the whole letter as to that which ought to be a proper question—whether it be not high time, and very reasonable and conscientious, that some provision should be made for the Innocents in Connaught, and for those nominees who were intended to be provided for by those same Acts, and (if I mistake not) were assured to His Majesty that they should be so, and who were prevented of all their just expectations to make the first room for adventurers and soldiers, especially when

the adventurers and soldiers have been so graciously and so liberally provided for as they have been, and where there is nothing remaining to supply those long expectants, but only the refuse part of the whole stock of forfeitures. I do not find the least consideration of this *quaere* debated in that letter, which his Lordship must needs know doth lie as an obligation upon the King, and hangs like a comet over the whole settlement. But interest too frequently darkens and overcomes all other considerations, and I am humbly of the opinion that, had some few deficiencies been provided for, this had been the best and most reasonable Bill that could have been offered to a Parliament, but I shall trouble your Grace no farther upon this subject. I do not find by those last letters out of England that our Bills there have made any farther progress towards a despatch than what they formerly had done, and I am apt to believe by their slow motion that the King is not willing to have a Parliament summoned in Ireland until he finds the temper and effect of their meeting in England. I pray heartily it may tend to His Majesty's and the Kingdom's advantage; but I understand by some letters that the absence of the Duke of Buckingham at that juncture of time, and his present favour and allowance to have his lodgings in Madam Nelly's house, doth not a little contribute to the jealousies and dissatisfactions of the people. I wish the King doth not find some ill consequence thereof at the next sitting of the House, but I must beg your Grace's pardon for guessing at those matters which concern me not.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1678, September 21. Kilkenny.—Mr. Robinson going to Dublin to prepare himself for England to give His Majesty an account of the work at Kinsale and receive his final pleasure for the finishing of it, I have desired him to take Blessington in his way to inform your Grace what he is to shew and propose.

Yesterday I had a packet out of England; the letters bore the date 10th and 14th of this month. By those of the 14th I am told my Lord Chancellor had prepared objections or doubts which he calls Apostiles upon the Bill of Confirmation, and the letter which was from my Lord of Longford supposes they were sent to me, but I have not yet received them. I have reason to believe that my Lord of Orrery has furnished the materials, and that my Lord of Ranelagh and he, however they may differ in other things, agree in finding faults in the Bill, tho' for differing reasons, and I am morally certain my Lord of Orrery has transmitted his objections to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Speaker, the latter having told my Lord of Castlehaven that the Bill of Confirmation, tho' petitioned against by the Irish, would destroy the English interest in Ireland if it should pass; which he said not of his own knowledge, having, as he confessed, never seen the Bill, but by the character given him of it by others. Mr. Secretary Coventry, hearing so much discourse of this nature, wished in a letter of his that we had sent over Mr. Solicitor or some [other] person capable

of answering objections when the Bills were sent, and my Lord of Longford says he seems still to be of the same opinion. Upon this latter intimation I have thought it necessary to give Mr. Secretary some reasons why such a person was not nor like to be sent. I send your Grace a copy of my letter upon that occasion, that if anything in it agree with your sense you may improve what I have said, if you find reason to write upon the subject to any correspondent of yours. Our last letters say my son Ossory was gotten to Court; if he stays there we shall have all the assistance he can give us. But methinks we should not much need it when our intentions were to discharge our duty faithfully towards the King and his people, as I do not doubt but will appear clearly by that Bill when it shall come to [be] considered. [] is some argument of our good purpose towards the English that we could not think to obtrude upon a Parliament which must most consist of English and Protestants what is so destructive to them as this Bill is supposed to be, at least it is not probable we could design it. I am at this time under a slight indisposition which makes writing unpleasant to me.

Copy.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, September 21. Windsor.—I have four of your Grace's now before me of the 3rd, two of the 7th and one of the 11th instant. I have these five days been prisoner to my chamber upon suspicion of the gout, and so have not had the opportunity to discourse with His Majesty upon them, but I have had your letters shewn to him by Mr. Thynne, and as for matter of the companies His Majesty approveth of the advancement of Captain Hamilton; and for the proceeding with such as had promises in order, His Majesty judgeth it the most equitable way; but I do not think him so positive in it, but that it may upon good considerations receive sometimes an interruption. For the admission of the Earls Burlington and Ranelagh into the Commission His Majesty judgeth it reasonable, and the Earl of Roscommon telleth me he hath likewise a promise. Your bills are now in the hands of Mr. Attorney, and my Lord Chancellor told me he would himself write you his observation upon them. I am still of opinion that some able lawyer that had been witness to the reason of the compiling them would have been very necessary to the expediting of them. For the matter of Sir Theophilus Jones his son I have not my page by me here to enable me to speak fully to His Majesty upon it, but I go to London upon Monday where His Majesty will be upon Wednesday, and then I shall discourse it fuller with His Majesty; in the meantime you may continue the suspension of the letter till His Majesty have determined it. But if your Grace when you send your desires upon such matters would order the parties concerned to get letters drawn upon it the thing would be quickly despatched and be out of danger of being interrupted. For the letter you wrote to my Lord Longford concerning the other affair of Sir Theophilus Jones, there is a reference made to my Lord Treasurer, and my Lord Longford hath it; the like is done

in the business of the quit-rents to be disposed by your Grace. The business of the Bishops the King will determine it to-morrow, and I shall give your Grace accompt of it. Mr. Fanshaw hath been with me and if nobody give him worse counsel than I shall I do believe he will not contest with your Grace. I believe the Parliament will be adjourned till the ratification of Spain come and the towns evacuated, but this not having been declared in Council I cannot write it as certain. The marriage of the Earl of Plymouth with the Lord Treasurer's daughter is now consummated. The business in Scotland seemeth to take some heat, a captain of the King's having been lately killed by a party of Walsh his men and a gentleman on their side. I am to reiterate to your Grace what Mr. Thynne wrote you the last post, that His Majesty would have Dean Murray* preferred to some good deanery upon the first occasion—I suppose it is at the intercession of the Duke of Lauderdale. I shall not longer detain your Grace, but wish you a happy return to Dublin and continuance of health and prosperity.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1678, September 23, N.S. Hague.—Since my last to your Grace nothing has passed here but what you will have foreseen by that account which ended with Mr. Hyde's proposition here from His Majesty. The States excused themselves from any formal answer to it for some time, not knowing how the difficulties between France and Spain were like to determine. The French Ambassadors at Nimeguen seemed peremptory in their demands, especially of Beaumont and the Chastellenie of Aeth, but at length submitted them to the arbitrage of this State, as the Spaniards had late to His Majesty, and then Monsieur d' Avaux came post hither from Nimeguen to support his master's right upon this arbitrage, which was to be despatched in five days, so as to make way for signing the peace with Spain before the last day left for the ratifications with this State, which was the 21st current. But before they had been two days here a courier came to him with news that the King of France had generously remitted both points to the Spaniards without any arbitrage, so as the peace was to be signed on Saturday last the 17th. This was done, and the States on Monday resolved to exchange their ratifications with France, but at the same time to declare that it was upon the condition of their performing the Treaty with Spain; if not, this between them and France to be void. Before this they likewise resolved to give Mr. Hyde and me their formal answer to His Majesty's last proposition:—That though France had signed the Treaty with Spain, and theirs with France would thereupon be ratified, yet they declared to His Majesty it was with this resolution that, if France either refused to ratify their Treaty with Spain or to perform afterwards the conditions of it, this State should hold *le cas du dernier traité avec Sa Majesté pour escheu*

* Alexander Murray, Dean of Killala 1674–1701. He does not appear to have received further promotion.

and should be ready to perform the conditions of it. This was all the Prince himself proposed to bring it to here, since the game had gone too far to be recovered in any other manner, and the town of Amsterdam was against this itself. Upon the exchange of ratifications made at Nimeguen between France and this State on Wednesday, in pursuance of this answer from the States, Mr. Hyde em[barked] yesterday morning for England, and with him my Lord of Ossory, resolved to see your Grace in Ireland before any thoughts of returning hither. All that is now left to be done is to enter into guarantees with this State for what remains of Flanders, and to try if the progress of France upon the Rhine may be prevented by any steps towards a general peace; the first whereof, and which the Prince is much concerned in, has been made already by His Majesty's proposition at Nimeguen for a general suspension of arms, which France yet refuses to come to, upon the score of Sweden as they give out, but as others believe upon their own. I beg your Grace's pardon for this trouble.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, September 24. Castlemartyr.—Acknowledges the receipt of Ormond's letter of the 22nd instant, and reports that the commands contained therein relative to various works to be carried out at Limerick and Rincorran have been duly transmitted.

This letter deals mainly with the necessity of keeping a garrison on foot at Bantry fort to safeguard the Protestant interest in that region. The removal of this garrison had been decided on by the Earl of Essex in 1673, but on the consequences of such a step being represented to him he had countermanded his order. At the time of writing there were four files of Captain Hilliard's company occupying the fort, and one course would be to retain those and have the rest of the company march through Kinsale to Rincorran fort to strengthen the troops there. Or else one file might be drawn from each company at Cork (with an ensign and sergeant in charge of each) and these files might relieve Captain Hilliard's company at Bantry, the full strength of which latter would then be available for Rincorran, where a good number of sentinels were constantly required. Ormond's approval of one of these, or of any other proposal Orrery might deem advisable, is requested.

Abstract.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1678, September 25. Kilkenny Castle.—I have your Grace's written, I suppose, the 23rd, though dated the 13th of this month. At the same time I received two papers of observations from my Lord Chancellor of England, the one made by himself, the other he knows not by whom. I gave them last night to be copied, together with his letter to me, that I might send them to your Grace this morning. I have yet only read the letter which your Grace will find to be very reasonable and civil; that and the

observations you may be pleased to impart to Mr. Solicitor, on whom we must rely to help us to make a fitting return to all; and I think no time ought to be lost, for I know not yet why a Parliament may not meet here time enough to pass Bills before Christmas, if the Bill of Confirmation be returned any way, and this I shall write as my opinion by the next post with some reasons to support it; but some others—as important in my judgment—I will reserve. I have had some discourse with my cousin Robert Fitzgerald concerning that Bill of Confirmation, and have found it the shortest way to convince a man of my own level of understanding in such matters to tell him that when the Bill shall be offered to the House of Commons they may refuse or address for alterations and amendments without offence, so they will not be so angry at the offer of it as to neglect the means of their own preservation by refusing the King supplies, and so we are for the present agreed. I have undertaken they shall have Christian liberty concerning the Bill, and he says they are villains that will stick at supplies. I find him principally offended at what Mr. Solicitor* and his brother, the Master of the Rolls,* will get by patents, which he computes at above twenty thousand pounds, and he will needs suppose the Bill and Commission in it to be calculated for that end. When I tell him no man is obliged to pass patents he is ready with the Munster replies of what your Grace's and my example will do and all the rest. This with other observations are without doubt transmitted and given for a reason why Mr. Solicitor was not so careful as he should be of the English interest. But still the liberty of taking or leaving the Bill answers most objections.

Copy.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, September 27. Blessington.—As soon as I received from your Grace that book of objections against the Bill which came to me at Kilkenny and had perused them, I desired Mr. Solicitor to give me his observations upon them, which he hath done in the enclosed paper. I presume to send them to your Grace, and with them the objections themselves; not but that I remember your Grace hath a copy of them (for your Grace was pleased to give me notice thereof), but because the observations refer to some particulars as they are marked in the enclosed original letter. Your Grace may reserve the observations by you, for they are a copy; and you may be pleased if your Grace think fit to return me the objections because you have a copy of them already. I have said nothing of these observations to my Lord of Orrery, nor do I intend to do it until I know the result of the Bill in England.

This evening about five of the clock I received the honour of your Grace's of the 25th instant with a copy of the Lord Chancellor of England's letter to your Grace with two papers of observations upon that misinterpreted Bill. The letter is very civil and obliging, and the objections are somewhat modest; I wish it may meet with none more severe than those whensoever it is

* Sir John Temple and Sir William Temple.

brought upon debate, which I doubt from my Chancellor's letter that it is yet intended. I shall send them to-morrow morning to Mr. Solicitor ; I presume they will take no long time to consider ; but doubtless it will remain a difficulty not to be answered on this side the water that provision should be made for the innocent and, nominees, and yet that the deficient adventurers and soldiers and forty-nine officers should have their full pretensions according to their Magna Charta, as they term those Acts. It is the King's pleasure only that can determine that point, but certainly there are not materials enough in this country to satisfy them all. Your Grace has made a fair proffer, and if the King approves it not, there it must rest. The Chancellor's putting remainders and reversions into possession in a summary way was that which was easily foreseen by your Grace and by many of your servants would be subjected to great objections ; but this was so vehemently insisted on by the Roman Catholic party that your Grace had no other way of avoiding their importunity and a seeming partiality but by making that clause extensive as well to the English as to the Irish ; but this is easily remedied in England, if His Majesty shall think fit. But I engage too far and too suddenly upon a work which I doubt not will, upon further consideration, come better prepared for your Grace's judgment. I hear nothing of your Grace's intentions to return suddenly to Dublin, and therefore I purpose to remove thither some time this next week, as soon as I can, that I may have the better opportunity of discoursing with Mr. Solicitor upon this subject, and of observing your Grace's commands whensoever you shall think me worthy of receiving them.

By a letter from my cousin Fitzpatrick of the 17th instant he tells me that he is not likely to succeed in his business about the quit-rents, that the Lord Treasurer did once promise him very fairly and gave him great expectations of obtaining them for him or something else equivalent ; but he is now of another opinion, and hath no great dependence upon his promise, and therefore desires to be at liberty to leave London as soon as he shall find it convenient, if your Grace have no service to continue him there this winter. That London is a chargeable place, and I doubt that Jack Fitzpatrick is none of the most provident husbands in the world.

I hear by letters that both the King and Duke are observed to be very civil to the Duke of Bucks ; very few pretend to understand the meaning of it, but very many raise strange conjectures upon it. Jealousies and fears have ever been the great disturbers of the peace and quiet of these kingdoms.

I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for the terrible length of my late epistles. I assure your Grace I do not naturally affect that kind of rudeness ; I find no pleasure in it, but I do not know how to shorten them upon these late occasions.

ORMOND to EARL OF DANBY.

1678, September 27. Kilkenny.—The work for securing the harbour of Kinsale being shortly to rest till the next spring, I have

sent Mr. Robinson, our engineer, to give His Majesty an account of what is done and further intended, and I have directed him to wait on your Lordship to inform you also of all that concerns that place. That fortification was begun by the King's command and for the advantage of the navigation of England as well as Ireland. But it was well understood that to carry it on to perfection the revenue of this kingdom would not suffice, and our confidence that His Majesty would call a Parliament here before Christmas was my greatest encouragement, not doubting but that Parliament would grant what would not only finish that fort but repair and fit many other stores and magazines that are empty and ruinous, as has been often represented. The Bills in order to the calling of a Parliament were transmitted the latter end of July, and though I suppose some time has been lost that might have been saved, yet I know not why it may not be possible to return them so that still a Parliament may be called in November to sit before Christmas. I know there are many faults found with the Bill for Confirmation and Settlement of Estates, and I know why some are more particularly concerned to find and aggravate them; the design and scope of it agrees not with their interest. Yet I am so far from thinking myself concerned in the defence of every part of it that I really profess that I do not understand it, but did and do rely so far upon the honesty and ability of the King's learned Counsel and Judges—all Protestants, and I think all concerned in some new interest—that I do not believe they would draw a Bill for the destruction of it. If they have, I am sure it will soon be discovered in the House of Commons, where there will sit many more Protestants than Papists—I think ten for one—and there it will be seen whether the general name of English be assumed to support private concerns or no. I use not this argument as if I thought it fit the Bills should be returned with any gross and evident partialities to any person or party, but to show there can be no danger that an English interest will be subjected to in such a Parliament, and that I conceive as the case seems to stand with us at home and abroad it will be better to hasten the return of all the Bills, though with some faults, than to delay it—because that even those who have been prevailed upon to mislike the Bill of Confirmation upon trust before they could understand it, do yet profess that whether they accept of it or no they will vote for His Majesty's supply, and because they may address for a retransmission of that Bill with such alterations as may better please them, and expect a gracious return from His Majesty, who aims at nothing but their quiet and just satisfaction by the Bill. I do not presume to judge of the inconveniency of a Parliament sitting in England and here at the same time, yet I should think that in five or six weeks which must pass before a Parliament can meet here, the Parliament there will have done much of their business or will be in a quiet way of doing it, or there will be a recess; in either case the Parliament here may sit or be separated without, I hope, any worse consequences than will follow the having of none.

I have chosen to offer His Majesty my humble opinion in this particular by your Lordship's means and favour, because you best

know the ill condition the revenue of this kingdom will be in, and how far it will come short of answering what must necessarily be done for the safety of it without supplies from Parliament.

Copy.

SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON to ORMOND.

1678, September 28. Whitehall.—His Majesty receiving daily informations of the growing insolencies of Walsh, the Scotch rebel, and his accomplices in all parts of the borders towards England, to the infinite scandal of the Government and to the danger of the public peace, if not timely suppressed, His Majesty has thought fit to give order for the effectual dispersing all those seditious meetings, to seize and apprehend the principal heads and ring-leaders of them, and in case of flight to pursue them even into England or Scotland respectively, as they shall happen to endeavour to save themselves. And because His Majesty suspects that being thus pressed they will at the last build upon a retreat into Ireland by the north-west of Scotland, his Majesty thinks fit your Grace should have this notice given you of the resolution he has taken in this matter, to the end your Grace may please forthwith to give order for a strict guard to be kept on all those passages between the north of Ireland and Scotland, for the apprehending any suspected persons, that upon the strict pursuit His Majesty resolves shall be everywhere made as well on the English as the Scotch side, if this Walsh and his accomplices shall attempt to escape into Ireland. I have called to my Lord Duke Lauderdale for a particular description of the person of Walsh, which I will endeavour to send your Grace with this if it come time enough.

ADVERTISEMENTS OF THE PLOT IN ENGLAND.

1678, October 1.—On Saturday night the Council sat until 12 of the clock upon the conspiracy against His Majesty, and did that night issue their warrants for apprehending of seven men said to be conspirators and their papers, and on Sunday letters were sent to the officers of the several ports for the stopping of one Conyers, the principal agent, who was said to fly. On Sunday, in the afternoon, the papers that were taken were looked over, and the most material ones reserved; and on Monday there was a full Council who, perusing some of the papers, found matter enough to ground warrants upon for apprehending others.

The prisoners taken were also examined before the Board, but whether they confessed or not is secret; yet they are detained prisoners, and their accusers which were of the conspiracy do not doubt making their charge against them appear. The discoverers are called Tonge and Oates, the latter whereof was in Venners Bussell, in Cheapside, and the former a country curate, but for the preservation of the King and country did among the rest counterfeit a villain, that he might detect them.

This day the King went towards Newmarket, but before he began his journey he ordered letters to be sent to the Lords

Lieutenant of the respective shires to take a speedy course for disarming all Papists in the kingdom, and to search their several habitations and seize all their arms and ammunition.

[Here follows an epitome of the account of the conspiracy, printed at p.p. 181—184 *supra*, under date August 13, 1678].

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, October 1. Whitehall.—These enclosed by the Council's order will excuse me from enlarging in this letter; and the indisposition I lie under, besides the turmoil of business we now are in—both forbid me any superfluous impertinency.

We have been these four days—morning and night—busied in Council about the information of this Oates. If he be a liar, he is the greatest and adroitest I ever saw, and yet it is a stupendous thing to think what vast concerns are like to depend upon the evidence of one young man who hath twice changed his religion—if he be now a Protestant. There will many things I believe appear in the papers of some men taken that will administer matter for noise, and some think a matter of this great consequence should have been *digested* somewhere else before it had been brought so openly upon the stage. It is now too late to be recalled, and be the matter of the information true or false, it hath given occasion to so many inquiries and awakened so many men and discourses upon a theme that people were but too eagerly concerned in before, that I cannot conceive it can pass over without drawing some great severity upon the Catholics or giving so great a dissatisfaction to the kingdom as will be attended with great inconveniency.

I find an objection made to your revenue bills as if they took away from the King as much as they gave by *explaining* of laws to his disadvantage that before were clear enough for him, but I am still of opinion you should send some such man as Sir J. Temple over, if you have any such, that the King and Council may be satisfied without admitting every particular man to a rehearing.

I pressed His Majesty the night before his departure concerning the bishoprics. He did not seem to make great difficulty, but I have caused the letters to be written out and sent to Newmarket where the Duke saith he will advance it all he can.

My lord of Ossory conducts another kind of battalion for Holland, having three Duchesses under his care.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, October 3. Dublin.—Since mine to your Grace of this morning's date the English packet is come in, and I presume your Grace's letters will be sent by this despatch. I do not find any extraordinary news but by one letter and in one particular; but finding my other letters to be silent therein, I shall take no further notice of it than unto your Grace (unless I find it dispersed

by some other letters), and because it seems material I shall transcribe to your Grace the words of my letter.—

“1678, September 28.—This day a Cabinet and close Committee of the Council sat both before noon and after noon upon information of a Jesuitical plot contrived and hatched in Ireland, concerning which some letters are fallen, as I hear, into my Lord Treasurer’s and other hands; ’tis said that they intended to seize the King’s person at Newmarket, and to subvert the whole government of Church and State. Some believe this is a feigned plot; others that there may be somewhat in it; but for my own part I know not what to say. One Dr. Tonge, a divine, (a troublesome man in Tangier) is informer.

This came to me from T. Sheridan, but no other letter (as I yet hear of) taking any notice thereof. I hope there is nothing in it. That which gives me great cause for hoping so is that I this day received a letter from Tangier from the Earl of Inchiquin, which saith nothing of it. I shall not trouble your Grace with any other letter-news which comes by this packet, for I presume your Grace has it all, and repetitions are not very obliging.

Postscript :—I received letters from my Lord Longford and from my cousin Fitzpatrick, and in neither of them a word of this news. Since my writing this letter I understand that a letter of this news was read publicly in the posthouse.

SAME to SAME.

1678, Thursday morning, October 3. Dublin.—I hereby return unto your Grace those papers you were pleased to send me to Blessington, with such answers to the objections as your Grace may be pleased to make use of, as far as they may be agreeable to your Grace’s better judgment. That which particularly refers to one clause in my Lord Chancellor’s letter, and is enclosed in that letter, your Grace will, I presume, return it to his Lordship by way of letter as he sent it to your Grace; the other answers are referable to the several paragraphs as they are figured in the objection. Mr. Solicitor and I were both at some loss as to the particulars of fees for the Commissioners, if they should be insisted on. The Commissioners are so many, (for they are twelve or thereabouts) and of such quality that it would consume a very considerable part of the stock to give them any allowance proportionable to their conditions, and would certainly be of some reflection if they should desire any; if there should be none allowed them it is to be feared that business would move but slowly, and might sometimes be neglected. This is the difficulty; but I think we are both of the opinion that it might be some indecency for the Commissioners at present to insist on any fees; if in the future upon the execution of that Commission there should appear any failure, it may, I presume, be remedied by some letter from the King, or by some other way of provision for those that shall attend the work, if it shall then be thought necessary.

I have desired the postmaster to hasten those letters to your Grace, because you may perhaps think it convenient to return some answer to my Lord Chancellor by the next Saturday’s packet.

I received the honour of your Grace's of the 30th of the last month. If what your Grace writes therein concerning D. B. [Duke of Buckingham] should ever come to pass, we were in a great probability of being a very happy and well managed people, but I must confess I can foresee no other likelihood for it (for hidden fates are not perceptible) but that L. T. [Lord Treasurer] would be glad to be quit of him upon any terms.

EARL OF LONGFORD TO ORMOND.

1678, October 5. London.—Your Grace's of the 21st of Sept. I have received, and had likewise a sight of your Grace's of the same date to Mr. Secretary Coventry, who I perceive is not satisfied with your Grace's reasons for not sending a person over to justify the Bills, against all of which as many objections are made as people's malice and interest suggest to them. I am told from a very good hand that one of the Council who is always very busy in all affairs of Ireland (and therefore your Grace can safely guess at him) says that in the Bill for granting the addition to the revenue His Majesty will lose more than he will get by it, by having his prerogative clipped and debarred of those advantages he has now in his power to make in his revenue, which if he please to exercise it will amount to at least as much as this Bill will grant him. I have not heard of any particulars mentioned, and I have some reason to believe Sir James Shaen is the fomentor of this malicious notion. I have communicated to Colonel Legge the favour your Grace intends him as to his being elected a member of the Parliament there, as also the conditions upon which your Grace will do it, and as soon as I have his answer your Grace shall know his resolution.

Mr. Coleman was yesterday committed prisoner in Newgate. In the warrant for his commitment, treason and holding foreign correspondence are assigned for the reasons; though but some of his papers which were seized have been perused, it seems they afford sufficient matter against him. But these affairs of State I leave to Sir Robert Southwell, who is better instructed than I, to furnish your Grace with intelligence of this kind. The orders for disarming all the Papists throughout the kingdom, without exception of any, have been issued to all the Lord Lieutenants, and in this city my Lord Craven's directions in it have been vigorously executed. I doubt not but your Grace has had the same directions sent to you, and your Grace has need now to look sharply about you and make wary steps. My want of a cipher with your Grace since my brother Cuffe's death gives me no opportunity of writing freely, and I fear my Lord Arran, who sets out from hence early on Monday, will arrive there too late to give your Grace that account of the present posture of affairs which is necessary for your Grace's knowledge. My Lord Chancellor has given me some hope that my request in Chancery will not be denied, and I have accordingly directed my counsel to make their motion the first *seat* before the term. But if my Lord Donegall be in the condition I hear he is in, I fear he will save my counsel the labour, for which I shall be heartily sorry.

I hope long before this your Grace is got rid of the country disease ; you have many obligations to be careful of your health, which for the good of us all may God long continue to you.

My Lady Mary Cavendish, who is now with us, commands me to present her duty to your Grace, and says she will write by Lord Arran.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, October 6. Dublin.—I shall not trouble your Grace with any accounts about the Plot. I am very sure your Grace's letters will give it you with all the circumstances. Some reality doubtless there must be in the thing, or mighty suspicion, for Coleman is confined. I presumed to send Sir Stanley Feilding to have a care of his guards, and to direct a commission officer to be still upon some duty ; this I desired him to do without any noise, which I presume he did accordingly. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for moving out of my own sphere, but I supposed an error on that side was more easily pardonable than a misfortune that could possibly happen through neglect. I do not know whether your Grace will not think fit upon this occasion to come sooner to Dublin than your Grace intended, for though I do not apprehend the least of danger, yet I know not what misrepresentation might be made of your absence by some that do not love you. I heartily wish your Grace all happiness.

SAME to SAME.

1678, October 7. Dublin.—I had not the honour of receiving any letters from your Grace by this day's post, so that I have not any of your Grace's commands unanswered upon my hands.

This evening the good Bishop of Ossory* is buried, and I presume your Grace will now think it seasonable to consider of his successor. The place ought to be well provided for, and the Bishopric is not as valuable as could be wished to support of itself a person of such abilities and parts as may be convenient for that chair. This perhaps may put your Grace upon some difficulty of resolving upon the point. Upon the consideration whereof I humbly offer to your Grace whether the Provost of the College† might not be a fit person for your Grace's approbation ; he is beyond all exception for his learning, his decent and sober conversation, and for his understanding in government (which rarely meet in one person), and he hath been a long dependent upon your Grace and your family. And that he might not be removed to his disadvantage he hath at present the Archdeaconry of Armagh, which is a considerable living, which he may hold by *commendam* with that Bishopric. He hath likewise the Deanery of Lismore. And that the College might not be unprovided by his removal, I humbly propose whether Dr. Dopping‡ may not be thought as fit

* Benjamin Parry, Bishop of Ossory 1677-78.

† Michael Ward, Provost of Trinity College 1675-8, Bishop of Ossory 1678-9, Bishop of Derry 1679-81.

‡ Anthony Dopping, at this time a Fellow of Trinity College, became Bishop of Kildare in 1679, and was translated to Meath in 1681.

a person for that great charge as any other whatsoever. He is a grave man and a good scholar. I presume he will be very well satisfied and obliged by this preferment, for the place is of very good value, and he hath a handsome temporal estate of his own, and then the Cure of St. Andrew's (a good living) will likewise be vacant for whomsoever your Grace shall think fit. This is that person whom your Grace was pleased to tell me that you would like some care of.

I should not have ventured to have named those gentlemen to your Grace had I known your Grace's inclinations to any other persons upon this removal, but I presume I shall obtain your Grace's pardon for this confidence, having no other design or business in this matter than the good of the Church, and the particular accommodation of your Grace's family, which in this instance ought, as I suppose, to be your Grace's concern.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1678, October 7. Kilkenny.—I received so many letters on Friday and Saturday last, and was so desirous that my Lord Chancellor of England should as soon as was possible receive all the satisfaction that could be given him from hence upon the observations he sent, that tho' I intended to answer your Grace's of the 3rd, yet I found the want of time and my own weariness greater than I expected, and am put to beg your pardon for the omission. Whilst I was in expectation of what would come from Mr. Solicitor, my Lord Chief Justice Booth happened to be here, and I put him upon drawing something upon the observations to try how his exceptions would agree, without consulting one another, with the [Solicitor's], and I find that in substance there is no difference betwixt them, as perhaps he will let you see. I sent away the copy of Mr. Solicitor's paper without any material alteration, and so the whole matter will shortly lie before the King. I doubt not but your Grace is informed that my recommendations upon the death of my Lord Primate were consented to (as the King told the Duke), though the sending of the letters was delayed; for what reason I know not, but I will hope it is not upon composition with the Farmers to make profit of the vacancies. For besides other inconveniences I should be sorry it should be thought that Bishoprics might be without Bishops, from which ill men might make bad inferences in wanting them to die. Yet upon the death of the Bishop of Ossory I have by Mr. Secretary Coventry besought His Majesty not to appoint a Bishop to that see till he shall have received my humble recommendation. I send your Grace what I received by a letter of the 28th of the last from Sir Robert Southwell concerning a plot against the King's life and mine, for I have the honour to be singly named with him in the first information. Who may come in after I know not, but sure His Majesty was to be better attended than by me alone. I am confident there is an ill design one way or other in the contrivance. Your Grace will shortly have my Lord of Orrery's reflections upon it, and so I may spare mine and your Grace's further trouble at this time.

SAME to SAME.

1678, October 8. Kilkenny.—With your Grace's of the 6th I received the originals of the enclosed order of Council with many other papers relating to the plot which occasions so much discourse and such strict searches as are made in England. In obedience to that part of the order I have ordered Captain Brown with a squadron of the horse guards to apprehend Mr. Peter Talbot and convey him to the Castle of Dublin to be kept close prisoner. If he is not found there it will be a shrewd circumstance in the [], for I have been told ever since he landed that he is [so] infirm that he could suffer no ordinary way of being [carr]yed a few miles. But I should think he may be as [easily brought from] town to Dublin as he was from Dublin thither. However it is with him, he and his friends must excuse me if in such an occasion I am not over careful of his ease. What your Grace ordered Major Feilding was very prudent and necessary, as also your advice to me, which I shall follow, and be at Dublin, God willing, on Friday night. The other parts of the order shall be put in execution at more leisure, and with the advice of your Grace and as many more of the Council as can be gotten together. Some I shall perhaps take in my way with me. Hoping to see you so soon I shall now give you no further trouble.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, October 8. Whitehall.—I have not troubled your Grace a post or two, because I had nothing to write. His Majesty is still at Newmarket and like to stay for some time (as they that come thence say). He will sign nothing concerning the Bishops till his return; he playeth the same play as far as I can hear to the English one, the Bishop of Chichester being dead.*

We have much noise and we of the Council much business about a plot; would two witnesses swear but half that which one doth there would be enough to hang a great many men. Several are imprisoned, and very pernicious papers found which, whether published or not published, will produce great consequences. I hear Judge Reynolds is come, but have not seen him. I hear likewise Lord Orrery's papers are come over, but I cannot see, if the King come so late from Newmarket and the Parliament meet at its day here, there can be *leisurable* time enough found to make any long debates upon the Acts you sent over. I pray God the general peace make not an end of our particular one; in my poor opinion clouds of importance gather. My Lord Arran who went hence yesterday will give you at large a state of all things. I think it would be much to your Grace's service if you would spare him us again here quickly.

Postscript :—Being assured that Peter Talbot's letters come under the name of my Lord Viscount Mountgarret there is order to the postmaster at Chester that all letters so addressed be sent to your Grace to inspect them.

* Ralph Brideoake, Bishop of Chichester 1675-78. He was succeeded by Guy Carleton, who was translated from the see of Bristol.

GEORGE PHILLIPS to ORMOND.

1678, October 8. New-Hall.—I presume to acquaint your Grace that in obedience to your commands and instructions I have used all possible diligence for the destruction of the Tories of this country and for the discovery and punishment of their harbourers and abettors, of which I shall give a more particular and distinct account when I shall have the honour to kiss your hand. And having continually pursued them, publicly by the soldiers, and secretly by spies and costly intelligence, I met with an opportunity at last to do some good service. For on Friday last intelligence was given by a fellow (who was their tailor and whom I employed as a spy), and two of my brothers with five or six countrymen surprised two of them, whereof one escaped being wounded, the other they killed and I have sent his head to Derry; his name was Shane O'Cahan, the captain and leader of all the Tories in this country. I dare not compare him with Count Hanlon,* but certainly next to him he was the most dangerous and active rebel in Ulster; he hath been out these six years, and hath committed innumerable robberies and some murders. There are now only four known Tories left in this country, in the pursuit of whom I have employed some trusty persons, and do confidently hope within a short time to give your Grace a good account of them.

JOHN PARKER, Archbishop of Tuam, to ORMOND.

1678, October 8. Dublin.—I was never guilty of such a measure of confidence as to move your Grace for a preferment for myself, and if at any time I should have so far exceeded the bounds of modesty as to have become my own intercessor, it would have proved as needless as unhandsome, your Grace always preventing me with your goodness and kindness. But I have now assumed the boldness to become the spokesman for another (the Bishop of Killala), for hearing that God has been pleased to deprive His Church of that very good man, the Bishop of Ossory, I humbly beg of your Grace to think of the Bishop of Killala† for his successor; whom I know to be a very prudent, sober and pious person, a man of a public spirit, and who, I am sure, will employ both his time and his parts to the improvement of the Church of Kilkenny, the Bishop's house, and the whole See, and that to the greatest advantage they are capable of. I cannot say that I write this so much as by permission, having not consulted that gentleman in this particular, but know his mind so far that I am sure he would be glad to remove to a place of more comfort than that affords him where he now resides. My zeal to the Church of God, the good of the See of Ossory, and your Grace's service, are the motives that embolden me to mind

* Redmond O'Hanlon. Some account of this famous outlaw is given in Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 512-513, where he is styled the Irish Scanderbeg. He was shot in 1681.

† Thomas Otway, Bishop of Killala and Achonry 1670-1678. Translated to Ossory, 1679.

your Grace of that worthy person, who, I am confident, will employ all his revenue (as he has done hitherto) to public and pious uses. His own Bishopric is as good as that of Ossory, but he lies obscure in a remote corner of this kingdom, and is like a candle under a bushel. If he were removed to Kilkenny his light would shine before men. I humbly offer this to your Grace's serious consideration, and for this presumption earnestly beg pardon.

EARL OF LONGFORD TO ORMOND.

1678, October 8. London.—My Lord Arran went hence yesterday early and is this night with my Lord Chesterfield, will be on Thursday night with Thom. Cholmondly, and on Saturday at Knowsley, on Monday at Chester, and on Thursday sennight at Holyhead, where if the wind proves fair and the yacht be there ready for him, he resolves immediately to set sail for Ireland. Mr. Secretary desired me to tell your Grace that for your sake he already laments his absence, for he is of opinion he may in this critical conjuncture be of great use to your Grace; being very well with the King and Duke, and in good esteem with all men here. And therefore as soon as he has settled his lady and family there, it is his humble advice (as well as the judgment of all your Grace's friends that truly love you) that your Grace should send him back again, and well instructed in all affairs relating to yourself and the Government. My L[ord] R[anelagh] and some others are very busy and industrious to represent your Grace as very partial to the Papists, and though I am confident their malicious insinuations will never gain credit with those that know you, yet your enemies will make use of all tools and means to do you mischief. I hope your Grace has received the orders of the King and Council early enough to put it briskly in execution before the birds are flown, for from your vigour in this particular measure will be taken of your inclinations, and you will be reflected upon accordingly; all which will be prevented if you can lay that troublesome man up close and send the rest of his companions packing before the Parliament meets. This is not my snigle opinion, but the judgment of all those here who wish well to you and are concerned for your prosperity, which, at their request, I have presumed to represent to your Grace's consideration.

Mr. Secretary, I presume, by the last packet gave your Grace an account that the despatch of the letters he sent to Newmarket concerning the Bishops is reserved till his Majesty return hither. The Council are still busied in the discovery of the plot, and last night committed my cousin Langhorne prisoner in Newgate for treason. Whether they will be able with all their industry to dive into the bottom, God knows; but it is the general opinion that what they have already detected will make foul work whenever the Parliament meets, and there is one circumstance very odd, that (as is reported) several letters should come to merchants here from their correspondents in Venice, Leghorn, and Flanders, informing them that it was reported there His Majesty was

murdered, and they thereupon desire to know how it was done, and what change follows here upon it. Mr. Robinson arrived here yesterday, and during the King's absence has leisure to prepare his drafts and observations by the time he returns, which is not yet certainly known.

My Lady Mary Cavendish two days since was pleased to acquaint me with the fair prospect she has now of my Lord James obtaining the great match,* for the mother wishes well to it, and by her arguments has absolutely diverted her daughter from thinking any more of my Lord Ogle, and has infused so many objections against all other competitors that a fair way is now opened for your Grace to advance and fix your family if you will please to appear concerned in it ; but what method you will please to take, either by writing to the mother or my Lord Suffolk, who is your professed friend, and has power with his sister the grandmother, she leaves to yourself. In the meantime she is of opinion that my Lord James' coming hither should be hastened, for the grandmother declares she will dispose of her at the twelfth year of her age, which will be in January next, and I know not any will stand so fair as Lord James, if your Grace please to give motion to it. This I was desired by my Lady Mary to write to your Grace, who will by my Lord Arran have a fuller account of this matter. This day I have prevailed with my friend Don Juan for some time (or at least till this storm is over) not to press on his pretension, in regard there has been no favourable report made upon the reference to that person who was able here to give most life to it, notwithstanding the obliging letter your Grace wrote in his behalf to him.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, October 9. Dublin.—It was very late last night that I received the honour of your Grace's of the 7th instant. It is not at all strange to me that those in England who should design His Majesty's death should likewise have the like purpose upon your Grace in Ireland, for your Grace's removal out of their way would make their attempt very easy for carrying on their business in this kingdom ; but I am clearly of your Grace's opinion, if they had any such design, they did not limit it unto so narrow a compass ; their projections used not to be so thinly laid. All that I have yet heard of it seems to me (if there be anything in it) but a continuance of the same design which was some few years since objected by Friar French against the titular Archbishop of Tuam. If the Council of England, upon farther inquiry, shall find the reality of the thing, I presume your Grace will quickly receive some directions out of England to secure that plotter on this side the water which is mentioned in the paper your Grace sent me. What observations my Lord of Orrery will make upon

* The reference is to a proposed alliance between Lord James Butler, afterwards second Duke of Ormond, and Elizabeth, only daughter of the 11th Earl of Northumberland, and Baroness Percy, in her own right. This lady ultimately married the Lord Ogle mentioned above, who was heir to the Duke of Newcastle.

it I cannot tell, but this I well remember that my Lord Inchiquin at his being here told me that my Lady Ranelagh had by her great importunity imposed this Tonge (who is now the informer) upon him, to go with him as his chaplain into Tangier, and that he proved a very unquiet person, and an intelligencer amongst them in that place. I find by your Grace's letter that you are not yet resolved upon a successor to the See of Ossory. If what I offered to your Grace, in my last to your Grace, prove agreeable to your Grace's liking, that Bishopric will be in a fair way of being made somewhat considerable; but if your Grace have any other person in your inclinations, if your Grace will be pleased to let me know him, I shall cast about which way some addition may be made to the value of that Bishopric for his more comfortable support. All that occurs to me at present is this—the Chantryship of St. Patrick's is now void* and is yet in my gift; how long it will continue so I cannot tell, because of the letters which are expected over, but I shall for the security thereof give titles of that Chantryship to Mr. Synge,† who shall resign them again when your Grace shall think fit for the accommodation of that person whom your Grace shall design for that See. This I take to be securest way of managing that affair.

The Tories about Monaghan grow very busy and insolent, as I am informed by letters from thence; I doubt the long nights will make them extremely troublesome in those parts.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, October 15.—Yesternight I received the honour of your Grace's of the 5th instant, with copies of the observations and considerations upon the Act intended for the settling the kingdom and of the answer thereunto. I am this day preparing copies of them for my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Secretary Coventry, and shall forthwith wait upon them and give your Grace an account of my service. But upon perusing the papers, there being something that sticks with me, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace with it, that when it shall be objected it may receive an answer. The return to the first observation is of great weight, and were the objection only against taking away the remaining security liable to the satisfaction of the deficiencies of the adventurers, soldiers, and '49 officers, it might, to my understanding, be very satisfactory in this case to say that this security (if there be any left) is on the one hand very small, and not likely now to defray more than the charge of the several inquisitions; while yet, on the other, the persons liable to trouble from such commissions are very numerous, and their conditions on that score very uneasy, so that it were highly for His Majesty's and the kingdom's service that after so many years, and when much the greatest part of whatever should answer those ends has already been

* The Precentorship had been held by Bishop Benjamin Parry, previously Dean of St. Patrick's, during his tenure of the See of Ossory.

† Samuel Synge, Dean of Kildare 1679-1708—an elder brother of Edward Synge, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam.

discovered, the people's minds should be at rest, that they may without further terror improve their estates and by that the country. But the difficulty in this observation seems to me to be as much in transferring the security to the people as in taking it away from those three interests, and if so the answer given does (methinks) not come up to the doubt, for in that case the kingdom will be no more at rest than now it is. The persons only who are to have the benefit of the inquisitions will be changed (and that too from Protestants to Papists), but the condition of those now liable to this trouble will remain the same, and in consequence the hardships which the English interest will seem to have suffered may perhaps in this case be thought to be increased, because they will be put upon them without any good to the public to overbalance them. It may be my ignorance in the business may make this seem something to me, knowing yet nothing but what I find in the papers now received, and I hope your Grace will pardon an error of my zeal of omitting nothing that is for your service.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, October 15. Whitehall.—I have this post received three from your Grace, two of the 1st and one of the 8th instant; and, with the former, the answers to the observations and objections against the Bills, which I shall study as well as I can, against the time cometh of discoursing it. But our new Plot, or pretended Plot, (for as yet we have but one witness and none confessing), hath produced so many collateral contrivances of disturbing the government that I doubt it will not only busy the Council, but the Parliament also, a good while. To-morrow morning we expect the King here from Newmarket, when the Committee will give him an account of what we have found in this business. If you had Peter Talbot's papers doubtless many things worth knowing would appear, though perhaps not in relation to this plot; yet men that look for the philosopher's stone, though they miss that, yet find medicines to cure the itch and sometimes bigger diseases. I have not written to Newmarket concerning Dr. Parry because the King cometh so early to-morrow, but as soon as he arriveth I shall not fail to acquaint him with it, and present him with your Grace's desires.

Our news from abroad is very uncertain. Maestricht is not yet surrendered, as by treaty it ought to be, nor the ratification is not come from Spain as it was expected, and it is doubted whether it will. The French have passed the Maas, seized on Aix-la-Chapelle, have an army of 35,000 men, and threaten not only Juliers but Cleves; all in Holland but Amsterdam seem very sensible of their error in making so precipitate a peace.

The Duchess and Princess Anne we every day expect here, as having intended to leave the Hague yesterday. Our Parliament now draweth nigh, and if in these few days we can put things in a convenient order and method to calm then we are not such weak counsellors as the libellers represent us.

ORMOND to COLONEL FITZPATRICK.

1678, October 17, Dublin.—The last post brought me from you one of the 1st and two of the 8th instant. In one of the latter was the copy of my Lord Treasurer's report in your business. It seems to me to be a lean one at the best; but such as it is I will make all the use I can of it for your advantage, when it shall be seasonable for me to do my part with freedom and most usefully to you. Peter Talbot is prisoner in this Castle, and has been several times examined. Two things he drives at: The first to clear himself of the Plot, and next to justify or at least extenuate the crime of his being here upon the connivance I promised by your mediation and interposition. I remember you told me he wrote to you once or twice out of England, praying you to obtain my permission for his coming over. But I remember also I always refused it, and that on such terms as could not reasonably encourage him to come, and I am confident you gave him my answers in the same sense I gave them you. He says on his examination he employed nobody but you to me to obtain liberty for his return, which is manifestly false; for he sent his nephew Sir William Talbot to me, I am sure once, but I think twice, on the same account; and it falls out that one of the Council has witnessed that Sir William Talbot told him he had unwillingly undertaken the employment at the earnest instance of his uncle Peter, but that he was refused. Whence the inference is that he had rather you should bear the blame of the solicitation than his nephew; but you may forgive him, for he has been as little tender of some he had more reason to be careful of than of you. I am glad Sir Richard Reynell is there, and should not be sorry he would continue there; if I knew he would, he should hear from me; but I fear he will be come away before you receive this.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, October 19. Whitehall.—This will not be very troublesome to you, I being full of business, and under much indisposition. I have again pressed His Majesty about the Bishops, who promiseth to despatch it suddenly. I told him the argument of the Farmers receiving the rents in the meantime. For Bishop Parry's successor His Majesty consenteth that your Grace shall nominate whom you think fitting.

The Parliament meeting on Monday, and the Plot, maketh us very busy—God grant it to be to good effect. There is a great doubt whether the Spaniard will ratify the peace, which will make great confusion in foreign affairs, and the prospect is not over pleasant as to our domestiques. We have increased our Privy Council by the accession of my Lord Ailesbury.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, October 22. Castlemartyr.—My brother Burlington by the two last posts has enjoined me humbly to move your Grace

that a foot company might be ordered to Youghal; he tells me he has made the suit for it to your Excellency, and has desired me to be his remembrancer to your Excellency therein.

My wife has for above four months past been often assaulted with very dangerous indispositions, and though all her friends in England and here have earnestly pressed her to go to London, yet all I could prevail on her was to get a promise, if what the doctors sent her from thence did not cure her, she would then go thither. On Sunday last she was assaulted by another relapse, under which she lies at the present; and having found thereby that all our doctors here do her no good, nor what the London doctors have sent her, I hope to persuade her, as soon as she is able, to hasten to London where she will meet with abler men. I am therefore an humble suitor to your Grace for your order for the *Garland* frigate to take her in, and her retinue, at Cork harbour, and to transport her to Bristol.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1678, October 22. Whitehall.—By the last post Mr. Secretary gave your Grace an account of all occurrences here, since which time there has been nothing done in the affair of the Bishops—the more important affairs of Parliament having taken up most of their time and thoughts. Yesterday they met, and His Majesty and Lord Chancellor made the enclosed speeches, whereupon the House of Lords desired His Majesty to let them see the papers by which the discovery has been made of the Plot both against his person and government, to which His Majesty consented; the Commons likewise desired the same thing, but His Majesty told them he had already granted it to the Lords, so I presume there will be a conference between the two Houses, and a Committee of both Houses appointed to consider of that matter.

Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's body is now found, by which it evidently appears that he was first strangled and then laid in the place where he was found with his own sword in his body; whereupon His Majesty has issued a proclamation promising £500 and pardon to any of the complices that will discover the rest. We do not yet hear that Spain has ratified, but we presume the next letters will bring the account of it.

Postscript :—There is yet nothing done in the Bills.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678, October 23.—I had yesterday a discourse with my Lord of Anglesey, who professes great respect for you, and having never done anything to the contrary. He will tell you of the insufficiency of the Lord Mayor, who they say is negligent in his duty, beside another thing he informs me is spread—that the ammunition is kept in an insecure place, and with an inconsiderable guard. I think the man's friendship is not to be rejected, as long as it may continue without gratifying him in things unreasonable. My Lord of Stafford upon my giving the House the occasion falling

out naturally upon a motion relating to Ireland of your banishing priests and disarming Romanists, said that the Papists were strangely insolent in several places of the kingdom, naming Waterford and Dublin, where he averred that the Proclamations were pulled from the posts after they had been a second time set up; my reply was that what link-boys did (such I supposed those actors were if any) was not worth minding. I beseech you by your servant to let me know this matter, which, if false, you may *wife* such reporters without naming any here or in Ireland. Much of this comes from the Charlatan of Munster. I hear Peter Talbot and others are in custody; I doubt not but you will make their restraint as easy as is possible after their being examined. It is whispered that you seized not the papers of Peter Talbot which has been the course here of all that have been imprisoned by accusation. Be pleased to let my mother know we are all well and for a short time do expect my son's company.

ORMOND to the EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, October 24.—I have yours of the 16th instant, and you will have under another cover some papers I thought fit for me to send to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and my Lord Treasurer; you shall do well to inquire how Mr. Secretary disposes of them now in his gait. I do not doubt but that they will come into my Lord Ranelagh's hands, and I as little question but that if he finds any error in them he will expose them, wherein though I am only concerned in the transmission, the calculations having been made by men of the better skill, yet I wish you would be inquisitive what may be said upon them. I have thought it needful, together with or soon after that less cheerful prospect of the state of the Revenue, to send the King my thoughts how he may bring his affairs here to the point he ought to wish; I send you both the letter and a copy of it. Before you deliver the letter consider with my Lord Chamberlain whether it be fit at all His Majesty should have it, and whether now or no, and proceed accordingly. If it be delivered, let the Duke see the copy as by my desire.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, October 26. Dublin.—Your mother writing to you by this post I keep a longer letter I had begun for you till the next. Your sister Cavendish will tell you of a gentleman recommended to her as fit to be a governor to your son by my Lady Northumberland, and she says he undertakes the charge in consideration of the good opinion he has of our family, having refused the like employment with others. She will tell you his name, and how you will inquire after him, and where he may be found, if upon inquiry you shall judge him fit for the purpose. But if we fail of him, and that Sir Robert Southwell despairs of another he mentioned to me, then, as your mother advises, it may be better to pitch upon Mr. Forbes than leave the boy long without one under the care of Barrington, who, though he be a good young man, yet

I fear James will have but little reverence for him, and I believe he will soon get a habit of wilfulness, and be long before he be brought out of it. This is all I will say to you at this time.

Postscript.—The contrary wind has kept this letter till now, the 2nd of November, and whether it will yet get away or no I know not. We have had no letters since the 22nd of the last from London, and so know nothing of the proceedings in Parliament since the second day of its sitting; but I conclude it is a busy time, and therefore send no despatch to the Secretaries by this post. My Lord of Donegall died this morning, and Captain Edward Brabazon's lady is now at my door, I suppose to call for a commission for her husband for the troop that is fallen, pursuant to the King's command.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, October 26. St. James's Square.—I beg your Grace's acceptance of my most humble thanks for the honour of yours to the King in my behalf. That, with your Grace's to myself, the reasons for the explanatory clause, the observations on a letter about the Bill for Confirmation of Titles, and two late proclamations came to my hands last night. This morning I got admittance into the King's chamber at his levee, and presented him with yours to himself; he received it very graciously, and having read it, bade me lodge those answers to the exceptions (taken against the Acts) in my Lord Chancellor's and Lord Treasurer's hands. I had before waited on my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Secretary Coventry with copies of what I had then received, but found they had likewise before received them immediately from your Grace. I shall strictly observe your commands about communicating such papers as shall be sent me to my Lord Longford. I took occasion this day (as also did my Lord) to acquaint several members with what care your Grace has used in that kingdom on this so pressing occasion, who were all extremely satisfied with it.

The discovery made by Mr. Oates is of that nature that it is equally difficult to believe it and not to believe it. The persons accused are some of them of that honour and experienced loyalty—the crimes so horrid and bloody—the number engaged so very great, and the series of the undertakings of so long standing that it is extremely wonderful how such men could engage in such designs, how it could be so long concealed, and how there should now be no more evidence on the other side. The accuser is so positive in his charge, so exact in all circumstances, so agreeing with himself in the whole, and each particular, and swears it with such assurance, that it seems impossible to be a fiction. The sum of his charge is that the Papists (especially the Jesuits and other Regulars) have conspired to bring in Popery by the sword, as being the only means by which it can be effected, and to root out the King's family as not fit for their turn; that they were the authors of the great fire of London in '66, in hopes to have raised a tumult in the city, and have had opportunity of killing the King; and since of that in Southwark, and that in Wapping;

that they have again projected firing the other parts of the town, in which action he acquainted the House what part each man was to bear, and what was designed for himself; that they have an army of 20,000 men ready listed and officered, and that all His Majesty's kingdoms are to have a share in this tragedy, for that a rebellion in Ireland and another in Scotland is promoted, and fitting instruments sent for each. He has named these for some of the persons designed for Ministers of State, and who have received Commissions for that purpose:—

Lord Arundel of Wardour to be Lord Chancellor.

Lord Powys, Lord Treasurer.

Sir Wm. Godolphin (the Spanish Ambassador) Lord Privy Seal.

And for Ireland, Mr. Coleman, Secretary of State.

Peter Talbot to be Lord Chancellor.

To be officers of the Army these he said have likewise Commissions:—

Lord Bellasis to be General. Lord Petres, Lt.-General.

Sir F. Ratcliffe, Major-General. Jo. Lambert (prisoner at Plymouth), Adjutant-General. Mr. Arundel (son of Lord Arundel of Wardour), Commissary-General. Colonels:—

[] Baltam [], Mr. Tho. Howard (dead), Mr.

Losseis, Mr. Roper, Mr. Wintour, Captains:—Mr. Roper,

Mr. Ratcliff (son of Sir F.), Mr. Medburne (a player), Mr.

Carrell, Mr. Townely, Mr. Langhorne (a Lawyer of the

Temple) Judge-Advocate, Sir G. Wakeman (Physician).

And for Ireland these:—Mr. Rd. Talbot, General, Viscount

Mountgarret, Lt.-General, Peppard, Esq., of Drogheda (the

particular employment I remember not):—

and in his charge affirmed that he had with his own hands delivered several of these commissions, and of others he had seen acknowledgments of the receipt of them, with professions of readiness to serve the Society of Jesus. He accuseth my Lord Stafford of keeping correspondence with the Provincials of the Jesuits, and being very instrumental in procuring contributions towards the rebellion to be in Ireland. And for the designed death of the King, besides the particular Jesuits and Priests he chargeth by name with it, he affirms that Sir G. Wakeman agreed for £15,000 to poison him, of which he has received £5,000 in hand, as he saw in their books of accounts, and adds that my Lord Castlemaine is privy and consenting to the murder, and said he was resolved to be revenged. There are warrants out for all those of this number that are in England and most of them in hold. I should very tediously trouble your Grace if I should add the several particulars which he is exact in; I suppose you have them from other hands. But most of these persons being but now accused, and at the Bar of the House of Commons, I thought it necessary your Grace should have some account of what strange scene is acting here.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, October 26. Dublin.—I have yours of the 20th upon your return out of Holland, and have seen that you sent your

mother. I am not of opinion you should resign the charge you have in Holland; but I think you ought to contrive it so as that whilst I am endeavouring to free the estate that must be yours from debt, you bring not as much or more upon it; and as far as that employment will do that, I think it is to be waived. When you have a mind to be informed of the affairs of this place you must take the pains to be it sufficiently, and not venture your interposition in them without full information; if you do you will be under great disadvantage, and some will be glad to find you so. Mr. Secretary Coventry, Sir Robert Southwell and Sir Cyril Wyche are best able to assist you; but the latter will be at most leisure. I know you are not apt to undertake the reading of volumes, and of such consist what has been transmitted hence concerning the revenue, the bills, the Lord Ranelagh's accounts, the difference betwixt the Farmers; and the matters relating to the Plot; but your way will be to single out what you most affect to be perfect in, and from these persons you may have satisfaction.

Your son's governor is by this time dismissed, and he under the conduct of Barrington is, I hope, at Paris, where he is directed to take convenient lodgings for him, and to clothe him and his small train; perhaps you may have heard of him before this comes to your hands. I am by no means of opinion he should for any reasons be brought into England till he shall have past at least this winter at Paris, partly to redeem the time I fear he has lost at Orange, but chiefly because I would not have him appear as a pretender with disadvantages in a solicitation that I have my particular reasons to believe will not suit with my affairs, or with my inclinations, at least if engagements must be so soon entered into. And there is more than superstition in my aversion to young matches, how advantageously soever they appear to the world; and there must be something more than ordinary in it, when few of those designed conjunctions hold and fewer prosper. Let us in the name of God in this follow the steps of our fathers and trust to Providence. If the lady be free when she is fit to choose, and your son then fit to be chosen, no industry ought be omitted to gain so desirable a wife for him. But if she shall be disposed of before, one must be sought for elsewhere, and though no other could be found in England, I would go myself to seek one for him in another country rather than consent to change the name my family has borne some ages, I thank God, without blemish or reproach.

Copy.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ORRERY.

1678, October 26. Dublin.—I do not remember that my Lord Burlington by letter or otherwise has acquainted me with his desire of having a foot company at Youghal; but now I know it by your Lordship, I desire you would let me know what company of the whole army you think may be most agreeable to him, and it shall immediately receive a patent to march thither.

I am extremely sorry for the use your lady has of my service, and that of the frigate, upon the account of her transportation

for want of health. The warrant to the captain will go herewith, and it may be fit I inform your Lordship that the captain of the yacht has order to sail to Portsmouth, and that if you think that vessel may be more safer or commodious she shall have order to put into Cork and receive your commands there, as I shall be glad on all occasions to do here.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1678, October 26.—If I had told you that by the conveyance of Sir Robert Southwell I had sent my Lord Chancellor the returns made upon the observations he sent, and a duplicate to Mr. Secretary, it would have saved you the trouble of getting them copied for them. If the Parliament sit any time upon this meeting we have no reason to expect that leisure will be found to take the Bills transmitted hence into consideration. If that for the better Settlement of Estates were as you apprehend it, your objections were unanswerable; but I am assured that it will be found that it neither constitutes a Commission of Inquiry, but puts an end to all of that sort, nor appropriates the product of a Commission of Grace (which it does institute for an easy remedy to such as they think may need it) to the Nominees, but leaves it to His Majesty's disposal; an expedient we were fain to lay hold of, because we found it would be impossible in any reasonable time to agree upon a distribution here, where there were some of every interest to give their vote except the Papists; and that for the sharing of a fund uncertain in all respects, but that it was certain it would not be enough to satisfy the deficiency of any one interest. We hear of some more objections against those Bills, but unless we be as fairly and favourably dealt with as we have been by my Lord Chancellor, who sent us his remarks, it will be impossible for us to justify ourselves. Mr. Secretary Coventry [] says they objected against the Bill of Additional Revenue, that by some explanation in it there is as much taken from the King as is given him, which, though it pointed not to the clause or paragraph, yet it gave me some direction to find it and put me in mind that the objection was foreseen when that Bill was sent, and that I then endeavoured to obviate it; in order whereunto a paper is sent, of which I have lately sent a copy to Mr. Attorney, in whose hands I hear the Bill is, and you will herewith receive another copy of it and of my letter to Mr. Attorney. After I had written thus far I find you have already a copy of this last paper sent you.

But to return a little to the Bill for the Settlement of Estates. It is fit you should know, when it was under consideration here, there was not one of the Council that was not of opinion that unless some provision were made for the Nominees in some measure answerable to the hopes that were given them, and the assurance that was given the King that there would be stock enough for it, that interest would for ever haunt the settlement of other interests, and at one time or another perhaps bring inconvenience upon them. This was our temper then, when it could not be foreseen that in October following a damnable plot would be discovered.

[Some words are lost here] the case all the advantages assigned by that Bill to any of that persuasion are before the King and Council to receive such alteration as shall be thought fit. You will herewith receive a copy of my Lord Treasurer's letter concerning the present farm of the revenue here, with the return I have been enabled to make by the strict inquiry and report of the Commissioners of inspection.

Postscript :—November 2.—Though the easterly wind has kept this letter till now, and may keep it longer, yet the Commissioners of inspection have received so much contradiction from Mr. Gourney, who takes part with Mr. Ryder, that the despatch upon my Lord Treasurer's letter will not be ready till Tuesday. I was willing to receive all that could be objected against those who manage the Farm, that I might give once for all as certain an account of the present state of the Farm and of what is probably to be expected as the thing will bear.

Copy.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY TO ORMOND.

1678, October 29. Whitehall.—Mr. John Dwyer, of Dundrum, (who I suppose will be the bearer of this himself), hath made long and frequent applications to His Majesty by petitions and importunities to be restored to an estate in Ireland which he pretends to belong rightfully unto him. He says also that your Grace is well knowing and satisfied of the truth of his allegations. I can say that His Majesty hath great compassion of his necessitous condition, and hath therefore commanded me to recommend him and his case unto your Grace's consideration, that something may be done for his relief and subsistence, whether by restoring him to all or any part of his estate in due course of law, or by granting him a *custodiam* thereof, or by giving him some employment which your Grace shall judge most suitable to his talent and capacity. This is what I was ordered to write in his favour, leaving it to your Grace's wisdom and goodness how to provide for him.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY TO ORMOND.

1678, October 29.—We are so taken up with either the House or Committees as I have scarce time to think of anything else; the important affairs under consideration you will, I doubt not, hear from several hands. I spoke to my Lord of Essex about my son's pretensions which he said he offered to my Lady Dowager of Northumberland, but I find he is engaged for my Lord of Winchester's son. I will use all possible means in this affair, and if we miss we have the satisfaction of having used our endeavours. I wish I knew your desires about parting with your staff. I cannot believe my Lord of St. Albans could propose purchasing it upon his own account; I imagine my Lord of Plymouth may be at the bottom of it. If you will intrust me in this affair I will give you, I am sure, a just account of it. The promise you had of an English title may be got easily if there be desires of this nature, without lessening the price you may demand. I have not anything to trouble my mother withal.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1678, October 29.—You will by this post receive, first, my letter to His Majesty desiring his admittance of you upon occasion to give him such account of his affairs and service here as you shall receive from me; next, you will have the reasons why an explanatory clause is inserted in the Bill for additions on some duties made payable to His Majesty by a former Act. This is sent that you may know what to say to a suggestion raised that as much is taken from as given to the King by the Bill transmitted. It is true I had thought to have reserved the weakness of the King's title to what some affirm to be strong and clear, that His Majesty's parting with it might be some argument to make the Bill pass, but I am constrained to lay it open by the great boldness of projectors and calumniators who care not what they affirm, and offer to get into play or to detract from those with whom they do not hope to find their account.

The third paper contains observations made upon a letter of many sheets of paper sent, as I am informed, into England, pretending to show the unreasonableness of the Bill for the Settlement of Estates here, and the partiality of it to the Irish. I know not whither to direct you to [almost a full line illegible here,] but Mr. Secretary Coventry may perhaps help you, he having given in notice that it was gotten over; if not, I presume the author has too good an opinion of it to have it hid, and if it w[a]lk about you may find means to [set] it. This and the paper sent you from Kilkenny, which was a return to certain considerations of my Lord Chancellor of England, is what can be said from hence in justification of that Bill. In the last place you will receive some papers in relation to the Plot discovered in England, and to the part we have assigned us in it here, to be made such use of as you shall find occasion either in the Court or among Parliament men. If I cannot by this post send you all the papers relating to that and other affairs, you may have them or a sight of them by Mr. Secretary Coventry's favour.

I desire you would show my Lord of Longford whatever is sent to you and not to him, unless it be such things as I shall tell you are only for yourself.

Copy.

ORMOND to THE KING.

Understanding by Sir Cyril Wyche that your Majesty was pleased to command him to continue there to attend your service in that Parliament, I conceive it may be of advantage to your service there that you would be pleased upon occasion to give him admittance and audience, which I had sooner proposed but that I was in almost daily expectation of his return. He has at this time nothing in particular to trouble your Majesty with from me, but if you desire to receive satisfaction in the matter of the Bills transmitted hence, and against some of which I understand great exceptions are taken, he will be able to give your Majesty an account of them.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, November 2. Whitehall.—Since my last to you my Lord Longford had a letter signed for the quit-rents your Grace desired, with the limitations prescribed by my Lord Treasurer in his report. It hath been signed these seven days, but just now as the post is going Mr. Berlue cometh to me from the King with positive orders that I must either stop it here or send to your Grace to suppress it there. The objections are, I hear, that it will cost the King great defalcations, which your Grace has disproved in your letter; but what I find they insist most upon is that the quit-rents of Englishmen are to be given to an Irishman; and that it was so my Lord Ranelagh said he would answer with his life. I told him that told it me that I thought my Lord Longford was as much an Englishman as my Lord Ranelagh, and that was all I could say to the matter. Having received the command it is my duty to acquaint your Grace with them; neither need I make any reflections upon the conduct of these affairs—they will be apparent enough to you of themselves.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1678, November 5.—Your Grace will here inclosed receive a letter from His Majesty directed to be sent your Grace by order of Council. The occasion of it comes from the enclosed examination of Mr. Oates, who has done the like service for a great many persons of quality here. Yesterday His Royal Highness made a declaration in the House of Peers that he would withdraw himself from all places where any affairs of the nation were agitated, and would no more be present either at the Committee of Foreign Affairs or the Admiralty. This has given some satisfaction, but not so much as I hear is expected from some of the House of Commons. These weighty affairs that are now on the anvil will not allow His Majesty time to resolve whom to settle in the Primacy and other Bishoprics, though he is frequently moved in it, but Mr. Secretary hopes he will now very speedily come to a resolution. He is indisposed and keeps his house which makes him not write to your Grace by this post.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, November 8. Castlemartyr.—This letter, which is very lengthy, gives an account of the state of things at Rincorran fort, and states that vigorous measures had to be taken to urge on the work of fortification. In this connection Orrery tells how he had assisted Captain Archer in maintaining discipline.

The following is a summary account of the progress made.—The upper and lower batteries are well nigh completion, and in a week's time it is hoped that the North end of the crown wall will be closed with a dry wall seven feet high, thus finishing it for the time being; by the same time the large guard-house is expected to be ready for the soldiers. There are twenty pieces of cannon

mounted on the lower platform, viz., 3 Demi Cannon, 6 whole Culverin, and 11 Demi Culverin. Besides about the place unmounted are 3 Demi Cannon, 4 Culverin, and 4 Demi Culverin. At Rincorran there are but fifty round shot all told; but in the old fort there are 283 shot for the whole Culverin, and 156 for the Demi Culverin, while in an old blockhouse have been found 42 Cannon of 7 shot, 168 for Demi Culverin, and 478 for whole Culverin. It is requested therefore that some Demi Cannon be sent, as also crossbar and chain shot of which there are none; that the wheels and axletrees for the unmounted guns be forwarded by sea, and powder too, the supply of which has run very low. The total expenses so far (advance money included) since the fortifications there were begun (27th February, 1677) to end of October, 1678, have amounted to £3,901 17s. 1½d.

VISCOUNT CONWAY to ORMOND.

1678, November 9. Portmore.—Since I came into this country I find the Presbyterians very unanimous in combining to set up Parliament men for our approaching Parliament who will act very contrary to the King's service, and this I have resolved to oppose, and doubt not to effect, if your Grace will be pleased to nominate a Sheriff for the County of Antrim that will be impartial and indifferent among us; of all which Sir Robert Colvill can give your Grace a more particular account. And therefore I do humbly propose to your Grace Henry Spencer, junr., Esq., to be the Sheriff, who hath ever been kept off; but is now willing to accept it upon my account and concern in this matter; and for any other consideration I have not the least in the world, so that I have stated the business clearly to your Grace, and humbly submit it to you to do what you please.

We are very much infested by the Tories, and if your Grace will be pleased to let Captain Eustace's company be relieved at Loughbrickland by half of Captain Butler's company, which is now quartered at Lurgan, so that Captain Eustace may return to Lisburn, from whence he hath been absent ten or eleven months, very much to their prejudice, and from Lisburn to be disposed of as we get intelligence of the Tories, it will be very much for the security of the country.

My ensign is now in England by your Grace's license of absence, which he desires to have renewed; I know he hath urgent business there, and I know he is wanted at Charlemont, especially since my Lieutenant-Captain Ball broke his leg. If your Grace would make Ensign Rawdon, ensign to my company, who lives in Charlemont, but is ensign to Captain Chichester, and make Ensign Coombe ensign to Captain Chichester, it might accommodate us both, for they are both good officers; and your Grace might be pleased to renew Ensign Coombe's license of absence without inconvenience.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678, November 10. Dublin.—I have been in expectation a good while to receive some directions concerning a regiment of

Irish raised here called Colonel Dongan's. At first there was no exception taken to it, and to do the officers right, they gave no occasion for any, the men having been as quietly raised and kept together as it was possible they could be. But now since the noise of the Plot, I have heard of some disorders committed by them; but I am confident, if there be any, they are such as at another time would not have been taken notice of; for no instance is given or complaint made, as I presume there would be if there were ground for it. However, in the apprehensions the English are, I do not wonder they should not like that that regiment should be amongst them, considering it is almost wholly composed of Irish Papists. It were to be wished it could be employed where it may be safe and satisfactory to make use of them in the King's service, for they are likely men and well officered; but if that cannot be, that they might be permitted and assisted to make conditions in some other service; for, if they should be disbanded here, for certain very many of the common soldiers would turn Tory, and be ready to become rebels, and what the officers may be prevailed upon to do by the instigation of the Popish clergy, now made desperate by their banishment, I cannot tell; especially when necessity (and that brought upon them by their abandoning the French service to come to their own King) shall pinch them. I desire you would lay this particular before His Majesty that thereupon his pleasure may be signified.

Copy.

ORMOND TO EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, November 10. Dublin.—I have yours of the 29th of the last and 2nd of this; to the first all the answer requisite is to send you a copy of mine to Secretary Coventry concerning the regiment raised here, which consists of at least ten Papists for one Protestant, and one of the printed proclamations for disarming Popish recusants.

You will have found by a letter of mine written two or three posts since how my inclinations stand towards the disposing of your son, so that I think all now to be done is that the younger Lady Northumberland may not be disobliged in the manner of our desisting the prosecution, nor your sister discontented. I own the greatness of the fortune, and of the accession it may bring to the family; but the difficulty of obtaining it, the certainty that [it] will highly inconvenience you and I during our lives, and [the] possibility that the death of either of the parties without children may disappoint the advantage and yet leave the damage upon us, are invincible discouragements to me.

As to my parting with my staff, my age puts me in mind I shall shortly need a stronger, and yet I am not so feeble or in such necessity as that I will lay it down undecently or without a good compensation. The decency is in reference to the King, whose consent must be obtained by the purchaser, and for the compensation I will take no less than £15,000 ready money or sufficiently secured. I have yet for some time £5,000 a year secured to me upon quit-rents here; when my time expires it is given to

some others. If this could be secured to me for three years longer I would accept it; but then it must be still the purchaser's work to obtain it and find the means to satisfy such as are to come upon that fund when my payments shall end. Thus you may take my resolution in that matter.

CAPTAIN FRANCIS HAMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1678, November 11. Kinsale.—This night here landed ten or twelve Irish officers producing commissions from His Majesty, bearing date the 9th of February last, in the regiment of Colonel Dongan. The Sovereign, with myself, being concerned at such a number of Irish, and all acknowledge themselves to be Papists, sent for them to converse with them, and their answer was that they were commanded by the King to their commands. In the meantime I thought fit to have them detained until I hear from your Honor. The Sovereign will give you a larger account than this of mine; he has taken the names of them all. I desire your Honor's instructions how I shall proceed in such cases henceforward. The master of the ship does inform us that there is several more of such persons a coming over.

Postscript.—Capt. O'Bryen came in the same ship.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, November 11. Castlemartyr.—On Saturday last Mr. Kytely did me the favour to visit me here, and Mr. Edward FitzGerald of Glanegire, son to Colonel Richard FitzGerald deceased. They desired to see your Excellency's proclamation for disarming such as had not your Grace's license; which when they had perused they told me that they had no licence to keep fire-arms, that Mr. Kytely had only a case of pistols and a fowling piece, and Mr. FitzGerald a case of pistols and a fuzee, which should be delivered up. I am an humble suitor to your Excellency for your license for those fire-arms for those two gentlemen, who I assure myself will never employ them against His Majesty's service. Mr. FitzGerald, I believe, is a very discreet and civil person, and far from the turbulent spirit his father was infected with. And Mr. Kytely is married to the daughter of one whose memory I know is dear to your Excellency, and shall be revered by me as long as I live, whereby I am obliged in all fitting things to serve whoever is of that family. Mr. Kytely and Mr. FitzGerald have voluntarily assured me that if ever anything come to their knowledge which might have the least tendency to disserve His Majesty, they would forthwith impart it.

JOSIAS PERCIVAL, Deputy Sovereign of Kinsale, to
EARL OF ORRERY.

1678, November 11.—I have thought it my duty in the Sovereign's absence to give your Honor an account of a ship this night come in from Bristol called the *Friend's Adventure*,

Robert Maurice, commander, who hath landed here several Irish passengers who own themselves to be officers under the command of Colonel Thomas Dongan, producing commissions from His Majesty all dated 9th February last, who say they are come over by His Majesty's command, and their companies are in this kingdom, but cannot perfectly tell where. Their names I humbly crave leave to give your Honor at foot. The master of this vessel further saith that there are many more coming over. Not knowing myself qualified to confine them I have desired their stay till I know your Honor's pleasure, which they have promised. I expect the Sovereign's presence to morrow.* However, your Lordship's commands shall be observed by, etc.

Maurice Fitzgerald, Lieutenant to Captain Patrick Plunkett.

Maurice Roach, Lieutenant to Nugent.

Edward Maundeville, Lieutenant to James Purcell.

John O'Dwyer, Lieutenant to Major Charles McCarthy.

Dennis Collabane, Ensign to said Carthy.

Captain Garret FitzGerald, and man.

Major Charles McCarthy, man and two horses yet on board and the ship bound for Cork.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, November 12. Castlemartyr.—Just now I received an express from Captain Hamond and the Deputy Sovereign of Kinsale with these enclosed letters, to which I sent the enclosed answer. I humbly beg your Excellency's orders herein, and the rather because I am assured from London that none but merchants were to go out of England without passes, and that there are landed nine commissioned officers at Cork, who say they are also of Colonel Dongan's regiment which is given to Colonel Justin MacCarty, and these report there are many others coming over which belong to the regiment; so it seems there are more officers pretend to be of that regiment than will officer it, at least if it be as other regiments usually are. And now also all Irish Papists being expelled London and from ten miles about it, all that number of Irish officers which have for long attended there I am assured are hastening for Ireland. I wish there were a list of such officers as really belong to this regiment, that such might have all respect and others may not be sheltered under that pretence, especially till your Excellency sees how the Romish clergy obey and the disarming goes on.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, November 12. St. James's Square.—All men here are so wholly taken up with the discovery of the damnable designs which have been hatching, that your Grace rightly guessest in yours of the 2nd instant (which I have received) that there is not yet leisure to proceed in the bills depending from Ireland, and

* John Mountfort was Sovereign of Kinsale in 1678. Percival had filled the same office in 1671 and again in 1674.

my particular misfortune has been so great that for some time I have not been able to stir out of doors. The sickness and death of my wife have both made it indecent for me to appear and me unfit to do it, so that as to what progress has been made in the discoveries I can only send hearsay, which I am unwilling to do. I shall endeavour to recollect my thoughts and compose myself again to my duty in your Grace's service. It is clear by the account of the cash and arrears due to the Farmers at Michaelmas last (which I received with your Grace's) that the insinuations which my Lord Treasurer in his to your Grace mentions to have been made here were great mistakes; and it will be thence evident, I suppose, that the Farm is not in so ruinous a condition as is suggested. But if what I hear from Sir James Shaen may be credited, that there is a total end made with Mr. Ryder for all his interest, the affairs of the Farm will not hereafter meet with interruptions and discredits of this nature.

EARL OF ORRERY to the SOVEREIGN OF KINSALE and
CAPTAIN HAMOND.

1678, November 12.—I received yours of the 11th instant, and thank you for the account you therein gave of the officers lately landed at Kinsale. Doubtless such as are actually in command and have his Majesty's commissions ought on no terms to be stopped, but such as have not may be stayed till my Lord Lieutenant's pleasure be known. For those that say they have commands and know not where they lie it looks somewhat suspicious; and since they say they are commanded to their several companies, it were very requisite they should produce the order for it and their several passes, and also give an account where they have been ever since the 9th February last. If any such orders or passes be produced, I desire you to let me know particularly by whom they were granted, and when; for having heard that several are coming over for Ireland on this account I have this post written purposely to my Lord Lieutenant for his directions herein, which as soon as I receive I will communicate to you. In the meantime such gentlemen as you are not well satisfied with may be desired to stay at Kinsale till his Excellency's pleasure be known.

ORMOND to CAPTAIN MATHEW.

1678, November 12.—At length the King's commands are come for the apprehending and securing of Colonel Richard Talbot as General, and my Lord of Mountgarret as Lieutenant-General, and his eldest son who it was said should act in his place. Talbot was in the gallery when I received the command, and was immediately sent to the castle, and I shall this night send order to bring my cousin Richard Butler hither; but the letter taking notice of the old man's infirmity, I am at liberty to let him alone till he shall be in a better condition, and that I fear will be for ever, and yet in the state he is I take him to be as dangerous as his son. I am confident if Mr. Oates had been well

informed he would have rather named my cousin Ned. If you are near my Lord Mountgarret you will do well to set his mind at rest, and perhaps the best way may be by concealing all from him, if he be not already acquainted with it. My brother Fitzpatrick landed this morning; he and a letter from an understanding friend have put me in fear that I may be sent for into England, not as a delinquent, but as an adviser in great difficulties, which perhaps may prove the worse capacity. I hope it will not come to pass, but that I may find rest for some part of my life, tho' the times promise little to any man of reasonable interest or consideration. However, I wish you may be here as soon as you think you can be spared there. I desire you would see my cousin Richard Butler's wife and give her consolation in the affliction she will be in upon the account of her husband, and assure her I will write over what I hope will soon free him. She will pardon me if, to effect it, I represent him as a person very unfit for the employment he is charged to have undertaken.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, November 12. Whitehall.—This post will bring your Grace a letter signed by His Majesty in the behalf of my Lord Longford for the government of Carrickfergus and the other counties vacant by the death of my Lord Donegall. As for his troop, Mr. Brabazon hath made his pretences, and Sir Thomas Chicheley hath urged a promise from your Grace made him long since, and before the letter written in behalf of Mr. Brabazon. His Majesty saith he will leave the matter entirely to your Grace to confer it as you shall think fit. You know best your promise to the latter, and what the pretences of the former are. I shall not need to tell my relations to and long friendship with Sir Thomas Chicheley. Your Grace's promise will be a stronger and greater motive than anything I can say, and His Majesty told me he left it entirely to your Grace, and commanded me to tell you so. We are still upon the Plot, and the Lords in a hard debate whether to exclude the Catholic Lords there sitting in the Lords' House. This is very warmly pressed by the House of Commons who seem hardly to be pacified unless they are gratified in it. I believe no time has seen an alarm so universal in the nation as it is at this present, and as generally men expect the utmost severity from the Roman Catholics should they prosper, so I cannot find that much mercy is intended by them. I doubt not but before this you have received what I wrote your Grace by orders of Council for the seizing Colonel Talbot, Lord Mountgarret, and his son-in-law.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, November 12.—My last to your Grace of the 2nd instant gave you an account that His Majesty had commanded a stop to the letter written and signed by him in favour of the Earl of Longford for some quit-rents. I there told you the arguments

were used to dispose His Majesty to make that stop ; but the day following, His Majesty, hearing the other party, was so satisfied with their reply that he hath commanded me to let your Grace know that he is willing the grant should pass upon this condition—that your Grace take care that no defalcations be due from His Majesty by reason of it, or otherwise not to let it pass. I told him your Grace had assured him that already, in the first letter you wrote to me concerning it, so I suppose your Grace is now at liberty to pass the grant. We have no news that will give me any great divertisement in writing, or you in hearing. The foreign peace looketh at nigh a conclusion. I pray God that we at home have as good a prospect of continuance of ours.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT CONWAY.

1678, November 12. Dublin.—The Sheriff proposed by your Lordship is appointed for the County of Antrim. I wish I had had your sense of others in that Province, for it imports the King's service to have steady and active men in those offices. Orders are given for the company you desire to be removed where you advise, and the exchange shall be made of the ensign for the accommodation of all parties and the good of the service, for I suppose their consent is to it. I have done all that was possible for me to free that province from the Tories ; they have had as many of the companies as could be spared to hunt them a'll this summer, and if the country would have done their part, or if they had not played badly, much more might have been done than was, but now the fright is improved and all the kingdom is under one alarm. We do all we can not to put the Protestants into a negligent security, but into such a vigilance as becomes people of courage and sense ; and to this method I shall desire your Lordship to apply yourself in your station, the occasion being offered by two proclamations already issued, and by a third that will be out this week for putting the militia into a way of usefulness.

I received this morning directions from the King for the securing of Colonel Richard Talbot, who was then walking in the gallery, and, I believe, expected with every post to be so treated. I immediately gave the Deputy Constable of the Castle order to take him into his custody where he now is. In the same letter I had directions to secure the Viscount Mountgarret and his eldest son. The father is 84 years old, and his son the weakest young man both in body and mind that I know living, without a guardian, if he may be said to be so who has a good discreet woman to his wife, yet I have sent for the young man—the old man's age and known infirmity securing him sufficiently.

I doubt not but your Lordship by this post will have all that passed in Parliament to the 5th of November. What the Friday following will produce in relation to the Duke is matter of great expectation, and upon which is supposed much will depend.

SIR WILLIAM KING to ORMOND.

1678, November 15. Limerick.—I have in obedience to your Grace's commands gone along with Colonel Hervey, to take his observations upon this place, and to view the present defects of the walls and the inconveniencies of commanding grounds without them, and have debated with him about the best and cheapest way of fortifying it, so as it may render it considerable for His Majesty's service and the security of the whole kingdom, as well from foreign as domestic attempts. He will present to your Grace's view the draught of its present state, and of several ways of fortifying it, which in my poor opinion he supports with very substantial reasons. But I doubt the estimate he has made of the charge is rather too thrifty than extravagant. Your Grace will examine the whole with that judgment and prudence that presides in all your actions. What further commands relating to this or any other affair your Grace shall at any time lay upon me it shall ever be my inclination as well as duty to obey with all readiness imaginable.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678, November 16th.—I had occasion this morning to speak to the King concerning my Lord Chancellor of Ireland. I find he intends him to be translated to the diocese of Armagh. He spoke very favourably of him, but said he was so taken up with the important affairs of Parliament that he had not time to think of anything elsewhere. I minded him of a report that in France many ships were fitted out, and that it is also said that ten thousand foot were drawing towards the sea-coasts over against us; that the time of the year was too late for any expedition in favour of Sweden; that Monsieur de Belfond, that in the year '66 was intended for a diversion to be made upon Ireland, was now in favour; and that, as I have been informed, the French Ambassador has given out that his master would see the Irish have the benefit of the peace the Catholics made with you. Upon these apprehensions of mine, I begged the King to find out means to know the truth as to matter of fact of these motions in France, and afterwards as he shall see cause to provide for the security of Ireland. I spoke upon the subject of calling a Parliament and showed both the King and Duke that part of your letter which mentions it; but they seem apprehensive of having one at the time this shall be sitting. Sir Thomas Chicheley says you promised him a troop. Mr. Brabazon, who, as I am informed, has captains' pay till he have one, does also plead for this vacancy. The King, I am told, will leave to you the decision. Every post I believe I shall write to you, though I have very little time by waiting on the House and Queen.

VISCOUNT CONWAY to ORMOND.

1678, November 16. Lisburn.—There is nothing in the world which I should not do to serve your Grace that lay in my power if I knew your will and pleasure; but when I did trouble your Grace

about the Sheriff of this county, it was rather my own thoughts that it would be for the King's service and your Grace's than any assurance I had you would esteem it so, and this is the reason I made no mention of any other. However I find your Grace hath made choice of a very good Sheriff in the County of Down, and for the County of Armagh. Sir Hans Hamilton is at Dublin, and can inform your Grace from these three Counties. Your Grace may depend upon it that their elections of Parliament men will be such as are ready to the King's service and the good of this kingdom. The Counties of Monaghan and Tyrone are within my patent but I never concerned myself in them ; if your Grace revives the militia I shall be obliged to look after it.

That which I proposed to your Grace about the exchange of the ensigns was rather what I thought the King's service required than the consent of parties, for I do not believe that my ensign is willing to make the exchange ; Ensign Rawdon is willing, but I question much whether his captain be so, but your Grace hath renewed Ensign Coombe's license of absence, whose business depends upon lawsuits and troubles for a very considerable estate, and Captain Ball is in a most sad condition, and hath none to help him but his servants for the security of Charlemont, so that I beseech your Grace not to mistake the matter, and do in it as you think fit. I have never been idle since I came into this country, but always using the best advice this country will afford for their security against the Tories, and shall constantly pursue the methods your Grace prescribes, and I hope before this winter is over we shall reach some of them.

I perceive they make a great bustle in England about this plot, and that the trouble of it reaches to your Grace ; for my part I know not what to make of it, but by your Grace's letter I should judge that they are mistaken in some particulars.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ORRERY.

1678, November 16. Dublin.—Be pleased to receive this return to the several matters in your Lordship's three letters of the 12th inst. I have nothing to object to what is done in the work at Rincorran, or to what you propose to be done this winter in order to the quicker despatch and finishing of the fort when the season for proceeding upon it shall return ; only I think as little as will consist with that preparation should be followed, which is by day labour and not by task and contract to be paid for, day labour going on but slowly in the winter months.

I have long heard of about twenty officers—I think all Irish and Papists—that were to come over, some of them to the men already raised, and some to raise more, but I have yet had no intimation of it from any of the Secretaries, or from any other by order from His Majesty. That which makes the number of officers to seem disproportionable to that of the men they are to command may be that every company has two Lieutenants ; and yet 'tis said that the companies are to be lessened, which I suppose may be to make the more room for the officers who

have quit the French service by His Majesty's command to come to his, whose case (in the present juncture when there is just cause to distrust men of their religion and profession of life) seems to be hard. But all I say of them is little better than by guess; for, as I said, I have yet received no direction concerning the men already raised or any more to be raised, tho' I have lately desired and long expected it. It is like some of these gentlemen, or some of those who I hear are at Chester, may bring me His Majesty's pleasure concerning them, but if it be of date [prece]ding the discovery of the Plot and that I receive nothing subsequent to it, it is like I shall humbly represent my sense before I suffer anything to be executed in obedience to such orders. In the meantime the course to be held is that your Lordship has directed the Sovereign of Kinsale that all who have commissions to command men already raised or for the raising of more men be at liberty, for I take such commissions to be as good as passports. For any other I would have them detained till they shall give a good account of themselves.

I send your Lordship herewith licenses for Mr. FitzGerald and Mr. Kytely to have and carry the arms you desire they should.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY TO ORMOND.

1678, November 16. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 3rd instant I have received, and delivered the letter of your Grace and the Council to His Majesty in Council, where all the examinations were read, and His Majesty like to get a 1,000rd [?] by it. We are still in great agitations, and the House of Commons not like to be satisfied without the Catholic Lords removal out of the House of Lords, where the matter hath been much contested yesterday. It was by five votes carried in the negative, but yet the House of Commons have resolved a fresh message to quicken them and seem to put their whole zest upon that Bill. I am very sensible of all your Grace writeth in your letter, but the condition of affairs is such that we can neither supply you nor let you supply yourself by a Parliament. Yesterday I spoke with the King about Nicholas Armorer, and he seemeth very well inclined to make him governor of the new fort at Kinsale. I would be glad to receive the form of a letter from Ireland and your Grace's approbation, and in the meantime shall improve His Majesty's inclinations all I can. I perceive the disorders are epidemical and reach you as well as us. God grant us the right way of calming them.

A. W. to SIR WILLIAM TALBOT.

1678, November 17. St. James'.—My good Friend: God knows the great affliction we all do suffer for our Father the Pope; he is burnt and sorely afflicted for us in London, yet we hope we all shall be absolved for all our sins that we commit against the King and all his subjects. Here is our purgatory, and am sure we shall all go to heaven, therefore you are desired to act vigorously in your station while it is called to-day, lest we

all perish in Ireland as we all do in England. Our plots are daily more and more discovered, which makes all sorts of people to rejoice at our calamities, and most people do come in duly to take the damnable Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, so as the Pope will be cast out of his chair of State, and his mitre, sceptre and glory will be fatally eclipsed, unless he now doth shew St. Peter's keys to lock and untie whom he pleases. These things, in affliction, I could not omit to acquaint you as flowing out of your distressed sister's heart, and remain your distressed and dolorous—A.W.

R. BARRINGTON to ORMOND.

1678, November 18. Paris.—The 16th my Lord arrived here in perfect health; but, the post parting two hours before, I could not write sooner to your Grace. I have provided my Lord with very handsome lodgings and a table at Genlis' house. I have given the best orders that possibly I could for his clothes and liveries; for both him and his servants were almost naked, unless some few things I bought them at Orange and upon the way to keep them warm. I hope my Lord will appear within three days or four at the most. I shall (with your Grace's permission) provide him with all things necessary for one of his birth and age. My Lord Ambassador being in England I intend his first visit shall be to my Lady Grammont, who I don't doubt but will in his absence introduce him at Court. This day I intend to pay Mr. de Langes his allowance and send your Grace (when you shall command me) his accounts and his acquittance. I shall not provide my Lord any other than a dancing master until I have your Grace's commands.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, November 19. Castlemartyr.—The writer gives thanks for the licences to Mr. Kytely and Mr. Fitzgerald, and for leave to his son, Broghill, for two months' absence from Limerick, and mentions the progress of the fortifications at Kinsale.

Ormond's commands concerning officers landing in these parts shall be observed.

The enclosed was written after some of the officers that landed at Kinsale had been with him: had they come to commands in being the case had been clear; but their affirming particulars they could not make out, their coming with commissions dated 9th February, 1677, as officers of Colonel Dongan's regiment and saying it was given to Col. Justin McCarty (though mustered by Ormond's orders as Col. Dongan's); their owning they had no employments but in expectancy, etc., looked suspicious. The officers' fierarms being stopped by the Customs can only be restored by Ormond's orders. Their condition, for persons who had left employments by His Majesty's orders, is very sad and he wishes they had pensions till sent to assist His Majesty's allies.

One of these captains, several weeks since the date of his commission, was levying men for the French service. Being taxed by Orrery he could not deny it, but promised, if called on, to leave the French service, which he has done. He is of good family, a younger brother.

Enclosed is an offer from Colonel Lacy, who may do good service if he is faithful. Captain Odell, High Sheriff of Limerick, had his sub-sheriff (though a Papist), murdered by some Irish whilst doing his duty; this may discompose the Sheriff's accounts. Odell and his brother Charles raised the troop of Militia, which Orrery's son Broghill formerly commanded. They should have commanded, but that they desired to be his son's officers. Orrery wishes John Odell to be captain, and Charles lieutenant of said troop.

The Mayor and some of the chief Aldermen of Youghal, Cork and Kinsale, say only one of the regular Romish clergy (named Grace) has given in his name to be shipped in those three ports, though this is the end of the time. Orrery thinks the settling up of the Militia necessary. When it was first formed, he had a blank commission to officer it in Munster, and so gained knowledge who were fit to command and raise troops and companies. In eleven years great changes have happened; many are dead, many left the kingdom, many then being in the Army could not be of the Militia (e.g., Sir Geo. Ingoldsby, Sir Peter Courthope, Captain John Jephson, etc.). Many then young are now fit for employment, as Lord Kingston, Sir Philip Percival, Ed. Denny, etc. Mr. Tho. Brodrick has offered to raise a troop of sixty horse among his friends and tenants. Those only with good interests are fit to command; if without skill in soldiers one or two knowing officers should be placed under them. He offers to send a list of names if permitted. It will be the work of the Militia to detect Titulars and Regulars who will not quit the kingdom, and those who have arms concealed after the day limited to bring them in.

Sir R. Hull (newly come out of the West) believes most of the Irish in those wild parts are too well armed and officered.

Abstract.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, November 19. Dublin.—I have yours of the 12th inst., but know not how the letters you just then received from me came to be so dated. I am very sorry you sent for James, and hope my letter to my Lord Chamberlain upon that subject, to which I must refer you to avoid repetition, will prevent his coming into England, which can only endanger his health, lose his time, and bring him to a place where he can learn little but to be unwilling to return. I am of opinion Mr. Henshaw loves his ease too well to undertake such a province, which he must either neglect or subject himself to much watchfulness, for the boy is come to the part of his age most to be watched. I never heard of Mr. Forbes being addicted to play; if he is inordinately so, it is a material objection against him. I had a

letter from Mr. Durell in recommendation of the other you mention; if he answers the character he gives of him I know not where you can chose better; but at this distance I can be no judge. There is so much, and that of so high importance, in agitation there that what relates to this kingdom can yet have no place in consultations. We have our difficulties to struggle with, and the fears of the English are really as much more here than there as the disproportion of the number of Papists, and it is no small addition of disturbance to them here to see a regiment of Irish on foot amongst them, and many officers daily flocking over. I have written to Mr. Secretary on the subject, and hope for some orders to direct me.

ORMOND to LORD LONGFORD.

1678, November 20. Dublin.—Your Lordship's of the 9th and 12th inst. were a full narrative of all that till then had passed in Parliament, but left us in much expectation of what would follow; but to spare as much of your pains as may be it will be enough that you write to my son Arran, or to me, for we are like to be together. For what passes here your Lordship is informed by the transmission of all public things to Mr. Secretary and duplicates to Sir Cyril Wyche. This is the day beyond which all the Titular and Regular Popish clergy in this kingdom stay in it at their own peril, and they will not find it so easy for them as heretofore to lurk here and evade the penalties that will follow; and this is also the [time] by which all Papists are to bring in their arms under the penalty of being treated as contemnners of His Majesty's authority and persons intending mischief, and this likewise shall be inquired [into] with all diligence and strictness. Besides the regiment and guard of horse there are constantly three companies of the Militia of the city, consisting of two troops of horse, and, as I take it, two of dragoons; but I am sure of 2,000 foot, well armed, that do duty here, and orders are sent into all parts of the kingdom to put the Militia [into] order, and all the Protestants upon their guard. All this being done, my endeavour is to persuade them not to draw danger upon themselves by seeming to be afraid where, really, I think no fear is for the present, if they follow the directions given them, like men of care and courage. It is true [that if a] foreign enemy should land here, then I confess those we may now safely despise would be formidable, their numbers being great, and the affections of the generality (who have strong hands and weak heads) being bad; and therefore, when the time of discoveries shall be over, and the time of fortifying ourselves against the evils we find is designed against us by the restless contrivance of the worst of Papists shall be come, then I hope the securing of this kingdom will be thought of seriously, and prosecuted effectually, as the apparent danger it will otherwise be in, and the importance of it to the safety of England, requires.

Since His Majesty has left it to me to dispose of the troop late the Earl of Donegall's, my promise obliges me to give it

to Sir Tho. Chicheley if my inclination did not. His foot company he has given me the liberty to dispose of, and I shall place Captain Baxter, my steward, and a good old soldier, in the head of it. I have reason to believe my Lord of Orrery not only infuses great fears in the people of his province, but [also] distrusts of the Government as it is in my hands, and I do not doubt but he transmits them to be diffused in England. I will not go about to confute his inventions otherwise than by my actions past and to come; if those will not serve my turn I am silent.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, November 22. Castlemartyr.—Major Beversham's company in Kerry is quartered at Killarney, and at Glanarought. They lie in cabins, are much exposed, and as now quartered are but little use. Orrery advises their being quartered at Ross or Tralee, where they may lodge safe, and be some countenance to the poor Protestants, who are under great fears, some of them having come out of the country; and the rest will do the like (according to report), if it is not put into a better posture. Ensign Mead (by Mr. Becket, the muster-master), has reported there is but a quarter barrel of powder left at Bantry Fort for the garrison and ordnance. There is not either biscuit or any provision, and in the event of a rising it must be lost, being three days march from the nearest garrison. He suggests that three barrels of powder, with match and ball proportionate and one month's provisions and firing, may be ordered for them, and a convoy to guard it from Cork; else a fort of consequence and the only bar between the wilder Irish in Beare, and the English eastward of Bantry, may be in danger. The Mayors of Cork and Youghal, and the Sovereign of Kinsale, have certified that but two poor friars have offered to go beyond the seas, though several ships for France, Spain and Portugal have given notice of departure, and some were stayed to the 20th to carry over the clergy. He expects similar disobedience in the matter of bringing in arms by the laity.

Several English gentlemen have been lamenting their sad condition, several of their houses having been attempted to be forced in the night. The honestest Irish gave them notice to send their goods into the garrisons; and a priest advised Orrery's brother, Shannon, to do the like, though his house be within four miles of Cork, where he is Governor, and strong with several English servants, well armed, in it. Though Orrery's house of Charleville has goods of value in it, with but four or five men servants, and is in much more hazard than Shannon Park, yet he durst not remove any furniture, lest he might alarm the country. Though none of the Romish ecclesiastics are gone out of the ports, two have come in, one from France, the other from Spain. He has got two of their letters and is in pursuit of more, of which he shall give his Excellency an account.

Abstract.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1678, November 23. London.—I have always had that real friendship for your Grace that I shall never be the instrument of communicating any information that comes to my hands without first acquainting your Grace therewith, if I find the province you are in makes you concerned in it. It is written from Ireland that the late proclamation published there for the Papists to bring in their arms gives them twenty-one days to do it, and that their use of firearms by licence is intimated in the same, which is looked upon as an advantage held forth to the Sectaries, and a warning to the Irish to hide and conceal their arms; whereas in the year 1663 the poor English were searched by surprises and their arms taken away and not restored to this day. It is written further that there are ten or twelve companies in one regiment there, and not a Protestant amongst them save Sir Richard Parsons and the Lord Blaney, that the most of the companies lie quartered at Rathcoole, Naas, Kileullen, Castle Dermot, Carlow, and so to Kilkenny. My Lord Clanrickarde's son is in Connaught, near Portumna, and that there never were ruder villains on earth, and have been there ever since last spring. And one of the Council there hath said that there were officers enough amongst them to conduct an army, viz., eighty; that this crew is ready to head any rebellions, invasions or massacres that have been or are designed in this or that kingdom; that you are also there in Dublin in a manner unguarded, and the city never more swarming with Irish; and that the powder house is a full half mile from the town (with a guard not of twenty men each day), where the whole store for the kingdom lies. These things are written with the highest asseverations for truth, and with so much apprehension of danger, that they intimate inclinations to send away wives and children, but for fear of discouraging and weakening others to the prejudice of the Protestant interest. It is added that to help out all, there is now there the dullest fool that ever was for Lord Mayor, old Captain Ward,* and everything to the Irish their hearts' content. My Lord in these circumstances your Grace's wisdom will give you better advice than I can; but I wish the Militia of English and Protestants were as well settled as I saw it, when once I attended His Majesty's service in that kingdom; that Dublin and other garrisons and the store house may be so secured that the Protestants may not be a sacrifice to the Irish treachery, and implacable thirst for their blood and estates.

The alarm here is so hot, and the proceedings will be so severe, that Ireland must also be upon its best guard. Staley, the goldsmith's son, a Papist, was condemned in the King's Bench yesterday for treason against the life of the King, proved by three witnesses. Mr. Coleman, the Duchess of York's Secretary, was arraigned this day and will be tried on Tuesday, which day is also appointed for Staley's execution at Tyburn.

* Peter Ward was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1678.

Others will follow to their trials, and laws are preparing for speedy conviction of all Papists; they are already disarmed, and a bill passed the two houses to turn all Popish Lords out of Parliament. Some one or other is murdered every week, and the malefactors cannot be found. All the traffic with Rome and France is discovered.

Your Lordship may think me tedious, but my affection to your Grace hath led me to it. I have nothing to add but that Sir Robert Reading, whom I trusted with a message to your Grace, which he delivered, the Earl of Arran being by, your Grace told him you had been informed I did speak against the bills, and particularly that I did in a letter to my son Richard (who was then attending His Majesty as Clerk in the Closet at Windsor) say that there was come over some Irish bills; but I hoped they would return English, and that my Lord Arran (standing by your Grace) said he saw the letter.

Your Grace knows me to be a plain dealer, and ever to speak my mind freely, and if I had said or written any such thing I need not deny it. But I assure your Grace that, as I never yet saw one of the bills, so I was never so weak as to speak anything of them without seeing them; and my son Richard, as well as I, can swear I never wrote line to him of them, nor shall I ever give my judgment of them till I peruse them, though if your Grace had favoured me with the copies of the chief of them, or asked my advice, I should have been free and faithful therein. And for my own poor concerns in that kingdom, I am so confident of your Grace's nobleness and justice and indifference that I will not doubt but that as I paid well and dear enough for my interest there, so your Grace hath not sent such bills as will not secure it as well as your Grace's own.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678, November 26.—I received yours of the 19th yesterday, and have written by the post and despatched away St. Paul to Paris, to hinder my son going from thence, or else directing his return if he meets him on the way, according to your directions. I shewed the King that part of your letter relating to MacCarty's regiment before the Council, and minded him of what I had several times said upon that subject, as also of what you writ about it to Mr. Secretary Coventry. He complained of want of money to disband them, but said he would take order in it, so that if any ill accident happens in the delay the blame will neither light on you or me for want of often representation. I told His Majesty how busy my Lord of Orrery was in alarming all persons in Ireland and here with his informations of the dangerous posture of affairs by the desperate condition the Protestants and English took themselves to be in by the multitude and evil designs of the Irish. He said he knew him to be a rogue, and that he would ever continue so. If you please to leave the affair of getting a governor for James to my Lord Chamberlain and me, we will choose the properest person that can be had. Whether Mon^r. St. Helene or Mr. Forbes

will prove the most fit is uncertain. We will give you, I hope, good reasons for our choice. You will let us know what you will allow upon that account. Mulys will send you accounts of public affairs, and Sir Robert Southwell of those more important; nor shall I be wanting in giving you any informations which I judge can be of use to you.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, Tuesday, November 26. St. James's Square.—The account your Grace was pleased to honour me with, by yours of the 20th instant, of the steps that have been made in Ireland towards the security of that kingdom in this time of danger came this morning to my hands. I shewed it to my Lord Longford and Sir Robert Southwell, and by my Lord's advice to some other members, and though I find my Lord Orrery's agents have been busy in making insinuations, yet your Grace's proceedings carry those reasons with them that I meet with no man that is not fully satisfied. And as for the imprisoning several gentlemen in their several countries, besides the reasons which your Grace mentions, which are strong against it, it has not been thought expedient here, where the scene of blood that was to have been acted, and the smallness of their number (in proportion to those in that kingdom), might have seemed to have justified the necessity and safety of the counsel. I did try twice or thrice to have given His Majesty this account I had received, but found him so taken up this day there was no opportunity of admittance. And no wonder, for matters now begin to come to a crisis. Oates has gone as high in his accusation as he can possibly, for he has positively and upon oath before the King and Council charged the Queen herself with having consented to the death of the King.

This day Bedloe desired to discharge himself before the Commons of his further knowledge of these damnable designs; but, his pardon extending only to the first of this month, he feared he might be liable to the law for his concealment since that day. The House thereupon addressed to the King instantly by the members of the Privy Council that his pardon might be enlarged to this day inclusively. The King answered that he would consider of it, and return them an answer, upon which they adjourned to three in the afternoon. After they had expected till six, His Majesty was pleased to tell them in writing that the pardon till that day was as full as it could be wished, and that if any offence had been committed since that time, he ought to know it before he pardoned it; for a pardon for an offence to come (as a pardon for a whole day inclusive amounts to when it is granted before that day is expired) will not be good in law. This message put so great a consternation into many of the House, that they would have adjourned instantly without doing anything, or so much as admitting a message from the Lords, which was then at the door. After some debate, the necessity of a good correspondence with their Lordships for the safety of the King and kingdom took place, and

they received the message, which was for a present conference about the bill for excluding Papists out of the Court and the Parliament. Here the Lords quitted all their former amendments, save only as to the allowing a limited number of women Papists to the Queen and Duchess, nine to Her Majesty and five to her Highness, to the first of which the House has agreed, but refused the second. This spent the time till after nine at night, and will, I hope, excuse my hasty writing, that I might not by this post lose the opportunity of presenting before your Grace.

Postscript.—Some letters of my Lord Berkshire's have been lately found among Mr. Coleman's papers in the same style with the rest. His Lordship has not been since at the House, and it is said is now gone for France.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, November 26. Whitehall.—We have sat so long at Council and Parliament this day, both morning and evening, that I have hardly time enough to pay you this service. The bill for excluding the Catholics out of both Houses is as good as passed, the differences so little that we confide the Lords will not break upon them. But Mr. Oates his accusing the Queen, and Mr. Bedloe's giving some apprehensions of doing the same, putteth His Majesty into no little resentment, being entirely confident of the loyalty of his Queen. But which way this accusation can be laid asleep I cannot see as yet; the people being so affrighted and incensed at this plot that there is hardly patience anywhere to hear the least defence in the behalf of anybody when accused.

This day at Council His Majesty declared he would have Colonel MacCarty's regiment in Ireland disbanded, but the manner how is to be resolved on to-morrow. As soon as I have my order I shall not fail to send His Majesty's commands to your Grace. I never wrote in worse humour to you in my life. All things, both in Court, Parliament, town and country, full of confusion; and adding to this the exalted condition of one neighbour, and the miserable one of all the rest, maketh me think we must be preserved by a greater miracle than we were restored, or else perish. I will not enlarge upon this theme, though I could say a great deal more, being but too full of it.

EARL OF ORRERY to LIEUT.-COL. MEADE.

1678, November 28. Castlemartyr.—I am assured by two honest and credible persons that yourself and Mr. Riggs being between you at the charge of having a news letter sent you from Dublin, you or he hath lately had one which told you that one Mr. Fitzgerald of Connaught had told my Lord Lieutenant that nothing could hinder the Plot from taking effect, there were so many great persons engaged in it; and that the Irish Papists by March next, through the assistance

of the French, would be masters of Ireland, or words to this effect. I send you this on purpose to desire you to let me know if this is true, and who that person is that writ it, and what day it was dated. For this letter has been seen by persons who assured me they themselves read it, and the noise of it is spread over the country to the great disheartening of His Majesty's loyal subjects, and to the scandal of the Irish nation; and I assure myself what the letter contained is utterly untrue, for had any such thing been, I know I should have had notice of it from his Excellency and my Lord Chancellor, and such foul reports add too much to the distraction of these times, which are but too great of themselves. I pray return me your answer by this bearer.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678, November 28. Whitehall.—Upon the orders given for putting all the Roman Catholics out of the Army, which the Duke of Monmouth told the House he had performed, I desired the King that you might have his pleasure signified to that regiment of MacCarty's, wherein were many Papist officers and soldiers. I spoke to the Duke and Chancellor, Duke of Monmouth and others so plainly, that you might not be inconvenienced by their giving no orders, that I am assured they will at the Cabinet Council to-morrow take that affair to their consideration. The giving an account of the Irish having arms at present, and what has formerly been done on this occasion, will be very requisite. I remember when I was commanded by you to take away all their guns, and I think none could travel with or have any without special leave of the Chief Governor. I leave it to your consideration whether you should renew any such order on this occasion, but beg you would transmit to me what has been done, and what is the present method of this time.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, November 29. Castlemartyr.—I received last night at once the great honour of both your Excellency's letters of the 23rd and the 26th instant. Your Excellency's commands in them concerning Bantry Fort and Major Beversham's company shall with all diligence be punctually obeyed. There is no place that I know of or can hear of in Kerry that is tenable and of consequence, but Ross; for I did believe (till my cousin, Ed. Denny, better informed me) that Tralee, which held out so long a siege,* was strong. But both his father, Sir Arthur Denny, and himself have made it a convenient country gentleman's house.

I am very sorry to find by the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 23rd instant, that any have attempted maliciously and cunningly to cast the false scandal on the Government, as that they wanted zeal and care for the preservation of the Pro-

* During the Rebellion of 1641 Tralee had endured a six months' siege.

testants. I hope that such as have attempted to cast that scandal on it will be punished for it. Possibly some honest men who love the Government, being frightened with the daily alarms, may have thought that the remedies not being so hasty as the danger seemed pressing, may have too much lamented that the motions of the Government did not keep pace with their desires, not considering how many difficulties those in authority are to struggle with, the circumstances they are under being duly weighed. But maliciously and cunningly to asperse the Government merits an exemplary punishment, which I heartily hope those guilty of will not escape. I most humbly beg your Grace's permission to assure you that whatever former misunderstandings I might have had the unhappiness to be under as towards your Grace, yet ever since the discourse your Grace had with my brother Burlington at my Lord Devonshire's concerning me, and ever since those letters you were pleased to oblige me with soon after your landing, I have in all things under my little power as unfeignedly endeavoured to make your government prosperous, as if that brother had been in your Grace's station. I was therefore pressing in the beginning of this year, when most believed we should have a quarrel with France, that the Militia might be set up, it being so great a security and of so little charge. And I did then presume to acquaint your Excellency that several who I knew were fit to supply the vacancies in it had desired me humbly to recommend them to your Grace, but that I would not do it till I had your Grace's good liking to do it. But to this I received no answer from your Grace, and therefore I was silent, for I am not an importunate solicitor in things merely of favour; nor should I ever have renewed the motion had I not been urged to it lately, both for His Majesty's service and your Grace's. For I saw that the method the raising the Militia was put unto would neither be expeditious nor so effectual as I am sure your Grace desires it should be. Since I think, without vanity, I may say there are not very many which know better than I the persons and the state of things in these western counties, and experience had taught me that when the Militia was first raised, had I not been armed with full authority, and been very pressing, the Commissioners of Array would never have done the work. And if then it had been hardly compassable when we were quiet at home, and had only the Dutch for enemies, in degrees of proportion the difficulties would be unconquerable when every country gentleman and Protestant out of a garrison goes to bed in fears.

And since the Militia is to be filled and kept up when filled by the influence the captains of it have on the inferior officers and private men, I too easily foresaw that affair, being managed only by the Commissioners of Array, would have a very slow progress and no expected result; for their number is thirteen in this county and the quorum seven, five whereof must still of course be merchants or men of much lower degree, and what interest such were likely to have on the numerous gentry of this, the largest county in all His Majesty's kingdoms, was not

hard to determine. The rest, though gentlemen of good quality, yet being really or in their own esteem equals, the advances therefore could not be so quick as the need seemed to require.

Your Grace's long absence having much altered persons and things, it was natural enough to do as your Grace did, refer it to a Committee of the Council. But so few of my Lords who now sit at the Board having ever lived in this province, and that one noble lord only who did (my Lord Chancellor) having not resided in it far above two scores of years, I did presume to think they might have needed information. This I take the confidence to believe, had they commanded mine, the Militia might ere this have been in a better posture. But I love not to intrude where I am not called. And indeed, my Lord, I retired into Ireland in hopes that I might spend the little life I have remaining in this solitude; but, seeing the times grow cloudy, I was sending my wife for England and intended to have followed as these times did mend. But I was forced from those designs by the universal applications which the poor Protestants made to me, and I assure your Grace they were made without my own seeking. And when I found that my humble applications to your Grace in their behalfs was believed would be more effectual than their own, I could not in duty but stay and make them. Many were troubled, and I confess I was one, that though in the beginning of September the horrid plot was detected, yet till the 11th of November not so much as a letter came for setting up the Militia; and when it came, some of those to whom it was directed did not find it answer their hopes or fears. And though it was dated the 11th, yet they met not till Tuesday last, the 25th instant, and when they were met, they found many things so lie in their way that they resolved to employ five or six of their number to me to desire my help and advice. They came here yesterday, and I assure your Grace I was surprised at it.

It had not been so long before I had written that large letter to my Lord Chancellor, which he troubled your Excellency and the Council with, but that I still apprehend that representing what I thought could only do the business, such representation might look as if I sought something for myself. Nor would I ever therefore have made it, but in duty to my King, my country and your Grace. This I solemnly protest, for had I affected to be in the stream of the world again I could have been in it more advantageously in England than in anything I could pretend unto in Ireland, and I should not lie did I assure your Grace that my best friends in England, and some in power, have half fallen out with me for not taking their two employments better than the government of this province; but I had seen and felt enough of the world not to embark into it again by my own choice. But possibly written assurances may not be so convincing evidences of this truth as demonstrations. Therefore I presume to acquaint your Grace that though the six gentlemen employed by all the rest of the Commissioners of Array, finding themselves at a loss how with secrecy to appoint rendezvous for the Militia, and to order them as the King's

service required, did more than five times press me earnestly for my permission that they might move your Excellency to name me for those ends; yet I as often flatly refused them.

And because my Lord Chancellor, in his letter to me of the 26th, intimates (writes) something as if your Excellency and the Lords had some thoughts of putting that employment on me, and having some blank commissions sent me to fill up the vacancies of the commissioned officers under captains, I most humbly and heartily beg your Grace and your Lordships to free me from the honour and burthen; not but that if your Grace and their Lordships command my best help and advice, to whomsoever your Excellency shall commissionate for that end, I will not cheerfully obey in both, and as zealously as if I were to have the honour of the success, or to bear the burthen of the want of it. But really, I would practically evidence not only that I sought not myself in what I wrote to my Lord Chancellor, but also that I undisguisedly covet to live in that retiredness which both my mind and my body affects and needs.

And if your Excellency will allow me the favour while I stay in Ireland humbly to lay at your feet what I shall believe conducive to His Majesty's service, your Grace's, and the quiet of my country, I shall faithfully do it, and be as entirely pleased to see the peace and good government of the kingdom continued as if I were wholly to engross the honour and benefit of it. I did not omit both to ask of my brother Shannon and others, who were privately advised by a priest and other well-affected Irish to send into garrisons their best goods, what was the reason of their giving such advice; nay, I promised myself to an Irish gentleman of Kerry who warned an English neighbour of his to desist from building (which the Englishman came on purpose out of Kerry to inform me of it) for the times were likely to be troublesome, that if he would discover any material thing of any design of the Irish, that I would mediate for your Grace's pardoning, concealing his name and rewarding him. But all agree in one answer, viz., that these are distracted times, that there are many loose and necessitous people in the country, who are but too apt to break into houses and to rob things of value, and beyond this none of them will speak, though never so much promised or threatened. By the words of your Grace's letter to me on this subject, I am apprehensive that some unhappy expressions in my letter might have seemed to make your Grace think I thought you looked on these advertisements as a jest. If they did I am sure that was far from my thought, and I meant to say that your Grace would not believe the priest was in jest, since he durst send my brother that advice.

I do not think even the late plot has been more talked of in all these parts than the business of Bennet's Bridge, and the news of it is dispersed by several creditable persons, who then coming from Dublin into these parts, either lay or baited there. I will to-morrow send for some of those gentlemen, who with their own mouths told it me, and in obedience to your Grace's commands, I will in writing return you what they said.

Yesterday, about three o'clock after noon, I received a letter from my brother Shannon; a branch of it I here humbly present to your Grace. I am confidently assured the thing is absolutely false, for had it been true, I should have had expresses of it last night. However, the noise is flown, for I have this morning early sent an express to my brother Shannon to secure the man, and to send to Captain Hodder's for to know if he told this alarm bearer what he said he did, that if he did not he may be severely punished, for it is such confident lies that does make men half distracted.

I humbly beg to know of your Grace if lately one Mr. Fitzgerald, of the province of Connaught, assured your Excellency that the Plot would take effect there were so many great persons engaged in it, and that the Irish, by the help of the French, would be masters of Ireland by March next; for this has lately been written by a news writer of Dublin to two gentlemen of this county, and the letter itself has been read by divers; two of which, being honest men, came from beyond Bandon hither yesterday to assure me they themselves read the letter, and the noise of it has much amazed the people. I assured them I was confident it was a notorious lie, and bid them assure all they spoke with that I was confident it was so. The letter was directed (as those two gentlemen told me) to Lieutenant-Colonel Meade, and one Mr. Riggs. I sent an express this morning to Lieutenant-Colonel Meade, with a letter, of which the enclosed is the copy, for I believe this one business well traced will find out those who make the people half mad, and he, if well punished, will deter others. The master of the *Plymouth* ship, which came into the West, and made it the Exchange discourse at Cork that the Governors of Portsmouth and Dover were fled, I have sent to stop, that he may be legally punished for raising such scandals of such persons.

The Provost of Bandon and the chief of that truly Protestant Corporation, were here with me on Wednesday, and gave me a most sad account of that place. They have not one pound of powder or bullet, all their platforms in their towers are fallen, their iron ordnance have been gone, they know not how, and the last great rains have carried away two arches, which supported near fifty foot in length of their town wall. They did earnestly desire me that I would relieve them all I could, and what I could not do, that I would mediate for them to your Excellency. I admired their ordnance were gone they knew not how, but they explained the expression thus, that in the beginning of the troubles in 1641, Sir Wm. Hull and others who had ships, lent them ordnance, and that they were carried away without their consents by those who did pretend to be owners of them.

I have this post written to my brother Burlington to desire him to contribute to make up their walls. I have made them promise to make up their platforms, and I have six or seven iron ordnance which I kept for the safety of my family in the war, that I am ready to lend them to plant on their towers in

case your Grace gives me leave. And in regard they have in that town a good Militia troop, and two or three foot companies, if they might have one barrel of powder, and one of ball, with match proportionable for their Militia, it might serve till more might be got.

The Mayor of Cork, having sent me the deposition of a soldier of the garrison that went formerly to Mass, but now is an officer's servant and mustered, that one Garret Fitzgerald, a Popish priest, had since August last, in his hearing, often taught his parishioners that the King of England was only King of the Protestants of Ireland, but the King of France was King of the Papists of Ireland, I sent him to gaol.

I have written several other things to my Lord Chancellor, having too much tired your Grace, for which your pardon is begged.

ORMOND to EARL OF ANGLESEY.

1678, November 29.—Yours of the 23rd instant is a great argument to me of the continuance of your favour and friendship, which you could not shew in a more generous manner, or more important instance, than in letting me know of those observations of my proceedings transmitted into England upon occasion of the wicked conspiracy discovered and still under further examination in England. I am not able on the sudden to give such an account of things done fifteen or sixteen years ago as I shortly shall. Thus much I do, and your Lordship may remember, for you were then here, that the plot then laid for the surprisal of this castle was contrived and near brought to execution by Thomas Blood and others of his crew, who assume the name of Protestants only because they say they are not Papists; though as to the overthrow of Government and the murdering of Kings, their doctrine is, and their practice has been the same. For this conspiracy some of those conspirators were legally convicted and executed, and some who could not be apprehended (as Blood for one) were outlawed. Upon the examination of several persons, I found the design was too far spread to ravel any further into it, and that if I should follow the thread of the discovery as far it might lead me, possibly I might bring on that insurrection and rebellion which they designed, and I had rather should be prevented than punished. At that time the towns were full of men of Cromwell's planting, and the country of his disbanded officers and soldiers. All this cannot be better known to anybody than to your Lordship, from whom I concealed nothing of my proceedings or thoughts in that matter, and who having had so eminent a part in his Majesty's restoration, and the peace of his kingdoms, I knew would look with indignation and horror upon any that should endeavour the re-expulsion of our King, and thereby involve his dominions afresh under that tyranny, and in blood and confusion, from which, by God's blessing upon the loyal labour and industry of such as your Lordship, they were newly delivered. This being then the case, what course could be more moderate than the disarming of these people, our circum-

stances considered ; or who could be employed who were like to do it with more care and respect to the English than good Protestants, (and no other, I am confident, were authorised to do it). And, if I mistake not, the disarming was not of those that will needs be called Protestants, but of Papists also, and if their arms were not afterwards restored to them, pursuant to my direction, embezzlement is no new or extraordinary thing in the execution of such orders. But I will affirm that if any man did make complaint of the detention of his arms after the restitution was commanded, and proved who detained them, they were restored, or satisfaction made for them ; and in a while after, when occasion required, and the English of all sorts were better satisfied of his Majesty's gracious intentions towards them, they were by his command and my ready obedience, better armed than they were before, in a great part out of His Majesty's stores ; and, as your Lordship is pleased to remember, they were well modelled into troops and companies, and so appeared in the field, amongst whom, I think, there was not one Papist. I am sure if there were, the Protestant officers were in fault. I have kept your Lordship thus long upon this point because that, though the matter of fact be mistaken, the circumstances of times omitted, and the inference maliciously left to construction, yet that the thing was done cannot be denied.

That there are ten or twelve or more companies in one regiment here, and have been since the spring, and that most of these are Papists and some of them quartered as is said, I think is true. But it is not true that there are no other Protestants in the regiment but my Lord Blaney and Sir Richard Parsons, for my Lord Blaney told me himself that there were not ten Papists in his company. I believe Sir Richard Parsons may say as much, and at Kilkenny, where there is a company, and the captain goes for a Papist, I am assured more than half the company are Protestants. For the villanies [and] disorders laid to their charge, I may say that I have received fewer complaints of them than of so many companies of the standing army. The truth is, I have received but one ; if I may call that a complaint, when the criminals are in the hands of justice. The thing was, some of the company lying at Naas attempted to rob a house in the night, but were resisted, and some of them taken, of whom one was wounded and proves to be a Protestant. That there are eighty officers or more I think is true, and how ready some of them may be to head rebellions, insurrections, invasions, and massacres I cannot tell, but am so far from thinking [it] impossible in the necessitous state they are like to be in, and the suspicion held of them, that I wish they had not come, or might soon be sent away, where they might subsist as well as they did when they quit their foreign employments by the King's command to come to his service. Yet I do not wish it should be in France, lest we should have them here too soon again. That we are unguarded in this city is so extravagant an assertion that it may with good manners enough be called a downright lie. The whole regiment of

guards, and a company that belongs to the artillery and stores, the troop of guards and 2,000 of the Militia, are upon constant duty. That there are a greater number of Irish here than usual in this term I do not believe; but any man may safely affirm it, because it is hard to disprove. However that is, I wish we may be as secure against them elsewhere as here. That the powder house is at the distance mentioned is (to my great trouble) too true. There I found it, and cannot tell whither to remove it till I am able to build a fitter place for it. Your Lordship knows in my time it was kept [in] one of the towers in the Castle, but the next succeeding Governor thought it no good neighbour, and so it was removed into the Castle garden, to a house built by my Lord Roberts, but the foundation failing, it was sent by my Lord Berkeley, I think first to Merriion and then to Crumlin, and at last brought to where it now is; from whence I would remove it to the tower wherein I left it, but that it rains in, and is like to fall. But it is not true that the whole store of the kingdom is there (though, to my great grief, a small house will contain it), for there is ammunition at Duncannon, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kinsale and Galway. How far the high asseverations of these things are true I leave your Lordship to judge, as also how far I am justly to be charged with what of them is true. I can give no account of any men's fears, how far they are real or pretended, reasonable or unreasonable; but I hope from my Lord of Orrery's industry and intelligence much may be discovered, as may appear by a copy of his letter to me, and of my answer to him, which I take the liberty to transmit to your Lordship, which will serve for an answer to some parts of yours of the 23rd. If it be laid to my charge that my Lord Mayor has no more wit than God has sent him, I suppose the intelligencer is merry; he had wit enough to get to be rich and an Alderman, and I think by those steps men get to be Lord Mayors. If I could have foreseen the plot I would have interposed for an abler politician.

My son Arran will himself satisfy your Lordship that Sir Robert Reading mistook him. The bills, I suppose, will lie by the wall till your minds be more at quiet. When they come under deliberation your Lordship's sense upon them will be of great weight.

Copy.

EDMUND BUTLER to ORMOND.

1678, November 29. Carrick.—In obedience to your Grace's and the Council's proclamation I have delivered unto your Grace's lieutenant of horse, three guns, one case of pistols, and my sword. Living in a dangerous country, where your Grace appointed me for the suppression of tories and other malefactors I cannot well now with safety live in my dwelling-house for want of arms. I humbly therefore pray your Grace to direct your Grace's order to Lieut.-Colonel Ussher to restore me my arms, and in so doing I engage to your Grace never to act contrary to His Majesty's laws.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, November 30. Dublin.—I have yours of the 16th and 23rd since I wrote to my Lord Chamberlain and you; what I then wrote I shall now omit.

It were high time that we had a Primate here. In reference to that diocese, the delay is some interruption to the common course of justice and loses some part of the grace of the favour. Here they say that it cannot be for want of time to put hands to letters that are prepared, but that somebody is by composition with the Farmers to have the revenue of the Primacy, which is therefore like to be kept vacant.

I hope there is care taken to have intelligence out of France; I hope they have none good from hence, or that they will not give credit to it, if they have. I would not have them know the advantage they might take us at in this conjuncture. It is now too late and I fear not safe to call a Parliament here till we see how the Session there will end. Sir Tho. Chicheley has his troop.

I received a letter from my Lord of Anglesey of the same date with your last, containing the heads of many objections made here and transmitted hence against my proceedings upon occasion of the plot. It is plain enough they came from my Lord of Orrery, as may appear to you by what I have sent Sir Robert Southwell by this post. There was something of a fellow's offering to take down a proclamation here, at least as the sentry thought, for he thrust the fellow into the body, or a good way into it. At Waterford the proclamation was in part taken down, and the rest of it besmeared, but it was done in the night, and without the walls, so that it could not be known who did it. Yet two fellows who were suspected were put in prison or under security, and were brought hither, which was punishment sufficient for a crime that could not be proved against them. My Lord of Strafford made the tour of Ireland to enable him to govern here, and having taken that pains, it is fit to allow him to make some stories of me, that room may be made for him.

Copy.

JOHN SHADWELL* to ORMOND.

1678, November 30. London.—I, always wearing those dutiful respects to your Grace next my heart, as I ought to do, could not forbear to acquaint you, that if there be a general expulsion of the priests and friars in that kingdom (as I am informed) one, Martin French, an Augustine friar at Galway, who hath formerly given evidence against the titular Archbishop of Tuam for treason, which seems to concur with informations here, being excommunicated, will certainly be murdered so soon as he is out of the King's protection, which I humbly offer to your Grace to do as in your wisdom and prudence you shall think fit. My Lord Chancellor of Ireland was pleased to order him some moneys, otherwise he would

* John Shadwell, father of the poet, was Recorder of Galway at this time.

have been starved for doing his duty. The first thing my Lord Berkeley spoke to me after his Lordship's arrival there was to ask me if I thought it not a malicious prosecution against the Archbishop, and because I declared my thoughts it was not, he was very angry with me; and the friar afterwards coming and making his application to him for some allowance, in respect his party had wholly deserted him, and no man came to him for masses or confessions as they usually had done, his Lordship threatened him with imprisonment, so as I kept him myself several months, or he had been starved, of which charity to him I have since felt the inconveniency, which I have suffered with great patience. My Lord, I most humbly beg your Grace's pardon for writing to your own person, whereof I cannot doubt, as well knowing how easy access all people have to your Grace for justice and charity.

EARL OF OSSORY to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1678, November 30.—I have been in actions of importance, but have not been more troubled during their being in suspense than I was all yesterday while we were debating whether the poor Queen should be so unfortunate as to have both Houses address to the King, that he would remove her upon Oates' accusing her to have undertaken the poisoning of him. At length we carried it in the negative, eight only having voted for concurring with the Commons. The King carried himself most worthily, shewing a detestation of what some thought might be acceptable to him. On Thursday, when Her Majesty was in public she showed not the least emotion; but yesterday when she was in private she ceased not weeping, bewailing her condition, and saying how much the Duke's misfortunes were short of hers, his sufferings being upon an honourable score, but hers upon what was the most infamous. I was the first that brought her the good news of our dissenting with the Commons, which you may imagine was no small consolation, she being all day uncertain whether Whitehall, Somerset House, or perhaps a restraint, might have been her destiny. It fell in my way to have been a little serviceable to her by carrying Oates to Somerset House, my Lord of Bridgewater being commanded with me by the King, where in matter of fact, as to the house, we found him in a manifest lie, which will appear under our hands, the relation we made being in the Parliament House, a copy of which last post I sent to my father. I have not been negligent in my endeavours upon this occasion, and truly the Queen seems satisfied with them, and is so gracious as to consider more my zeal than my weak performances. All her Roman Catholic servants are to leave her this day, except a few women excepted in the Act; it is a hardship for her to quit those who have so long served her, and so faithfully and discreetly. Sir Robert Southwell, who is a worthy and a useful friend to my father, will give him an account of public affairs. I forget not things tending to his service. I pray God send us better times than what we deserve or reasonably are to expect,

and to give to my father and you all happiness. Be pleased to tell him that a little time since Mr. Hyde informed me that the ratifications of the peace were come from Spain.

WILLIAM ADDIS to MAJOR HENRY BRENN.

1678, November 30. Athy.—On examination of some persons that were at mass on Sunday last, as to the number there, etc., he finds that there were about three hundred present, most of them parishioners. Those of greatest consequence were Edmund Dunn, priest, Wm. Smith, Michael Smith, Richard Hoey, and other of this Corporation, and there was no person of quality, stranger or other, to their knowledge there. They will endeavour hereafter to suppress the like assemblies, and would have done their utmost if His Majesty's proclamation had been received in due time.

[Signed] Will. Addis, Dep. Sovr. of Athy.

Abstract.

LIEUTENANT RICH. LOCKE to SAME.

1678, November 30.—Yours of this day's date I had at 7 at night, and for answer say that I hope my Lord Lieutenant will not longer be dissatisfied with me or anybody hereabouts, when he knows that Sunday last (which you mention, on which his Grace heard of that concourse of people being at Mass at Athy) was past and over before ever we knew that there was any proclamation in being against them. And the truth is, there was no unusual meeting there that day; but the Sunday before that I heard their number computed to be about a thousand, whereof some were strangers, but none of note or quality; and if they had been more, all we had to do then was to stand the stricter upon our guard. However I gave my captain an account of it two posts ago, and all the reason I could find for it was that they apprehended that Mass would soon become scarce, and so nobody would omit it while it was to be had. But since the proclamation came to me I hope I have not left anything undone which might argue a neglect, for I gave orders on Tuesday last that if they would presume to meet accordingly on Sunday next, that the officer of the guard should disperse them; but I believe it will not come to that, for I understand the Sovereign sent a message to the priest to forbid his saying Mass in the town. And I wish the proclamation would bear it to hinder their having it anywhere else; but that not being plain enough expressed to my understanding I shall forbear any disturbance to them unless they exceed in numbers or quality of people till I hear further, as being unwilling to err on either hand.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, November 30. St. James's Square.—The King having again, in a speech to both Houses on Monday last, left the disbanding the army to the Parliament, if it should be thought

advisable, though the ratifications of the peace are not yet come from Spain, on Wednesday and Friday they made some progress in it; and having first voted the disbanding of the soldiers raised since Michaelmas, 1677, the Commons addressed to the King for recalling those in Flanders in order to it, and received in answer from His Majesty that he would advise with the Lords. They have gone further in considering of the methods of doing it effectually, and have resolved that Committees shall be appointed in an act, and the money for that use shall be paid into the Chamber of London.

The House has been informed of a letter which the Dutch Ambassador had received, which speaks of the damnable designs now on foot. The Ambassador has sent it since by Sir Ch. Cotterell. It comes from the Dutch Agent at Basel to the States, and acquaints them of what had fallen from a Jesuit there (passing through from Rome) about the murder of the King, and that there were (as he affirmed) about a thousand of his order now in England to carry on this conspiracy. Letters are produced frequently from several parts of England by several members, which speak of several parties of horse well armed having been seen in many parts in the night time. The King having at last been pleased to allow the pardon of Bedloe to the time the House had desired it, both he and Oates were on Thursday one after the other brought to the bar, where each of them charged the Queen for having a part in the Plot. Oates expressly accused Her Majesty of high treason for conspiring and consenting to the death of the King, and gave four or five reasons for his accusations; and Bedloe affirmed that he saw her present at a consultation about the beginning of May, 1677, in the Chapel Gallery at Somerset House, and that Coleman (after it) came down, and told him that they had made her weep; but that at last two French abbots (which were there) had made her consent, but did not say to what. But not to trouble your Grace unnecessarily, I beg leave for the particulars of the two informations to refer your Grace to the paper which my Lord Longford and I drew up presently upon the rising of the House upon our memory for your Grace, and which your Grace will receive from him this post. The House thought they could in duty do no less than beseech His Majesty that the Queen and all Papists whatever might hereupon retire from Whitehall, and instantly drew up an address for that purpose, and sent it to the Lords for their concurrence. I hear their Lordships have disagreed, and intend to give their reasons on Monday at a conference.

This morning the King was pleased to give his royal assent to the Act for clearing the Parliament and the Court of Papists, but denied a short bill which had been prepared for putting the Militia in arms for six weeks; saying that he refused it not for the matter, but for the manner of it, that the Militia was in the Crown, and he would not consent to the putting of it out of the Crown, though but for half an hour. The House, finding an exception taken now, which they did not think the bill had been liable to, there having not been one

word said against it by any man in either House during the whole course of passing it, were very much surprised at this disappointment. But it being absolutely necessary for the safety of the kingdom that some such course be taken for a standing present force, they were considering how they might with the rules of Parliament bring this business again to the King, and avoid the objection he had made; when being told that this act passed this day, making it extremely penal for any man in either House to sit and vote after to-morrow before having taken the tests and subscribed the declaration prescribed, there was scarce time enough to do what was required of them unless they went instantly about it, the House found it necessary to break off all further debate, and fall immediately upon doing that without which they were incapacitated to sit there.

JO. LEWIS to ALDERMAN HUMPHRY JERVIS.

1678, December 2. Fishguard.—There was forced to Milford lately, by stress of weather, four friars, they say of the St. Augustine's order, and they call themselves James Higgin, Thomas Eustace, John Dowdall, and Laughlin Keogh and another person who they call Thomas Conroy, servant to Eustace. They flung a cask overboard when they saw they could not avoid the port, and they forced the master and the two boys that belonged to the vessel to keep sea to the utmost. They came on board at Dublin. I am persuaded they are some of those villains that conspired against the good Duke of Ormond. They are in common gaol, and shall be so kept till we hear more of them, which I pray inquire into, for we cannot extend too much diligence, our King and kingdoms lying under the burthen of Popish villains. God preserve us in this dangerous age.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to the SHERIFF OF
Co. DUBLIN.

1678, December 2.—After our hearty commendations, whereas by proclamation issued from this Board, dated the 19th of October, 1678, the titular Popish Archbishops and others of the Popish regular clergy mentioned in the said proclamation were by the 20th of November, 1678, commanded to depart this kingdom, and all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other his Majesty's officers, ministers, and loving subjects were required, from and immediately after the said 20th of November, to make diligent search and inquiry for such of the said Popish regular clergy as should remain in the kingdom after the said day, and to apprehend them, and commit them to safe custody and make certificate thereof to this Board, and return the names of their receivers, relievers, and harbourers. And we, being informed that in manifest contempt of the said proclamation, few or none of the said Popish regular clergy have departed the kingdom; and for that we have not as yet received any intimation from you or any of His Majesty's justices of the peace in that

county (to whom you are to communicate these our letters) that any of the said Popish regular clergy are apprehended or committed to safe custody: We therefore do hereby require you and the said justices of peace to redeem this your neglect to our commands, and more vigorously to put the same in execution by your diligent search for such Popish regular clergy who have not departed the kingdom, and committing them to safe custody. Whereof we expect a speedy and good accompt. And we require you immediately not only to return unto us the names of the said several Popish regular clergy, who shall be apprehended, and in what places they are secured, but also make return of the names of their receivers, relievers, and harbourers, that they may be proceeded against according to law. And so we bid you farewell. From the Council Chamber in Dublin, the second day of December, 1678. Your loving friends,

Ormond.
Mich. Dublin, C.
Blessington.
Lanesborough
Hen. Midensis.
R. Coote.
Ro. Fitzgerald.
Ca. Dillon.

Ro. Booth.
John Davys.
Will Stewart.
John Cole.
Hans. Hamilton.
Ric. Gethin.
Wm. Flower.
Tho. Radcliffe.

To our loving friend the Sheriff
of the County of Dublin to
be by him communicated to
His Majesty's Justices of the
[Peace] of the said county.

ORMOND TO EARL OF BARRYMORE.

1678, December 3. Dublin.—In the first place, I beg your pardon for having your Lordship's of the 19th of the last month so long on my hands unanswered. Be pleased to impute it to the pressure of business that has been and is still upon me. The stopping of the transport of horses to the plantations might be in some respects advisable at this time, but in other regards inconvenient. Our comfort is, we have ill luck if we have not as good horses as any enemy we are like to meet with; and I trust in God we shall have better hands and hearts, having a better cause. As your Lordship may be confident of my belief in your loyalty to the King and affection to me, so no opportunity shall offer but it shall readily be laid hold of by me to serve you. I confess I am at a loss to find a reason why the gentry of that county, I think the most numerous and considerable in the kingdom, should be the latest in meeting and providing for their own safety, and it is some surprise to me to hear that a gentry so qualified, under and with whom there are so many English and Protestants, should yet be so terrified and amazed as to be ready to forsake their habitations rather than to think of making use of the means they have in their hands for their

preservation. But I hope a little time will bring them to themselves, and to the temper and resolution befitting men of sobriety and courage, and I beseech your Lordship to let me know how far you observe this kind of terror is spread.

Copy.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, December 3. Castlemartyr.—Friday night last very late I received the enclosed from Captain Archer, which I judge it my duty humbly to send to your Grace. I think it might be advisable (unless his own affairs requires his going home, or to Dublin) that he should still stay at Rincorran, both to see what he has agreed for by the great wall done, and the little day labour well followed, as also daily to see that the undertakers provide hewn stone, walling stone, lime, sand, etc., and to have all on the place that by the dawning of the spring we may fall roundly to our work and have a good stock in place to carry it on without interruption. Had I judged myself qualified to do it I had instantly sent him a licence for his own and his servants' arms, which I humbly beg he may have, though I hope none will dare to be so rash as to think His Majesty's Engineer needs anything but his commission to authorise him to wear them. I have still found him very diligent, frugal, faithful and industrious, which to write is a debt I owe him, and therefore to certify it a duty I esteem myself obliged to pay him.

I have not yet received the honour of your Excellency's answer about the order for the gunners at Rincorran having money to buy all necessaries for the ordnance there, that nothing might be wanting for their supply in time of need. I did also present your Excellency a list of the particulars, and what they would cost; and I also humbly remind your Excellency that you would command the axletrees and wheels for the ordnance there (which are made at Dublin) to be hastened thither, the bodies for them being long since ready at Kinsale. And I have directed Captain Archer that if the vault for the powder cannot be made fit to receive it this winter, that then at one end of the large new guard house a part may be fitted to hold some powder and cartridges separated by a portion wall for fear of fire, since to have so many cannon mounted and no powder to fire them on the place is no ways fit.

Sir Wm. King has written to me to be a humble suitor to your Excellency to allow a town major for the garrison of Limerick, in which is seven companies and one troop. In this I most humbly beseech your Grace, for though he is a very vigilant officer, yet he owns he is not able to do the duty which should be done there as it ought to be, without such a necessary assistance. And indeed, my Lord, the multitudes of loose Irish Papists which are got in thither above six months since (which I mention because your Excellency's late proclamation will not turn out many there) seems to render this humble request of his and mine needful. The pay need not exceed an ensign's or a lieutenant's, and the advantage as to the safety of the place will be more considerable.

Mr. Harvey and Captain Crispra will be still fit to be continued in my humble opinion, for on any occasion without them we shall be in the dark for accounts of any things there, and also to see the undertakers provide all things.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, December 4.—Yours of the 26th of the last came so late that it was just before the packet went away. I am glad you have sent to stop James at Paris or return him thither before he sees England, which at this time is no place for him. I shall be satisfied with any governor my Lord Chamberlain and you shall choose for him, and with any allowance you shall give him; but I would have the whole expense not to exceed a thousand pound a year, and that, well managed, I am confident will serve; if it be gone beyond you shall pay it. But by all means hasten over a governor, for the boy will soon get the better of Barrington. and may prove hard to be brought to reason afterwards.

If any ill accident should happen either by the keeping on foot or disbanding MacCarty's regiment, the inconvenience and the blame too will fall on me; the inconvenience by the disorder that must follow the disbanding of so many men that know how to live upon their neighbours when they want bread, and the blame will be imputed to me; for people here are not so reasonable as to consider whether I have or have not orders; the smart will direct them to murmur at those nearest them, who they think might have prevented it. But this is not the greatest difficulty I am like to meet with. In all which I will do the best I can without molesting the King whilst he is under the weight of business that now lies upon him. I am sure I need not now put you in mind of the great obligation you and your family have to the Queen, and how well it will become you to shew it at this time by diligent attendance and by all the services your greater duty to the King and country will permit. Let no fear or compliance fright or induce you to abandon her innocence, nor yet your gratitude or generosity engage you in the defence of her guilt, if that be possible, as with me it is most improbable. God direct you.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1678, December 5. London.—Necessity staying me here two days longer than I designed, hath opportuned me to know what follows. On Wednesday the King in Council took notice of the dangers arising from the flocking of Papists to this city, and of their insolence everywhere; whereupon His Majesty was pleased to order a renewing of the old proclamation for their banishment hence, and ordered the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to consider of some more effectual expedients, and this day to offer them to the Council, which I hear will be to require all country justices and city magistrates strictly to inquire what Papists are near them, by

administering oaths to such masters and mistresses of families, and others who they shall think fit, that so all Papists may be detected and brought under security to appear on summons; and when His Majesty knows the numbers and how to come at each, he may use his further pleasure either in relation to their estates or persons. More or less new evidence comes in daily. Last night I heard that the Duke of Monmouth's youngest son died yesterday. He still continues his old quarters in Hedge Lane, only this sad occasion carried him yesterday to the Cockpitt. It is my Lord Shrewsbury (it seems) who succeeds him in the Lord Lieutenancy of Staffordshire. My Lord Conway is made an earl, and next week goeth down to Wells, to address to my niece Poulett, the late Lord Poulett's eldest daughter, by Colonel Popham's daughter, a very excellent good young virgin, not fifteen years old, and comely enough. She hath £10,000 in money, and if her half-brother (the now Lord Poulett) dieth (who hath been a very weak child till very lately), she will have far the bigger half of all the estate, which now I come to be one of the managers of it I find to be far greater than I believed it. He is to settle £10,000 per annum on such heir male as he shall have by her, £2,000 per annum jointure, and if he dies and leaves no children then to refund £5,000 of the portion. Lord Aran (Duke Hamilton's son, is his rival, but her friends prefer an English-Irish estate before a Scotch one.

EARL OF ORRERY to LORD LIEUTENANT AND LORDS OF
THE COUNCIL.

1678, December 6. Castlemartyr.—I received last night the honour of your Excellency's and your Lordships' letter of the 2nd instant. I pay your Lordships my most humble acknowledgments for your condescending to communicate to me so many particulars of your actings and intentions as are expressed in that letter. Since your Excellency and your Lordships conceive that had the Commissioners of Array in this province been as active in the execution of their commissions and the directions of the Board as in the other parts of the kingdom, the Militia in this province had been well nigh in as good a posture as it is in and near Dublin, I hope when I acquaint them therewith it will quicken their actings, though I fully believe that nothing can quicken their zeal and affection to His Majesty's service in this particular or any other. Your Excellency having filled up the vacancies in the Militia of this province will very likely not a little contribute to the sooner raising of it; and the trust of giving the captains leave to name their own inferior officers is a great tie and obligation on them to nominate both men of interest to recruit the troops and foot companies, and men of knowledge to assist in the leading and commanding of them. I hope your Excellency's resolution of appointing governors of counties, who by themselves or their deputies shall command the Militia of the counties, will be found of good use and will not only hasten

the setting up the Militia effectually, but also be a means timely to foresee, remedy, prevent, or suppress mischiefs.

In the honour of your Excellency and your Lordships' said letter to me I find these very words, viz., "The like rule is to be observed in the precedence of the captains of the militia as there is by the officers of the army, which we doubt not is well known to your Lordship, and we conceive that your Lordship, as Major-General of the army, may upon any emergency command not only the army, but the militia in that province." Upon these your Excellency and your Lordships' words I humbly beg to lay before you my doubts and to crave your resolutions on them. Does your Excellency and your Lordships intend that if any difference arises concerning precedence between any of the militia captains in this province that I shall finally determine it, and from time to time? If you do, then I humbly beg that the authority to do it, and the rules mentioned for doing it, may be sent and signed by his Excellency, or by whom he shall please to authorise to do it; since I never saw any such rules relating to precedence in the army since those granted in the year 1666, and 'tis not improbable but in so long a space of time as from 1666 to 1678, and so many changes of chief governors, but that some of them might have altered those I mention, or have given new ones, which may be unknown to me.

Does your Excellency and your Lordships judge that the words in your letter viz.: "And we conceive your Lordship as Major General of the army, may, upon any emergency, not only command the army, but the militia, in that province," is a sufficient and legal authority to do it? May not your Excellency and your Lordships believe that the words, viz., "On any emergency," need an explanation; and that some particular cases ought to be set down, in which or their parallel or cases resembling such as shall be enumerated, I may, according to your words, and from time to time, command on actual service and for His Majesty's service the militia in this province, or any part of it?

Does your Excellency and Lordships judge that by the words viz., "Commanding the militia," I am hereby legally capacitated to fight against, destroy and kill such enemies or others as shall rise up in arms to rob or murder His Majesty's peaceable subjects before they are proclaimed rebels by your Excellency and the Board, and to prosecute to the utmost their abettors, relievers, associates and adherents?

Does not your Excellency and your Lordships believe that if any considerable rising should happen against His Majesty's Government and peace, that it will be then too late to send to your Excellency and your Lordships for authority to take up lawfully victuals and forage for such of the militia as I shall draw together to oppose, and, by the blessing of God, to suppress such criminals? Since it is but too likely that if any such mischief should happen they will infest many passages between this and Dublin, either in going or returning, and the rather much if they shall know (as too many ill-inclined

persons have too quick intelligence) that we cannot draw men together to resist and quell them, wanting wherewithal to feed them and the horses they serve on.

I have many more important doubts humbly to beg may be resolved by your Excellency's and your Lordships' authorities to make affairs practically serviceable for the defence of His Majesty's Government, and the safety of his loyal subjects in this province, which I shall in the honour of your answer to this letter lay before you. But I have the rather mentioned the few particulars before expressed, because they seem to me to be of most pressing haste to be resolved, for when I formerly commanded the militia in this province I did it by virtue of His Majesty's patent under the Broad Seal, by which I had authority to prosecute rebels and other such like criminals with fire and sword, to parley with them, to take (in some cases) some of them into His Majesty's protection, and to promise them pardon. I had also by the same patent and instructions authority to take up victuals and forage on ticket (not exceeding the daily limited allowance).

The then authority in this province had commission to proclaim men rebels and to prosecute with fire and sword them, and those that aided, sheltered or relieved them, and all these authorities so granted, were granted me in the highest times of peace, the wisdom of the Government judging it a hopeful way to prevent mischiefs, by putting their servants into a ready posture to oppose and suppress them. All this I have the larger mentioned because if the honour, burden and duty of commanding the militia in this province be laid upon me (as by the words of your Excellency's and your Lordships' said letter it seems to be intended) I most humbly and earnestly desire the authority to do it may be full, legal and clear, and that I may have sufficient means to answer what is expected from me, and then, as God shall give me health and strength of body, I will to the utmost of my ability answer your Excellency and your Lordships' expectations therein. But without such authority and means I humbly crave your leaves to say I believe it will be altogether impossible for me or any other to serve you acceptably and effectually therein.

Your Excellency's and your Lordships' resolutions of renewing the Commissions of Array in the several counties is very needful, for many of them are lost or mislaid, and in some counties I hear so many are dead, removed, or superannuated that there is not a quorum left to act.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, December 7. St. James's Square.—The King's having refused the bill for raising the militia over all England, in which the security of the nation in this conjuncture is so much concerned, put the House on Monday upon counsels of representing to His Majesty by way of address

the present dangers in which (in the trouble they then lay under) several heads were offered to be passed, which seemed to go beyond the present occasion as misrepresentations of proceedings of Parliament, and the danger of private advices contrary to the advice of both Houses, and the like; and a Committee was accordingly appointed to draw it up. But the King's message upon Wednesday, in which he told them that he was ready to pass any bill for the Militia which did not put the calling, continuing or disbanding it out of the Crown, has so far moderated that misunderstanding that since then there have been no more words made of the address; but a Committee was directed to inquire how a bill for that purpose might again be prepared according to the orders of the House. On Thursday the House fell upon the consideration of the Lords that are in the Tower, and finding that there is haste made for their trial before the time limited by a proclamation lately put out for the inviting a further discovery of these conspiracies, which is the 25th instant, be expired; and from other reasons, fearing that both the evidence that might be had might be prevented, and that what was already known might not have its due weight, unless the Commons of England concerned themselves in the prosecution, found it necessary to impeach some of the prisoners before the House of Lords, and did immediately before they rose by five several messages impeach five noblemen, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Bellasis, Lord Powys, Lord Petre, and Lord Stafford.

The unusual restraint of Mr. Oates took up the best part of Friday, and ended in a further address that his friends might have free liberty of conversing with him without interruption, or being overheard by any guards or other, and that his guard might only attend in the outward room before his chamber for the security of his person. This day the bill for convicting the Papists all over England by name had its second reading, and was committed with these instructions among others, that all commissions granted to Papists shall be void and null, that such receivers of commissions shall be declared felons, and proceeded against and punished as such.

This afternoon both Houses attended the King in the Banqueting House with an address for seizing the Papists all over England, and requiring security from them, or for want of it to commit them to prison. Having no business relating to that station I am in under your Grace to trouble you with, I take leave to give your Grace some slight touches of the present transactions, because in having an account from several hands there is this advantage, that sometimes even the meanest happens to light upon some circumstances which clear up what is related by much better.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1678, December 7. Dublin.—The country letters came in so late on Monday, which is one of our regular Council days,

and Tuesday happening to be a post day on which I had many despatches to make, I was not willing in haste to enter upon a return to your Lordship's of the 29th of the last, wherein are things of importance to the public, and to me who have a part in the service of it.

Your Lordship will dispense with my taking notice of those things for which orders were sent in pursuance of your representations concerning Major Beversham's company and the fort of Bantry, because I depend more upon your judgment and knowledge of those parts than upon their opinion that say that though Ross be a good place to secure the company (if well provided within), yet being an island except a narrow causeway leading out of it, it is not so proper for protection and encouragement of the Protestants of those parts, who may rather be disheartened to live scattered in their weak houses, when they see a well armed company is sent for protection into an inaccessible fortress.

Those who would endeavour to calumniate the Government cannot do it more maliciously than by imputing negligence and coldness to their proceedings in such a conjuncture as this; but they would not be the cunning men I mean if they could be easily detected, or if they could not cover their defamations under the pretence of honesty, love to the Government, and a mighty zeal for the Protestant religion and for the safety of the professors of it; and sure no libels against a Government can be more artificial and pernicious than lamentations from men of the character they assume, when they insinuate that in times of daily alarms and extreme peril the remedies and preventions do not keep pace or hold proportion with the imminence and greatness of the danger.

Though your Lordship's apology in behalf of well meaning men who may have been alarmed and frightened into such thoughts and reflections is immediately before the profession you are pleased to make of your desire and endeavour that the Government may be as prosperous in my hands as if it were in your brother's, yet I hope you do not think my expressions on this subject were or are directed to your Lordship.

I do not exactly follow the paragraphs of your Lordship's, because I conceive this may be a fit place to say that it would have been a very obliging instance of your favour and friendship to me if it had pleased you to have informed me sooner of the great trouble your Lordship and many others were in; because that, though the horrid plot was discovered in the beginning of September, yet not so much as a letter came for setting up of the militia till the 11th of November. If you had afforded me the favour, I could have told you very truly that the first notice I had of it was in the beginning, as I take it, or the 7th, of October, and if your Lordship had known it sooner I presume you would have thought it fit to be imparted to me. But by this calculation I am allowed to have been awake a month sooner than by the other. How the rest of the time was spent appears best by public acts and by the journals of the Council books, and I heartily wish your Lordship's health

could have permitted your presence with us, because it would have saved us both much pains in writing, and either you would have been better satisfied with our proceedings (which are as hitherto very unanimous) than your letters intimate, or they would have been changed to your liking. What other men hoped for more than they found in the letters concerning the militia your Lordship does not mention, nor can I guess at. For their fears, they are frequently represented by your Lordship, and they seem to be greater than in any other part of the kingdom, from whence I do not hear but that Protestants that live out of garrisons lie down quietly and rise safely, and I pray God that they and their posterity may ever do so.

It is not doubted but that the militia, when it was first raised, received a great advantage by your Lordship's interest and vigorous industry in that province, to which let it be no diminution that the militia of other counties appeared before me very well modelled, armed, and commanded, though they were only under the care of Commissioners of Array, unless where perhaps there might be the governor of a county, of whom few were resident in their counties, and, I doubt, fewer took pains. I conceive it is a mistake that seven went to a quorum in the last Commission of Array. I think two was the number in the last. I am sure it is in this which will go hence by the next post, and to which and the instructions that go with it I must refer myself as to all things that concern the militia. I shall not only allow of but earnestly desire your Lordship's information and advice as often as you shall conceive them conducive to the King's service, and the peace and quiet of his people.

I conceive the advertisements and advices given by the priest to my Lord of Shannon and of other Irish Papists to English and Protestants, and the reasons for those advertisements and advices, if well followed and traced to the fountain, to be the likeliest way I have yet seen offered to discover that damnable plot in all its circumstances of contrivement and conspirators. That there was and is still a Popish Plot on foot to murder the King and subvert the Government and religion established by law we are not to doubt; that some of the Papists of Ireland are involved in it, and are assigned a great part to act is not only a great part of the information, but most agreeable to reason, and that the priest and those other persons aforesaid are privy to it, or at least suspicious of it, is most probable; and even the grounds of their suspicion (if they are not deeper in) may very well lead us further into the knowledge of the bottom of that hellish design than can be foreseen. I must therefore desire your Lordship that the priest and some of the other persons who gave the intimation may speedily and safely be sent hither, and that some of the Protestants who received warning and advice from their Popish friends may also appear here, or else that your Lordship will take the full examinations of these latter, that I may have them in readiness by the time the priest and the other Papists shall appear here. I had no information from any FitzGerald importing what your

Lordship says was written into Munster. One that calls himself by that name and says he was born in Kerry was apprehended in the county of Sligo, having said mass there, and pretending he could and would make great discoveries if he might be brought to me, was conducted hither by two gentlemen of that county, Mr. Jones and Mr. Booth, to the King's cost of £12. But upon examination he is found to be a very impostor and vagabond friar, who has been preaching among the Presbyterians in the North, as one of their way, but discarded by them for his three virtues of lying, drinking, and whoring.

Your Lordship may dispose of your ordnance, if you think fit, to the town of Bandon. But for ammunition to them, and for their militia, His Majesty's stores will not yet afford it; but I suppose at Kinsale, where shipping often comes, they may be furnished for their money. Your Lordship has well disposed of the priest, who would divide the King's subjects betwixt him and the French King. The judges will take him into consideration in the term. Whatever your Lordship finds omitted by me in answer to your Lordship's relating to the militia, I hope you will better find provided for in the Commission of Array, and the instructions sent with it, and for what is contained in yours of the 3rd of this month I beg your patience till the next post.

Copy.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, December 7. Dublin.—I have seen yours of the 30th of the last to your mother relating the proceedings concerning the Queen, and the part you had in it, wherein you have done nothing that I have heard of but what I highly approve of, and would have done myself if I had had the good fortune to have been in the House, persuaded as I am of her virtue, honour, and innocence. In your letter you say you had the post before sent me a copy of what my Lord Bridgewater and you had signed upon your going with Oates to Somerset House, but you forgot to enclose it, for I neither remember that any paper was enclosed in your letter nor can I find one since. I pray take care to let your mother or me constantly know how the Queen does, and such particulars relating to her as are not publicly transacted, for those we shall have from other hands. What passes here I send to Sir Robert Southwell.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, December 10. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 1st of December I have received, with the copy of my Lord of Orrery's to you and your answer; I shall not fail when any occasion offers itself to make the best use I can of them for your service. He writeth many circular letters to Parliament men and Lords of the Council to that effect, but they make not as yet much noise, whether in respect of your Grace or disrespect

to him, or what is worse, to expect a better opportunity, I cannot determine. We are all, I think, in a mist as yet, and the most retiring men do but grope in their politics; there are so many sub-divisions in our divisions, both in Court and Parliament, that I think ere long we shall divide so nicely as to have no factions, which is the best I can hope of it. The ratifications betwixt France and Spain are exchanged, but I do not find the peace with the Emperor much advanced; but certainly if Spain and Holland stick to their peace, the Emperor must make his, though for our sake I wish he would not. The bill for disbanding the Army goeth swift in our House, and a fresh bill against Popery is not much slower. These two once passed, we shall have men's minds clearer, though their discontents at present are not very silent. We are comforted with the news that my Lord James recovereth, for which I congratulate heartily with your Grace.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, December 10. Dublin.—Now that your son is there all that is to be considered is how to dispose of him after you have satisfied your curiosity. I do not conceive Whitehall to be a good place to breed up the youth of either sex in; so that my opinion, in the first place, is that he stay no longer there than till after Christmas is done, and I wish that even in that time he do not contract some ill habits and obstinacy to retain them, to prevent which he ought to have a governor given him immediately, without whom he should not make a step, and for whom he should have reverence and awe, as being entirely left to his direction and correction. After Christmas there are but two places to send him to—Oxford or Paris—which I leave to your choice. At Oxford I do not know what he can learn, since I do not find he is inclined to the learning of the place; but he will be there kept to college discipline, diet, and hours, strictly, if he be under the care of the bishop of the place for a year or two, after which he may be returned to France. This may have other conveniencies in this conjuncture, and, for aught I know, the sending him to Paris some inconvenience at such a time, when very small circumstances serve the turn to induce important consequences. Yet all that I waive, and am not against his return to Paris as soon as the holidays are over, to enter into an academy, or come to learn his exercises there as an extern. Let this and his equipage be as you and his governor shall agree upon it, still remembering that I will be but at £1,000 a year charge.

I stated my case so truly, and gave my sense so fully to my Lord Chamberlain in relation to his pretensions to the young lady, that there remains no more for me to say, but that, since there is no probability that any offer I can make and perform will be accepted after better shall be rejected, I know not what is to be done in that particular but to let it fall with all the respect and thankfulness that can be expressed to the younger

Lady Northumberland, and without making a journey to the market at Petworth. Having written this to you, desire my Lord Chamberlain to read it and thank me for not troubling him with a letter, which could only echo the lamentations I find in all honest men's.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, December 10. St. James's Square.—Yours of the 1st December came yesterday, and last night my Lord Longford, Sir Robert Southwell and myself met at my Lord's house to read those copies Sir Robert had by that post received from your Grace. The part my Lord Orrery acts is very visible by them, and though the steps your Grace has made towards the security of that kingdom (since this strange discovery) have been very vigorous, and those other counsels which have been in debate have been, with great reason, laid aside, yet we were thinking that it might be of considerable service to your Grace to have a full narrative drawn up and sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry for the King to see, which might contain an account of all that has been done upon this occasion, what has been put in execution, what upon debate (and for what reasons) has been found unpracticable, and what remains yet to be done. This would, at one view, put before the King the present state of the kingdom, and let him see the utmost that can be done at present (till a Parliament shall have provided further) for the safety of the nation; and when upon such a naked representation His Majesty's opinions and commands upon the whole shall be desired, I cannot see how your Grace can suffer by any private whispers or insinuations.

These two days this week have been spent upon disbanding the army, and bills against Popery; towards that 'tis resolved that the present land tax shall be increased half as much more from February next, and this is endeavoured to be suppressed by three bills, two of which had their rise in this House, and one came from the Lords. They are all three committed to the same committee, and it is hoped that out of them all we may have one very effectual act for settling our future peace.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, December 10. Castlemartyr.—I know your Grace and myself too well to have so much as fancied that what your Grace wrote to me concerning persons which had maliciously calumniated the Government was in the least meant of me, and the introduction I made in my letter to your Grace was only to convince your Grace that if my brother had been in your Excellency's station I would not have been more earnest with him to have put these western parts into a posture of defence than I have been so under your Excellency's government.

I think in several of my letters to my Lord Chancellor, to whom I write chiefly of public things, and who I find imparts such letters to your Grace (to whom I am loath to be too often troublesome), I did not omit, in the first notice of these horrid plots, to express my earnest desires that the militia might be set up usefully, with all convenient speed, since there was not wherewithal to recruit the army; and in my Lord Chancellor's letters to me he did me the favour to let me know that he supposed orders would soon issue for the setting up of the militia, some weeks before your Excellency's and the Council's letter came about it, dated the 15th of November (which by mistake I wrote was dated the 11th of that month), and therefore every post expecting those orders would be sent (knowing my Lord Chancellor would not have written what he did had not your Excellency been resolved to set it up again) I judged it not over decent to write more to your Excellency about it.

I think Mr. Oates his first deposition before His Majesty in Council was taken the 28th of September last, but I am sure several days before then some friends in London wrote to me (and I had only some intimation of it from my Lord Chancellor about the same time) that there was an hellish plot on foot by the Papists, in which Ireland was deeply concerned; and I was apt enough to believe that if such black designs were detecting, and that his Grace had intimations thereof, your Excellency was much likelier to have notice of them, who sit at the helm of this kingdom, than I, who only live a private and retired life in it.

I humbly assure your Grace that had my gout permitted it, and had your Excellency commanded my attendance at Dublin, or had you commanded my poor opinion in things of public concernment when the first preparations for the safety of this kingdom were under consideration, I should have judged it my duty most humbly to have offered to your Grace's consideration rather to have put the kingdom first into a posture of defence, and after that by proclamations to have required the titular and regular Romish clergy to have gone out of it, and the laity of that religion to have been disarmed, than first to have commanded the two latter, and then some weeks after to send letters to raise the militia, since (being sworn to give my best advice) I could not have believed (till better reasons had convinced me than I was able to suggest unto myself) that it is an usual thing first to irritate a numerous and dangerous clergy, who are blindly obeyed by all their flocks, and a numerous laity also, and then to prescribe means to justify it by force if they proved disobedient (as I think most in these parts believed they would, since on trial they had done the like formerly, and had escaped with impunity). And I had been the more earnest herein because I had reason to believe that such disobedient clergy and laity would chiefly have been secured by the militia, who, being dispersed in all parts, would have been the more fit for it. Nor could I think the civil officers would have been very active therein until they saw the militia up to have protected them in doing their duties

and after; and, probably, the disobedience had not been so general and extensive had those who contracted the guilt of it seen the militia first well formed to have brought them to be punished for it. I ingeniously acknowledge to your Grace that these things did and still do trouble me, both as wishing from my soul all good to my King and country, and prosperity to your Excellency's government, under which, I am sure, all that is dearest to me in this world must either sink or swim.

I have been thus large and thus minute in this part of my letter because of some sensible expressions in the honour of your Grace's letter to me, in which methinks I am a little taxed, as if I had failed in not representing things to your Grace as I ought to have done; therefore I have the largelier insisted on my humble vindication, for I would not pass under the least shadow of failing in my renewed professions of service to your Grace, no more than I would knowingly, much less intentionally, err in the sacred bond of that duty. And therefore, if what I have presumed to write on this subject should be judged a fault, I most humbly beseech your Grace, since it wholly proceeds from my concernment in that tender point, to pardon the effect for the cause's sake.

I most humbly beg your Grace to believe that what I wrote of the fears of the Protestants of Munster was from very many authentic assurers of it, and I think the Protestants in these western parts yield not in courage to any in other parts of the kingdom. But I know no part of the kingdom, except the west of this province, that has in it above ten thousand able bodies of men, all Papists, and who have residing among them the chief heads of their class (and who are justly suspected to have still many arms) who have lost entirely their estates by the last rebellion. To which may be added that in all that wild and large tract of ground, His Majesty has not one garrison wherewith to awe them, nor is there hardly one Protestant inhabitant to pry into their actings, and to give true and speedy accounts of what they are doing or designing. Possibly these things may have occasioned their fears, together with their not being yet in a good posture of defence. I am very sensible of your Grace's great condescension in taking notice my poor endeavours were acceptable to your Excellency in the first setting up the militia of this province, and I presume most humbly to assure your Grace that I think it no diminution to my duty therein that your Grace does say the militia of other countries appeared before your Grace, well modelled, armed, and commanded, though they were only under the care of the Commissioners of the Array. And I unfeignedly wish that the Commissioners of Array in every county may now as fully and expeditiously answer your expectation therein as the need seems to require they should.

Yet I think the militia of this province flattered themselves with a fancy that none were so early in arms as they, at the first setting of it up. And I humbly think that no body of militia in the kingdom were so long on actual duty in the honour of His Majesty's service, merely on the credit of those

who commanded (as to their food and forage), as the several troops and companies of this province were at Kinsale in the year 1667, for which, after the peace, they were duly paid army pay. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I wrote that the quorum of the Commissioners of Array in this country was larger than really it is, since if seven be not the quorum, they themselves assured me it was.

I also most humbly thank your Excellency for the honour of your most obliging expressions in answer to my humble desires of laying at your feet my poor thoughts from time to time in what might concern His Majesty's service, and the safety of those western counties, which, having such an encouragement to do, I shall endeavour to employ it for your Excellency's service.

Your Excellency's commands concerning the priest which sent my brother Shannon the intimation I mentioned, I shall acquaint him with, that he may obey them. But I humbly beg your Excellency's leave to say I doubt it may seem unwelcome to any English gentleman to be an accuser of a friendly Irish neighbour for giving him advice for his safety, and much more unwelcome to him to make a winter journey to Dublin to do it, and thereby make his friend his enemy, and, in the meantime during his absence in such times the more to expose his family. And this I the rather presume to write, because when an English gentleman, one Mr. Browne, came on purpose out of Kerry to me to give me notice that he had had an advice of that nature from an Irish neighbour of his called Mr. Archdeacon, I sent immediately an express for the said Archdeacon, hoping on strict examination of him myself to make some useful discovery; but when I had brought them face to face, and that Mr. Browne offered to depose what he had informed me, Mr. Archdeacon offered to depose voluntarily that he remembered not he had ever given such advice to Mr. Browne, and Mr. Browne, desiring me privately to make up the business between them the best I could, lest Archdeacon and his friends might destroy him, I did it. But I made Archdeacon, by solemn voluntary oath, engage to me to be very active in detecting any design against His Majesty's peace and government. After what I have now written, if your Grace judges fit that such English and Irish should be sent up to your Excellency, I am all obedience. But I am now earnest to apprehend a Romish priest, who I have good ground to believe is entrusted with most of their secrets, and can, if he will, discover much; for I have the oaths of two of his parishioners, which are very material as to that point, and him, if I can apprehend, I shall send up to your Excellency, with the deponents against him, for he is worth the thorough examining, and it can do no hurt to any of the Protestants.

I shall lend the Corporation of Bandon my iron ordnance, since your Excellency wishes me to do it. I doubt if the militia be not furnished with powder and match out of His Majesty's stores (which, I am sure, I will not do without your

Excellency's express orders, after what your Excellency has written to me thereon) they will be to seek. For there was little or no powder to be bought before the proclamation about powder, and, since that proclamation, I cannot hear of any to be sold either by merchants or out of ships. If I think anything is omitted which concerns the making useful the Militia after I shall have seen the new commission and instructions to the Commissioners of Array, I shall humbly lay at your Excellency's feet my thoughts thereon.

Finding that Major Congreve cannot remove (without prejudice) to Youghal, I humbly beg your Grace, by my brother Burlington's desire, for your order for Captain Savage's company, now at Cork, to remove to Youghal, and garrison there. Mr. Roderick Jackson is just now come to me from Youghal with notice of a ship of above eighty tons that is by stress of weather driven into that harbour, the master whereof is an Irish Papist, and he saith all his lading is figs, that he comes from Cadiz, and is bound for Ostend on the account of Mr. Browne, a Papist, of Waterford. 'Tis suspected the ship has much gunpowder in her under the upper casks of figs, for the ablest merchants of Youghal aver that a cargo of figs is not to be found at Cadiz, and will not vend at Ostend, but we dare not stay or search her to the bottom without your Excellency's order to Mr. Jackson and the officers of that port.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678, December 10.—I received this day your letters of the 30th of November and the 4th of this month. I failed not to mind the King of making a Primate, which he promised suddenly to despatch. I fear there is not sufficient care taken to observe the motions of the King of France, there being no certainty of the truth of the reports of his preparing a great fleet at Brest, and of his going shortly to see it himself; a man that should say anything of apprehending danger from thence would be censured for having a mind to have the army continue. As I learn anything of this matter, I will, however, do my duty in informing you, and in speaking my mind to the King. Peace being made with Spain, and the frost coming on, which prevents his doing anything that way in help of Sweden, I know not where, but on us, such preparations can be intended. My Lord of Anglesey seemed much satisfied with a letter he told me he had received from you. I am glad the affronts done to the proclamation were of no worse a nature than what you informed me, as disrespectful things, at the least, are often done here towards the Government. You will see the condition of James's health from Doctor Wetherley's letter. I intend very soon to despatch him from hence, and certainly his allowance is very reasonable, and if his governor be careful, and not be wanting to himself, his education and way of living ought to render him such as we ought to expect from one that has been so much the care of his friends. I have no further trouble to give you at present.

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING BEDLOE.

When I was last at Brecon, hearing of one Mr. Beddoes, [Bedloe] that had made a great discovery, and inquiring who and of what quality this man was, I had this relation of him. That he was a fiddler's son, of Chepstow; that some time (not long before) he had been in that town in a very handsome habit and equipage, where some of the gentlemen of the town (according to the hospitable humour of the place towards strangers) entertained him with a great deal of civility and respect. From thence he went into Caermarthenshire, and there to Sir Rice Rudd's house, where he inquires of a servant of Sir Rice Rudd's whether his master was at home; he told him yes, and desired to know who would speak with him. "Tell him," says Mr. Beddoes, "God Almighty is here!" The man, not a little wondering at the answer, went in and told it his master. All this while, the stranger sat on horseback at the gate. When Sir Rice came to the door, Mr. Beddoes told him that he had heard he was an honest, hospitable gentleman, and that he was (though a stranger) come to wait on him. Sir Rice desired him to alight and walk in, which he did. After some time and discourse, wherein he made frequent mention of Middlesex, Rochester, and Sedley, with such a familiarity, and giving them no other addition to their names, as if he had been some great man of birth, charge and education, in the midst of their discourse, Sir Rice Rudd receives his post letters and with them a Gazette, wherein there was an advertisement of the loss of a horse, with a description of the person who was suspected to have stolen this horse. While Sir Rice was reading this advertisement he sometimes cast an eye upon his guest, then reads, then again takes off his eye, and observes how the character and the stranger agreed. Mr. Beddoes, observing this, makes an apology to go out of doors, calls for his horse and away he goes that night (as they heard) towards Pembrokehire. But they never heard of him after till he was in everybody's mouth for the great discovery. And the gentlemen at Brecon were well laughed at, and frequently rallied for the great entertainment they had given this piece of errantry, when they came to understand his quality.

[Endorsed by Ormond]. Bedloe: given me by Col. J. Jeffreys, the 11th of December '78.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to EARL OF ORRERY.

1678, December 13.—After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship, having received your Lordship's letter of the 6th in return to ours of the 2nd instant, and considered the same, we think fit thereupon to acquaint your Lordship that there were sent down by Tuesday night's post new Commissions of Array, and instructions, into the several counties in the province of Munster, which, with what was last written to your Lordship from this Board, we conceive do sufficiently answer all the material points of your Lordship's letter, and which, being

duly pursued, we doubt not but they will put the Militia in that province in a very good posture, and the people there in a safe condition, so as they will have no more real cause of complaint herein than His Majesty's subjects in the other parts of the kingdom, who have equal reason to be solicitous for their securities, and whom we find to acquiesce in the like methods as are sent to be observed in Munster in this conjuncture. And so we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 13th day of December, 1678. Your Lordship's very loving friends,

Ormond.	Tho. Newcomen.
Mich. Dublin, C.	Rob. Fitzgerald.
Arran.	Char. Meredith.
Granard.	H. Ingoldsby.
Lanesborough.	Hans Hamilton.
Hen. Midensis.	Rich. Gethin.
R. Coote.	Walter Plunkett.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, December 14. Whitehall.—I have little to add since my last to you, only to enclose these two letters intercepted this week. They are supposed to come from the Pope's inter-nuncio at Brussels. Your Grace will best judge the ways to find who they are that receive letters under this name at the posthouse at Dublin; for the names, I conceive, are feigned that are in the superscription, but those mentioned in the letter are, I conceive, real.

We are as yet as much in the dark as ever, but whether upon the days lengthening we shall have any more light into the politics I cannot tell. Upon Tuesday, five of the imprisoned priests will be brought to their trial, which, what way soever it fall, will produce consequences considerable, and make appear the affections both of Court and country, and will be a ground of prognostic what the fate of the Lords will be when they come to their trial. The House of Commons have this day appointed a Secret Committee to consider the ways and means of managing their impeachment against them. The House sits during the holidays (Christmas day and its eve only excepted), and are very vigorous in bringing up all their members; so, the bill of disbanding being once passed, it is believed they will undertake something of a high nature. I wish as well as anybody, and will endeavour as far as my body and understanding will second me, to preserve all from ruin; but I must with great grief say my hope bears no proportion to my wishes. But this is certain, that, without any invasion from abroad or any insurrection at home, a greater confusion was never seen in any nation; but your Grace hath too many occasions every day to afflict you without troubling you with any of my melancholy reflections.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, December 17. Castlemartyr.—My Lord Chancellor did me the favour by the last night's post to send me a large account of the hellish design of murdering your Grace, and of God's great goodness in detecting it, which I may call not only a mercy to your Excellency and all your noble family, relations and friends, but also to all loyal subjects in this kingdom, among which none has a more real or sensible joy than I have. And I beg of God to protect you still from all your enemies, and to guide you constantly into all that is best. And in what I write I solemnly assure your Grace that the heart dictates what is now written by my hand.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678, December 17.—This morning I happened to discourse of many things with the King when we were both in bed, it being my turn to wait in the bed-chamber. I told him my intention of visiting the command I had in your army when things here could permit, which he approved. I entered into several particulars, which he seemed to like; which are that some small provision might be made for field officers and the companies regimented, that exact discipline in exercising and punishing false musters should be put in punctual execution, and that all means reasonable and possible should be used to make the army full and well trained. At the King's dinner the Duke of Monmouth moved that it might be known what number of troops you desired to have from hence, as also the nature of them, there being horse and foot and dragoons to be disbanded, which I undertook you would soon perform. Considering the fastnesses of the land, I know not whether a proportion of dragoons may not be of great use to you; but I presume not to offer at this distance my advice, but desire your opinion, as I am sure it will be well grounded, so it may soon be transmitted, else you may lose much of the advantage the present reducement does now afford. The bill for paying off the forces has been in our House, and this day committed; several objections are made to it, as taking out the monies from the usual course and lodging it in the Chamber of London, besides a burden to those who have served beyond the time limited in the late act for disbanding.

James is this day come to town, and in good health, and I find him better all ways than I expected. I shall follow your directions, which I think will be for sending him back in some reasonable time, and when we have provided him a governor. I have nothing but this latter part of my letter to trouble my mother withal, and by what I inform you, I think I was slow giving her that trouble upon this subject. My Lord Chamberlain is here present, who desires me to make his compliments unto you, and excuses for not writing, having not anything of moment to impart to you.

Officers that understand the manual exercising and the evolutions, and that have been used to regular encampments and marches by being lately in service abroad, must be of great use. I find it is hard finding room for such, but if you can find means to have any provided for, I will recommend none but such as I believe you will be satisfied with them; good adjutants are of an inestimable use, if there were need of men of our trade.

EARL OF SHANNON to ORMOND.

1678, December 17. Cork.—I most humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this confidence, which is occasioned by several letters I received from my brother Orrery about an account was given your Grace that I should receive advice from a priest to send my plate out of my house to this town. I do assure your Grace my brother much misunderstood me, and much misinformed your Grace, for I never had advice or message or anything like it from any priest to send away my plate, and all I know relating to this business is that a cousin of mine called Dick Poer, living within a mile of me advised me to send my plate to Cork, seeing I was always there myself, and my house very open, and my servants very careless and often rambling abroad might give encouragement for loose rogues to steal my plate; and one that was a priest's brother said he gave me good advice, for now and then there was but one servant left in my house. This, I assure your Grace, was every word that was said, without the least mentioning of a plot, or any thing that tended to it. So that I have nothing to say against any priest, and my cousin Dick Poer is a very good Protestant, and I am confident as little knowing in this wicked plot as myself. Therefore I most humbly beg your Grace not to punish them with your commands to wait on your Grace at Dublin, for I know of no fault they have committed, nor have I a word to say against them, nor is my cousin Poer at present able to travel to Dublin, having been lying of a cold these three weeks. I beseech your Grace to believe this real account, and pardon this tedious trouble.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1678, December 17. Dublin—What with the time that is employed in the answer of despatches out of England, and the examination of the persons informing and informed against, I doubt I shall not be so punctual in my returns to the letters your Lordship favours me with but that I may often omit a post, as I have done since I have received yours of the 10th instant. I will not doubt but that the company is best disposed of at Ross and Tralee, for the reasons mentioned by your Lordship, nor that a younger and more healthy man would do better there. If you please to name any captain you think fitter, he and Major Beversham shall have patents to change stations, which I think will be best done as soon as they shall have

received the next quarter's pay, for I know not readily where to direct the advancement of any money, the Establishment being cut so even to the revenue that every unexpected charge puts us to difficulties.

All I can say of the setting up of the militia (to avoid bringing our discourse upon it to volumes) is that it was proceeded in as fast as the Council thought it convenient, that we held it our duty, immediately upon the King's pleasure signified by the Order of Council of the 1st of October, to set forth the proclamation for the departure of the Popish titular and regular clergy, and in pursuance of his general directions to require the Popish laity to bring in their arms—whether this method or that your Lordship supposes would have been more safe and effectual would have been best, I have not leisure this way to debate. The Commissions for raising the Militia are by this time in the hands that are to execute them, and they are instructed in the manner, and, God be thanked, there hath yet no inconvenience come to the kingdom for want of quicker despatch. If your Lordship still remains troubled for the omissions of the Government, and unsatisfied with every step it has made since the discovery of the Plot (as your letters import), our obedience and the performance of our duty to the best of our understandings is our satisfaction.

I did express my meaning very ill if your Lordship conceives I charged you with want of representing your sense of things to me directly, or by my Lord Chancellor. I know you proposed the setting up of the Militia very early and very earnestly, and it was proceeded upon as soon and as fast as was found practicable, as might have appeared to your Lordship if you had been here. But to show you why it could be done no sooner or faster will require as much time and pains as the doing it, and is an account we reserve to give the King when he shall command it. But my meaning was, as I think my words do import, that if your Lordship had sooner informed me of the great trouble you and others were in upon so plainly a mistaken computation of the time betwixt the discovery of the hellish Plot in England and any man's knowledge of it here, as a full month (and so it must be confessed to be if the 28th of September can properly be called the beginning of that month), I could have rectified the mistake and prevented the spreading of it, and the hurt the deductions made from it may have done me here and in England, by assuring your Lordship that the very first notice I had of it was in a letter of six lines from Sir Robert Southwell, of the 28th of September, written when he was employed upon the work of discovery, and received by me the 3rd of October. If my Lord Chancellor and your Lordship had earlier information, your correspondents were sooner acquainted with it, or more diligent than mine. And, to deal freely with your Lordship, as I desire to do with all men, as far as prejudice and decency will permit, I must plainly declare that I do not understand how your Lordship's proceeding in this conjuncture is suitable to or in discharge of your renewed professions of friendships and favour to me, or

yet a just return to the respect and freedom with which I began to treat you and correspond with you since my last coming to this Government, in pursuance of my promise to your brother, my Lord of Burlington.

I will not question but that it may be allowable, perhaps the duty of every councillor, how distant soever from the Council-Board, not only to give pertinent intelligence and information to the Government, but his advice and opinion of what he informs. Yet if every distant councillor shall make use of that liberty (to which they have all equal right) and expect minute returns and reasons why their sense is not followed, the Council (if they set about to satisfy them) will have more work than they can turn themselves to, and less reverence and respect than it is necessary they should have. But if any councillor, after acts of Council are past and emitted, shall say they should have come out sooner, or in other manner or method, when the time is irrecoverably elapsed and the acts impossible to be recalled, if he should be in the right, yet is he not overbold with his fellows, and is he very friendly to them and to what end can such remonstrances serve? How can they be otherwise interpreted than to lay negligence, or weakness, or some worse fault upon the Government, the foundations of accusations in proper time and hands? I do not say your Lordship's reflections though of this nature, are to this end, but being diffused as I know they are, and derived from your Lordship, I do not know when or by whom they may be transformed into that shape. Of this kind I have reason to account what your Lordship writes upon occasion of the advertisements given by the well affected Irish to their English neighbours and friends, and my desire to have that matter strictly examined, which I designed for the further and fuller discovery of the damnable plot contrived by Irish and Papists, and I find turned upon me as a great severity imposed by me upon English Protestants, as exposing their families in their absence, whilst they are called up hither, to make enemies of their friends, and to excuse them for giving them advertisements and advices for their safety. Your Lordship, not taking notice that my directions and words were that those English should either be sent up hither, or their examinations taken in the country, and sent up, without which alternative the directions might seem hard, but with it very reasonable; and upon such an occasion, and in the place I am, I must not allow of [that] generosity in the English towards their Irish friends, as to have such an opportunity of discovery lost in compliment to either; the rather that it will be the fault of those Irish if they suffer any inconvenience besides journey, nay, if they have not thanks and reward. And because I could give some instances of persons that have been very good friends to some loyal subjects and yet irreconcilable enemies and traitors to the Government, I must therefore still desire that your Lordship would yourself, with what assistance you please to call to you, take and send hither the full examinations of those English, and send them

to me close sealed, that it may be considered how many and which of the Irish shall be sent for; which, being in your Lordship's management, I doubt not but may be done without any inconvenience to the English.

I have given your Lordship a clear account of my thoughts concerning your proceedings with me in points very tender and sensible to me, in which you will find the reason of the alteration you observe of the style of my letters to you of late, as my Lord Chancellor tells me you do. His Grace has read to me what your Lordship writes touching the foul disorder and violence committed upon the innkeeper and his wife at Bennetsbridge; but the next post after I received the examinations you sent me of it, I ordered Captain Cuffe, the present Mayor of Kilkenny, to take the information of Holden and his wife and of any other that could give testimony in it, and send it to me, being resolved without any respect to the quality or relations of the persons offending to cause them to be prosecuted with as much severity as the law will inflict, for I profess heartily to detest outrages of that nature.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1678, December 19.—I have forbore to give your Excellency any trouble, knowing how unsafe letters are, and how subject everything is to ill constructions; but having the opportunity of my Lord Aungier's going, I beg your Excellency to receive the assurance that I continue the same to you as I professed when I had the honour to see you here. I wish your Excellency all prosperity in your government, and that every thickening cloud may disperse. Here some are newly gathered, which is now grown to an impeachment against my Lord Treasurer, being so voted by the Commons. At the same time the bill for the disbanding the army is not agreed to by the Lords, they differing in the way of payment of the monies; the bill fixing it in the Chamber of London, and the Lords desiring it may go by the known way of the Exchequer. The impeachment of the Lords goes on in the private committee that are to prepare the evidence and manage it on the hearing. I present your Excellency but with these particulars that you may judge how great a ferment everything is in; and, in the meantime, the condition of the King's revenue in so low an estate, that it cannot bear delay. I wish there were such help as you might be to incline the King to consider what is best to be done; and not put anything to the hazard of great promises. I am confident the Parliament would give him that ease that is due to his excellent nature, and I cannot but wish that all interpositions, like so many eclipses, between him and them were removed. Your Excellency knows I have been ever of this judgment, and want but assistance to show it; for never time so pressed for determination, and I fear all things but a Parliament will be but mean help to restore such breaches as are now made. I know my Lord Aungier will give your Excellency a more large and exact account.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, December 20. Castlemartyr.—I did last night receive the honour of your Grace's letter of the 17th instant. I shall not any more trouble your Grace with voluminous letters. I think I might have something to say for myself on the honour of yours by this post; but I shall be silent. I had not writ mine of the 10th instant had I not thought it necessary.

I most humbly and heartily thank your Grace for the plain declaration you have been pleased to make to me. I had much rather when I am unintentionally so unhappy as to have any actings of mine disgustful to your Grace, to be told it in that frank and generous manner than to guess it by the alteration of your manner of writing. I solemnly protest to your Grace that nothing is farther from my intentions, nay, from my thoughts, than to charge the Government with neglect, weakness or worse, or in the least to design that what is my private opinion should ever be turned into that shape by any others. I have had often the honour to sit in Parliaments and Privy Councils, where I have seen wiser men than I wish, and I have often myself wished, that the resolutions had gone otherwise than they did go, and showed the reasons to friends why I wished it, but yet have still heartily obeyed the resolutions taken, and as intently promoted the executing of them as if the determinations had gone the way I did believe had been the best, and the like I faithfully assure your Grace I shall constantly do all in your determinations and orders, which require my service; nor did I ever hear that such a manner of proceeding was ill taken. But since therein I have erred in your Grace's judgment, I am very sorry. I am more plainly instructed in the way you like best, and your Excellency shall have my obedience to it.

I did presume humbly to acquaint your Excellency that some of the Irish Papists, who had cautioned their Protestant neighbours, had been examined by my brother Shannon and me, and that, after the strictest examinations of both that we could make, nothing material could be got out of either. I instanced Mr. Archdeacon, who denied he remembered he ever told Mr. Browne what Browne offered to depose he had told him, and the priest's brother who sent my brother Shannon the intimation I mentioned, has, after strict examining, averred that only the carelessness of my brother's servants and some loose fellows being in the country had occasioned that advice and nothing else; for when such loose fellows attempted in the night to force his stables they had like to have done it, and taken away his horses, by the neglect of his servants.

Those two instances I gave to evidence the truth of what I had writ, and also how, on as strict examination as we could make, we could get nothing out of them worthy your Grace's farther trouble. If I writ it would be a severity imposed by your Grace on the friendly Irish, and on the cautioned English

Protestants to have them sent up to Dublin in so ill a season, and in such distracted times, I should confess they were very faulty expressions, but I have read over the copy of my letter to your Excellency on that subject, dated the 10th instant, and I find in it these words, viz., "I humbly beg your Excellency's leave to say I doubt it may seem unwelcome to any English gentleman to be an accuser of a friendly Irish neighbour for giving him a friendly advice for his safety, and much more unwelcome to him to make a winter journey to Dublin to do it," etc., which were the softest words I could find on that subject. Whatever I shall be able to find out on such examinations I shall send up close sealed to your Grace, if anything shall appear worth your knowledge.

I have spent most of the afternoon yesterday on my own examining the priest Corrie Meehan, or Mighan, who I humbly acquainted your Excellency had very ill things deposed against him. He went out of the barony of Imokelly above thirteen days after I had sent to his house to apprehend him. He went, as I am assured, to my Lord Barrymore, to whom I sent an express about him, who wrote to me he knew not I had warrants out against him, yet that he had taken security for his civil demeanour and appearance. I therefore summoned the security at their perils if they brought him not unto me, which yesterday they did; and after my long examining him, and telling him his charge (but not the persons who made it) he positively denied all, or that he knew I had sent thirteen days before warrants to apprehend him. I have this day sent him to Cork gaol, with a constable and a guard. I here inclosed humbly present your Grace the words of the two depositions against him; I am trying by some of his friends, who see his danger, to make him confess all he knows. If it be your Grace's pleasure that I shall send him to you from garrison to garrison, and the original depositors, his two accusers, I shall forthwith do it. The depositions are round ones, and I am assured he is both a very knowing and busy priest.

On Wednesday last there was a horse race at Youghal. My Lord Galmoy was there on the other side the ferry of Youghal, and from thence sent a challenge to my brother Shannon's son, Dick Boyle. After he was secured by Mr. Villiers and others at Youghal, I appointed Dick Boyle to give me in writing what had passed, and I desired Mr. Kytely (on whose suspicion the challenge was discovered) to give me in writing what had passed, which they did, and both those originals I judged it my duty to present to your Grace. I here humbly present your Grace with a copy of a deposition against one Hayes, who is fled, but we are in pursuit of him. This Hayes actually declares for the damned doctrine, which Gerald, the priest in gaol at Cork, had taught his parishioners, or at least is accused thereof.

I humbly hope what I have written in some paragraphs of this letter will for ever hinder the necessity of the like again, and will restore me to the happiness of your Grace's good

opinion and favour; the meriting of both is the hearty desires and shall be the assiduous endeavours of, etc.

Postscript.—I have sent your Grace's orders to me of the 17th instant, about the ship at Youghal, suspected to have gunpowder, to the Mayor, Recorder, and Mr. Jackson, to have them executed diligently, and speedily.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1678, December 21. Whitehall.—These two or three last days have produced considerable affairs here. Upon Thursday last, in the morning, a Council was called, where order was given to some of the clerks there attending to go with officers to seize Mr. Montagu's papers, which accordingly they did, and immediately His Majesty sent notice to the House of Commons that he had done so therein on information given against their member; whereupon Mr. Montagu acquainted the House that he had some papers of very great importance which were in another place that had not been searched; whereupon the House presently ordered they should be brought before them; which, being read, they presently voted an impeachment to be drawn up against my Lord Treasurer, two of whose letters were then read, and yesterday the articles were drawn up and at this time they are debating them in the House, so that on Monday it is supposed they will be presented to the Lords. There were two letters of Mr. Montagu's sent by my Lord Treasurer to the House, but after hearing them read, the House did not think fit to enter them upon their journals. I am just now informed that in the first article it is voted by the House of Commons the word "traitorous" shall stand, but not being of the House I cannot give your Grace the true account what the articles are, but doubt not but you will have it from other hands.

There were two priests and a lay brother condemned at the Old Bailey this week, as conspirators in the Plot, but the day of execution is not yet appointed for them. This day Mr. Bedloe accidentally met with one whom he accuses to have been assisting in the carrying away of Sir Edmund Godfrey's body; he is seized and put in custody. Mr. Secretary has been indisposed for several days, but I hope upon letting blood and other remedies he will be able to come abroad in a few days. I presume this may come seasonably to wish your Grace a happy Christmas and many of them, which no man can do with more sincerity and zeal than, etc.

Postscript.—Sir Stephen Fox is put out of his place; it is thought for voting against the Lord Treasurer.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, December 21. St. James's Square, London.—Nothing very considerable has happened since my last till this Thursday. The time for the greatest part has been spent in perfecting the bill for disbanding the Army, and sending it up

to the Lords, in which their Lordships have been pleased to make many great alterations; as 'tis said, and by some feared, to the prejudice of the service designed, but what they are we yet know not, other than by hearsay. On Thursday the King sent the House word by Sir Jo. Ernley that, having been informed from abroad that Mr. Montagu, his late Ambassador at Paris, now a member of that House, had during his residence there had many private conferences with the Pope's Nuncio without his order, he had given order for seizing his papers, that so His Majesty might understand the bottom of that affair. The House having received this message, considering that in all cases where a member's writings might be attached his person might be so too—which was not done in this case, for the gentleman was at liberty and in the House—and yet not knowing what kind of information this might be, nor the purport of those conferences, made His Majesty an answer by way of address that they could come to no resolution upon His Majesty's message, nor tell how far their privileges might be concerned, unless he would be pleased to let them know whether the information were upon oath, and of what nature those conferences were supposed to be. The gentlemen sent to the King reported his answer yesterday morning to be that His Majesty did intend to acquaint the House with it, and would do it as soon as he saw it convenient. The House sat a great while in expectation of a present answer, but at length finding the King was then not at leisure, was upon the point of rising, when Mr. Montagu stood up and told them that he had papers of very great consequence in his hands, in which the King and the whole nation were nearly concerned, the seizing of which he conceived might be the reason why a great man had thus caused his papers to be secured, but that it had so fallen out that in the search they had missed the papers which he thought they chiefly aimed at, and that if the House pleased, they should be fetched thither. Accordingly some members were sent who brought a little cabinet to the House, which Mr. Montagu caused upon the place to be broken open, not having the keys about him, and from thence produced two letters from my Lord Treasurer to himself, then in Paris, in January and March last. The reading of these letters engaged the House in a long debate till about ten at night upon this question, whether those letters contained sufficient matter of impeachment against my Lord Treasurer, which ended in a division of the House, in which (the House consisting then of about 300) it was carried by the odds of about 63, that there was sufficient matter, and a committee appointed to draw up the impeachment.

This day the bill for disbanding was returned from the Lords with several amendments. The Commons immediately fell upon them, and found that the greatest part of them were in effect but [], for whereas the Commons (upon their disappointment in the last bill for [] service) had thought fit to put the money now to be raised for this use into the Chamber of London, their Lordships have, instead of that,

named the Treasury according to the usual course. But the Commons considering that in all grants of money, the conditions, limitations and uses were solely in them, and not to be altered by their Lordships, disagreed with these amendments. This was no sooner over but the report of the impeachment was made from the Committee. It consists of six articles of high treason, and other high misdemeanours, upon which, without intermission, the House sat till ten at night and went through them all. During the debate there were several divisions, but the result still was that my Lord Treasurer should be impeached upon each of them. The chiefest are grounded upon the two letters produced by Mr. Montagu, of which I have been able to get your Grace copies from the Clerks, and have here sent them inclosed; but the late sitting of the House made it impossible for me to procure a copy of the articles, for which I hope your Grace till the next post will be pleased to excuse, etc.

ORMOND to the EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1678, December 21. Dublin.—Having engaged myself to your Lordship when I last saw you, that, notwithstanding the distance your brother, my Lord of Orrery, and I had for some time lived at, yet upon my arrival in Ireland I would not only make the first advance toward the renewing of the friendship that had formerly been betwixt us, but endeavour to improve it by all the respect I could show him, I confidently affirm that this I have carefully and punctually performed on my part; and, I must confess, I cannot complain of the reception it found with his Lordship or the returns he made for some time, that is, till an opportunity was offered under the secure pretext of zeal for the British interest and Protestant religion in himself, to insinuate a want of it in me. This he began to do, and I suspect, upon occasion of the bill transmitted for the Confirmation of Estates, against which he raised many objections in his private letters to my Lord Chancellor, most of them pretending to show the great partiality of the bill in favour to the Irish, which, though I do not believe to be so, because the bill was composed and transmitted by Englishmen and Protestants, and all concerned in some new interest, yet, because it is possible he might really be of that opinion, and because he plainly owned he was 8,000 acres deep concerned to be against it, I should not have complained of his taking any fair way of endeavouring to get it mended to his own mind and profit, either here or in England. Therefore, the transcribing of his objections and sending them to my Lord Chancellor of England or to any other Privy Councillor, I do not lay to his charge. But his sending them to courtiers, to Parliament men, and to others fit to disperse the injurious mistakes that are in them, and the prejudicial inferences that was like to be made from them, I cannot think to be ingenuous, much less friendly. For the mistakes are such as can hardly be unvolun-

tary, and the inference can hardly be other than that here was a combination against the English interest and Protestants, of which I was the head, than which no project can be more ridiculously foolish in us, considering that we could not but know there would be twenty concerned Protestants for one Papist in the House of Commons, who were not like to be awed or cozened out of their estates. To prevent the ill effect of such dangerous impressions, all I did when I had notice of the suggestions was to vindicate my own and the Council's intentions by that bill, and patiently to attend till the time of taking it into consideration at the Council Board in England should come, and when it should there appear that we were not mad, nor natural fools. It was to me very indifferent with what amendments it should be returned, but I confess I was desirous it should come, because I thought a Parliament necessary to put us in a better state of defence than we are, or than without a Parliament we could be, believing then there was a storm hovering over us. This of the bill was the first opportunity he could make use of to bring me into distrust with the English and Protestants; how he made use of it, and improved it, I have, as briefly as I could, laid before your Lordship, omitting many circumstances that make his design evidently to be that.

The next opportunity was the discovery of the horrid Plot in England, and of this he has made all the use that his great parts that way, the subject, and my circumstances, could furnish him with. He represents the dangers and the apprehensions of the English and Protestants in the most affrighting manner that was possible, then complains of the remissness of the Government in applying remedies, and when the best and speediest that could be thought of were applied, he manifests his dislike of them, as if some of them came too late, and ought to have been preceded by others; for want of which method the Irish were exasperated and not disabled, and consequently the English and Protestants rather exposed than secured by what the Government had done. This, when things were done past amendment and recalling, though it had been represented but to my Lord Chancellor and myself, could have been thought no better than fruitless reprehensions, or the desire of showing his own greater abilities. But to transmit them, as in the former case of the bill, to Councillors, to Courtiers, and especially to Parliament men, or to others to disperse amongst them, I leave it to your Lordship to judge what construction a man of common sense can possibly make of it, and whether the best natured man in the world would not also be the most simple if he could be persuaded (being in my station) that such a proceeding as this was not worse than a downright accusation. To an accusation a man knows what to make answer, and has liberty and opportunity to do it, and the accuser is under some obligation of credit at least to prove his assertions. But, by the way my Lord, your brother, has taken, I have no means of defence, neither is he under the obligation of proof.

My Lord my real respect to your Lordship, and the obligation I put myself under when I last saw you, have given occasion for the trouble I now give you, that you may know that is no part or person of your family that I will not serve as long as they will permit me to do it with safety and honour, without some part of which last qualification I should be unworthy of you friendship.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, December 24. Dublin.—Nothing could be more for the safety of this Government and the King's good subjects that live under it than the reinforcing the army, as your letter of the 17th inst. proposes. The difficulties that seem to me insuperable are how to persuade the Parliament that the sending of a part of the army in England to Ireland is a disbanding them within their purpose and construction; the other how to pay and support the troops here. For, you ought to know, the revenue here is already charged to the uttermost extent it can bear, and so little left to answer contingencies that it will not reach to such foreseen excesses as cannot properly be called contingent. Besides, you know there are many things besides the bodies of men armed that are so essential that an army is useless without them; of many of these we are absolutely destitute, and very inconsiderably provided of any. The particular accounts of those provisions are, and have long been, in the hands of the Master of the Ordnance, and will, I fear, be easily produced than supplied upon the first notice of disbanding and of that act, for which it now occasions a great part of the disorder things are in. I moved for the sending twenty companies hither, and undertook to provide for them for six months, but it was in confidence that a Parliament would have been sitting here before this time. And since it was not, I am glad the men were not sent; for, without some probable prospect of means to pay them, they would be soon greater enemies than any that are yet in sight. If I could be answered how to pay them, I could quickly say what sort of troops I would desire, and as soon fall to regimenting, exercising, and disciplining the army we have. The two latter costing nothing but pains, I already take the best care I can of. When you write such hard words as are in your postscript, I pray write them in a better hand, for I can make nothing of them.

SAME to SAME.

1678, December 24. Dublin.—What I write in my other letter of this date you may perhaps be put to show, for an answer seemed to be expected from the proposition which I doubt was made by chance; else the consideration of how to pay men would have taken place of the keeping them on foot and sending them over. When I undertook a Parliament here would furnish the King with money, and would not be

troublesome, I little dreamt of such a tempest as is now raised, and is like, without the breath of God calm it, to shake all those kingdoms into confusion. I do not wonder, much less murmur, that no light is given me how it is desired I should guide myself; for want of that I will follow my own reason, as weak as it is, and never forsake my old principles, whatever can follow.

My principal domestic care is concerning James. I writ you my sense a while since, and have now nothing to add to what I then writ. It is left to your choice whither to send him. I know you are no admirer of Oxford education, yet the Bishop of that place is an admirable man, and it looks as if English acquaintance and customs might prove more useful than a more refined way of breeding, and yet that may well be recovered a year or two hence. Somewhere let him be under stricter discipline and better example than Whitehall afforded in my time.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, December 24. St. James's Square.—The impeachment against my Lord Treasurer (of which the enclosed is a copy) was carried up to the Lords yesterday in the afternoon. His Lordship, having spoken upon it in his justification, desired the direction of the House as to his withdrawing. This led them into that debate which ended in a vote of the House that he should not withdraw. They went no further in it that night, but adjourned it to Friday next.

There is now taken one Branse, a silversmith, who worked to the Chapel at Somerset House, whom Bedloe upon his first examination had described to be one of those men who were present there when the body of Sir Ed. Godfrey was shewed him. He has been examined by a Committee of each House privately, and this day by the Council, forenoon and afternoon. The particulars of his confession I have not yet fully learnt, but only in general that he agrees with the information of Bedloe, and has added many other circumstances of his own knowledge, both as to the full discovery of this murder and this horrible plot. The rest we shall have on Thursday, till when both Houses are adjourned. In the meantime four or five other persons are apprehended upon what he has delivered, and are committed.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1678, December 28.—Dr. Marsh now makes his personal attendance, and, I hope, will endeavour to express the sense he has of your favour to him, and to redeem his past delay by a redoubled and unwearied diligence in his employment. His real abilities in the several parts of learning I no way doubt and am secure of his fidelity and diligence. The greatest fear may be, lest being a stranger, if he meet with faction and opposition, mischiefs not unusual in the societies of scholars,

he may want courage to vindicate himself and assert his authority. But your Excellency's patronage will abundantly supply this defect, and make him equal to his charge, and useful in it. The present season gives me countenance humbly to offer to your Excellency my heartiest wishes of a happy New Year, that, notwithstanding the hazards and difficulties of the public, it may go on with health and honour and success unto yourself, and be no less prosperous unto the church and nation entrusted to your government.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, December 28. Piccadilly.—Your Grace's of the 18th instant I have received, and with it the enclosed from your Grace and the Council, with the affidavit and examinations concerning a design against your person. How sensible I am of it, as I cannot express, so I hope I need not. The letter from the Council I have caused to be delivered to the Council here, myself having for some time been a prisoner to my chamber. Your letter to Sir Robert Southwell I have perused, and shall only make this remark, that the Commission my Lord of Ossory demandeth is very agreeable to one he endeavoured some years since to have procured under the Great Seal here, and had so far prospered in it as to procure the King's hand to a bill, and it was brought to my office for the Signet, there stopped, and the King acknowledged himself surprised in it, and that he knew not the contents; and so that design was disappointed. We are here in so many disorders that a volume cannot write it, and whilst His Majesty will use but one clue for the labyrinth, and that is stretched as it now is, I cannot but fear the event. The time is melancholy, and I as it, but still full of the same loyalty to my master and reverence for your Grace.

SIR STEPHEN FOX to ORMOND.

1678, December 28. Whitehall.—I did lately through the hands of Mr. Gascoigne, give an account of the manner of my being dismissed the King's service, which was in as severe words as could be expressed, and it reached at first not only to my office, but to an immediate quitting my lodgings, which being represented by His Royal Highness that they were built at my own expense, His Majesty was pleased to recall that part of his punishment, so that it is no crime to remain in them, which by reason of the season of the year and my full family at present, is no small favour; but the restoring me to my place is not granted, though all other members in the same vote, who were said to be put out are not so, namely, Mr. Solicitor, Sir Phi. Warwick, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Robert and Sir John Holmes, and others. So that it is my hard hard fortune to be pointed at more than anybody else, which I do not wonder at, it being the usual effect of injurious

persons never to forgive. As yet there is not anybody nominated for my place, which makes me presume to write to your Grace my most humble advice and request that your Grace would interpose in the general for all sworn servants, which is usually reckoned a freehold; and without a great crime indeed, it was never known that a sworn servant to the King was ever dismissed or turned away; and, upon strict and very deliberate inquiry it may be asserted that no precedent can be found for it. In King James's time there was an officer of the Greencloth that had highly offended the King in writing a scurrilous libel against the nation of Scotland, at which not only the King, but the then Lord Steward, the Duke of Lennox, were extremely offended, and King James positively commanded he should be put out of his place. But, upon further consideration, he was permitted to sell it, besides which I could never hear of any sworn servant that was ever displaced without his consent, and he had a compensation, which I do not find is intended me, who cannot in the least accuse myself of any fault, nor doth anybody else, but of voting according to my judgment; and, perhaps, upon better knowledge concerning that person than most that voted that day, though the House was full; for 179 were for an impeachment, against 116. And this matter of my being turned out would have begot a debate in the House, if I had not with great care prevented it; for I would not, for twice my value, be an occasion of an angry address to the King, who, if he will not restore me from his own goodness, I shall have but little heart to serve, who have ever served him with all my heart. And that service from which I was heretofore dismissed, now failing so dismally as it doth, which less than half the credit I gave would have prevented, renews displeasure against me, and makes my going out as if sought by me, who then struggled to keep in with treble the earnestness I do now not to be turned away in this manner. Wherein I beg your Grace to afford such assistance as is fit from the chief preserver of sworn servants in general, and to me in particular, who have ever found your Grace my friend far beyond my desert.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARLINGTON.

1678, December 28. Dublin.—Your Lordship may conclude I have by every post a very good account of what passes there in public. I wish it may have as good a conclusion. In the meantime I am not so unreasonable as to expect this place should be thought of.

Since you will take the trouble of considering James, and advising how he shall be disposed of, your Lordship will allow me the liberty of telling you what I incline to. I agree with my Lord of Arran that it will be too soon to put him to the exercises and diet of an academy, considering his age and constitution, and to send him back into France before he has strength for exercise may be to little purpose and great expense. At Whitehall I do not wish he should spend much

more time. I therefore incline he should go to Christ Church in Oxford, under the conduct in chief of the Bishop. There he will be well treated, and yet kept under academical discipline; and there, I suppose, he may have with him somebody that may take care that he lose not the French he has learned. And if one Cole, who was recommended as a governor to him in France by my Lady Northumberland, and who I therefore suppose speaks good French, could be gotten to take upon him the place of tutor at Oxford, I conceive he might be of great use to him whilst he stays in England, and it would be known whether he might not a year or two hence serve as governor when he should return to France. My daughter Candish may perhaps give some account where he may be found, and I think he is well known and esteemed by the Bishop of Oxford. The aspect of the times methinks does something add to the reason of this, yet I will not insist upon it, but be entirely concluded by your Lordship's and my Lord Ossory's opinions in the matter.*

There has been a pen war carried on betwixt my Lord of Orrery and me ever since the discovery of the Plot that hath already cost some lives, and God only knows how many more it may. Our skirmish seems to be come to a period, and compared with the great things now on foot, is but a storm in a cream bowl. The progress of it is in Sir Robert Southwell's hands, and shows that that Lord, with all his bodily imbecilities, maintains his character to the height. I only tell your Lordship where it may be found, when you please to lose time in reading it.

EARL OF DANBY to ORMOND.

1678, December 30. London.—The multiplicity of business here has made me a long time unable to give your Grace an account of those matters which otherwise I should have done; and the Parliament being risen but this day, I am not yet ready to give your Grace that trouble. However, I would not omit so good an opportunity of presenting my service to your Grace, and hope that by my Lord Ossory's kindness I may be rendered more favourably to that good opinion than I can do myself. I know His Majesty will be glad to be informed by your Grace when you think might be the most convenient time for calling the Parliament in Ireland, because I believe he would be willing to have it meet for the putting of that kingdom into a better posture of security when this army is disbanded, which will be done as fast as money can be procured. I cannot end this without acknowledging my obligations to my Lord Ossory.

SIR C. WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, December 31. St. James's Square.—The difference between the two Houses about the bill for disbanding was well

* Arlington had married Isabella van Beverweert, sister of the Countess of Ossory. Hence his interest in the plans for the education of the future Duke of Ormond.

near a composure ; many in the several stations were labouring to discover the bottom of this horrid treason ; and some further informations were brought up out of the country concerning it (of that from Staffordshire I have herewith sent your Grace a copy) ; when in the midst of all the sudden prorogation of the Parliament yesterday to the 4th February next has put a mighty damp upon all men's spirits. I pray God it prove for the advantage of His Majesty's service. He was pleased to speak to the Houses somewhat to this effect :—That he never came thither more unwillingly than at that time, that he must tell them plainly that he had been ill-used, and that they might hear further of it at another time. But, that all the world might see the sincerity of his intentions, he would forthwith proceed to disband the Army, to make what discovery he could of the Plot, and punish the guilty, and that he would maintain the Protestant religion established to his utmost. This day my Lord Mayor was sent for to Court, to whom the King spake much to the same intent for the satisfaction of the city.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, December 31. Castlemartyr.—I have the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 28th instant, in humble answer to which I beg your Grace's leave to say that I should think myself very unreasonable could I expect the happiness of your Grace's letters in answer to the duties of mine but as your own leisure and condescension does admit you to write. For I know that the crowds of business on your Excellency's hands in this kingdom, and the threatening face of things in His Majesty's other dominions require your Grace's time and weightiest considerations. I therefore both daily often and heartily pray that God will immediately guide His Majesty and his Parliament in England, and your Grace's counsels and actions here.

I am sorry your Grace's expectations were so raised on what I wrote of the cautions given by some Irish to some English. I judged it my duty to acquaint your Grace with those particulars in that juncture of time ; what error I have committed therein (since the result falls so short of what was hoped) I beg your Grace to pardon. My own expectations on the depositions against Mighan, the Popish priest, were not small, since he was actually sworn against by two witnesses, and the charge was high ; but he would confess nothing, though to induce him to discover what he knew he wanted not the best persuasions of all sorts which my weak judgment could suggest unto me. He is in Cork gaol. And I have caused his accusers to be bound over to prosecute him at the next assize for this county.

I humbly beg your Grace to do me the just favour to believe that it was a trouble to me to write what I did in the business of Bennet's Bridge, but I judged it a duty to justice, and to the honour of this Government ; and therefore durst not be

silent, since the noise of it was so great in these parts; and that I never did or do aim at more (since neither the host nor his wife died) than that those young persons might have a due reproof for what they had done, both to satisfy men's expectations for what was past, and that they might not run into the like ills in the future.

I ingenuously acknowledge to your Excellency that I was not a little surprised and troubled when I read the last paragraph of your Grace's letter, which by this post you honoured me with. For your Excellency had in it these expressions, viz., that the reflection I have been pleased to make upon the proceedings of this Government since the last horrid Plot (whatever my intentions were) have caused apparent prejudice to your Grace and many more; and the reparation (if I think there is any due, and if there be any room for it) is only in me, who best know the ways and means to set your Grace right in the opinions of those who may have carried the sense of my expressions beyond my intentions. I solemnly assure your Grace that I am really troubled that anything written by me hath caused apparent prejudice to your Grace, and to many others; that I never, to the very best of my remembrance, writ anything since your Excellency's last coming to the Government which I could in the least think could produce so unintended an effect. But since your Grace is pleased to assure me it has, I most humbly beg you will vouchsafe to let me know what those unhappy reflections are and to whom they were written; that then, as my intentions were innocent, so I may endeavour to the utmost (either as your Grace shall direct me, or, failing of that desired guidance, in the best methods I can advise myself) to make my actions appear equal and proportionate to my intentions, or at least in the aftergame repair what was undesignedly amiss in the foregame. I would not beg this light from your Grace but that I intend to omit nothing on my part which may evidence my sincerity in this unfortunate particular; for could I fancy the person or persons, the thing or things which have been so unlucky, I would not beg of your Grace what now I have humbly and earnestly done. Since beside my constant care to avoid knowingly or designedly to prejudice your Grace (but on the contrary to do all things which might entitle me to the happiness of your favour) I believe, in such times as these all who love the true religion, their gracious King, or their poor country (all which I well know your Grace does, and I fully assure myself your Grace believes I also do) ought to unite to serve all three. And though whatever I can do in those great duties be little significant, yet I would on no terms omit that little itself, since I consider all these things as a debt upon me, and therefore honestly and clearly to discharge it is the unfeigned desire of, etc.

BOND OF THE HERITORS OF FYFF.

1678-9, January 3.—We, the noblemen, barons and heritors of the Sherifffdom of Fyff undersubscribe and faithfully bind and

oblige us that we, our wives, bairns and servants respectively, shall no ways be present at any conventicles or disorderly meetings in time coming under the pains and penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. As also we bind and oblige us that our haill tenants and cotters respectively, their wives, bairns and servants shall likewise abstain and refrain from the said conventicles and other illegal meetings not authorised by law. And in case any of them shall contravene the same we shall take and apprehend any person or persons guilty thereof, and present them to the judge ordinary, that they may be fined or imprisoned therefor as is provided in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. Otherways we shall remove them and their families from off our ground. And if we fail herein till we shall be liable to such pains and penalties as the delinquents have incurred by the law, and for the more security, etc.

Endorsed :—Copy of the bond subscribed by the Heritors of Fyff at Couppar.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 4. St. Vincent.—Your Grace's of the 14th of December I have received and humbly thank you for it. I have shewed it to His Majesty, and as to the disbanded troops he seemeth very well inclined to have such a proportion of them sent into Ireland, and by what I gained by his discourse my Lord of Ossory is to confer with you upon it. Had my Lord's leisure permitted to have let me spoke with him before his going hence I could have imparted my opinion upon the present conjuncture more liberally than I dare do by letters. I can only say this, that we have found a way to be rid (for a time at least) of the Parliament. But how we shall be able to prorogue the payment of the fleet and army I know not, and to pay them it seemeth to me impracticable without returning again to the Parliament. There are of the King's Council that have better eyes than I, and may see better in the dark; but to my poor understanding if they are called again so suddenly, either the first counsel of proroguing, or the later of a sudden re-assembling them, we can hardly escape some reflections upon our conduct, there arising no extraordinary accident in the case, but only such insuperable inconveniences as either were or ought to have been foreseen. In the meantime the nation and the city are in as great a consternation as can be imagined. If the fleet and army come into as deep a discontent miracles only must preserve us and nothing less (as to my poor opinion). Possibly somebody more in the confidence of His Majesty than I am may shew His Majesty some more comfortable light, but as yet their candles are under the bushels and illuminate not so much as the Privy Council. This is a very melancholy theme and I will no longer pursue it. I heartily wish your Grace a good new year, and if it be a happy one, in my poor opinion it will be a very surprising blessing from God Almighty, to whom I heartily pray for your Grace's happiness.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 6. Whitehall.—This acknowledges your Grace's of the 28th past, and as to the contents of it, much of what I could say upon it was already transmitted by me to my Lord of Ossory by the last post. What I have further to add is that I know Mr. Cole enough (without further consulting my Lady Mary Cavendish, whom I have not been able to wait on since the receipt of yours) to know Monsieur Drelincourt much exceeds him in all respects relating to my Lord James, and even in that of accompanying him to Oxford, if your Grace and my Lord of Ossory shall judge it fit to send him thither. In the interval he shall have strength enough to enter upon the exercises of the Academy, and I confess to you I have but one objection to prefer his going straight to France, which is that the air is better there for his constitution and hath already mightily improved his health. On the other side the University who have chosen your Grace to be their Chancellor will think you owe them the sending one of your branches to them; but as I said the matter lies most properly before you and his father and consequently I am fairly dispensed with from opining therein.

In my last to my Lord of Ossory I should have told him that both your Grace's of the 24th past were brought to me opened by Mr. Mulys; that which was proper for it I showed immediately to the King and to His Royal Highness, who both seemed to approve of the opinion of sending you some of the disbanded army into Ireland, but were to seek how they should be maintained. His Majesty bade me bring it to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, which I did, and the reading it gave occasion of discoursing of calling a Parliament in that Kingdom, and of the great Bill to confirm the Settlement, which my Lord Chancellor said he was now satisfied in, since your Grace had provoked him to transmitting his exceptions to it and had given good answers to them. But of this matter your Grace must hear more by the proper hand, Mr. Secretary Coventry's.

Sir Robert Southwell hath offered me a view of the paper skirmishes which have passed betwixt you and my Lord of Orrery, but I have lacked time to read them.

I suppose what your Grace wrote to my Lord of Ossory in yours of the 28th (which was brought me in the same manner as the former by Mr. Mulys) was likewise intended for His Majesty's view—at least the latter clause in it relating to Sir Stephen Fox. But because the matter seems to be well laid to sleep, as my Lord of Ossory can tell you from his last discourse with His Majesty, I shall not be willing to wake it again until I have his opinion and approbation to do so.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 7. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 24th of December I have received, and read it to His Majesty at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and at the same time one you wrote to my Lord of Ossory was likewise read, and I find His Majesty

inclineth to the calling of a Parliament suddenly with you. And my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Attorney General are ordered to inspect the Bills you so long since sent over. Whether this portend our meeting again in February I know not. In the meantime I send your Grace here enclosed a copy of a letter sent me from Sir R. Robinson, sent him from an officer sent on purpose to view what French preparations were at Brest. It is said the Baltic is intended, but our exchange will hardly find merchants will insure England or Ireland. Your letter concerning the Bishop of Cork I have just now received, and to-morrow shall shew them to His Majesty and press him what I can in that of the Metropolitan. My Lord of Ossory is long before this is with you I suppose.

JOSEPH WILLIAMS to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678-9, January 1. Weymouth.—By the order of Sir Robert Robinson I was commanded the 6th of December last to embark for Morlaix, and from thence to go to Brest to see in what posture the French King's navy there was, and to get what intelligence I could. But contrary winds prevented me, in so much I could not get from Cowes (where I embarked) till the 12th of the same month, when I did embark, and arrived at Morlaix the 13th at night, where I continued till the 15th, from whence I hastened to Brest, and came there about nine in the night following. The next morning being the 16th I was on board several of the French King's ships, to wit, the *Royal Sun* and the *Royal Queen*, consisting of about 126 guns each, and nine sail of three-decked ships, eight of which have 90 guns and upwards. There are fourteen sail more of two-decked ships which will carry between 40 and 70 guns, and there are likewise ten sail of one-deck ships between 18 and 30 guns, four of which were never yet at sea. In all there are 35 men-of-war, 3 fireships, and six tenders which have their standing rigging and tops overhead. There are 24 men-of-war every day expected from Toulon, others from St. Malo, and others from Charente. There are great preparations making for the coming of the said French King to Brest in the beginning of the next spring, and then 'tis reported the ships which are already there, and the rest which are expected, will be ready to go to sea, but for what design I cannot learn. The same night, being the 16th, about nine of the clock, having an opportunity by the posts going from Brest to Morlaix, I kept company with the said post to Morlaix, and got thither the 17th about 9 in the morning, where I was recommended to one Monsieur Nifcott, who informed me that he had a brother that was Treasurer for the said French King there, and that he had an order from said French King to send a considerable sum of money to Brest towards the fitting out of the said ships, which said Nifcott told me the said King had a great design on foot, but could not learn what it was. The said Nifcott was very inquisitive to know in what posture of defence the Isle of Wight, Hampton and Chichester were.

I was in the company of a French gentleman, who came from Paris, and told me the King of England had left his Parliament

and betaken himself to an Island, and that the French King was coming over with thirty thousand men to succour him. I have been detained ever since the 18th of December till Sunday last by contrary winds in Morlaix, at which time I came from thence; and this morning about one of the clock, having the length of the Isle of Wight, the wind came up at North East, and very stormy weather, was forced to bear up for this place. The bark I came on, having some French prohibited goods on board, is stopped by the Collector here, notwithstanding the same goods are consigned to Ostend. I trouble you with this by Sir Robert Robinson's order.

Enclosed with the preceding letter.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND AND LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

1678-9, January 7. Castlemartyr.—In obedience to your orders I summoned to appear before me Mr. Silvester Crosse, Mr. Peter Hewett, Lieutenant Francis Fitz-Maurice, and Alexander Hamley, one of the serjeants of Sir Richard Rooth's company, whom I examined concerning the complaint against Lieutenant Fitz-Maurice for having enlisted two Irish Papists last muster in the said company, whose names are Mahon O'Donogh and John Collenan. I also ordered the Lieutenant to have brought with him the said two persons, yet but one of them, viz., Mahon O'Donogh appeared, the other (as the Lieutenant assured me) was gone to see some of his friends several miles off.

Mr. Crosse and Mr. Hewett, the Reverend Minister of Ringrone, deposed—That they had never seen either of them at church, that they could observe, before their being enlisted soldiers, that the said two soldiers had owned to them they had been still bred up Papists. Particularly Mr. Crosse deposed they had been his servants and had still been Papists, Mahon having been a boatman by his profession and Collenan a bagpiper. That therefore he had desired the Sovereign of Kinsale to acquaint me therewith. Mr. Crosse farther deposed that since Collenan's being enlisted he had seen him at church, but I could not find that Mahon O'Donogh had ever been at church, either before or since his enlisting; but Mr. Hewett deposed that the said Mahon told him that he meant to go to church, and whether he were continued in the company or not he was resolved never to go to mass. The like also Mr. Crosse deposed, and Serjeant Hamley deposed that for some weeks before John Collenan was mustered he had seen him once or twice at church. I demanded of the said serjeant whether Collenan had not some promise of being enlisted, which brought him to church, to which he answered upon his oath that if he had 'twas more than he knew. But he had observed him, when the company went to the parish church of Ringrone, he went piping with them to the church, and before his being enlisted went into the church with them, and stayed there during all divine service and sermon. Lieutenant Fitz-Maurice said towards his own vindication that the men before their muster had promised to go to church, and at the muster had taken the

Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which he thought was all required of him.

I did not omit before all the company to tell him plainly and at large my opinion as to his enlisting such men, who had all their lives been bred up Papists, only because they promised to go to church, without some previous examination of some pious minister, who should first instruct them in the grounds of our religion, and until they had given some better proofs of their being thoroughly converted to it than merely saying they would go to church, and then taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy administered by the mustermaster, the doing of which I judged was his duty in any conjuncture of time, especially in this. The Lieutenant seemed very sensible of his undesigned fault therein and promised faithfully never to run into the like again, nor would he have run into this had he then believed it one; and then Mr. Hewett did openly desire me to be a means that this omission of the Lieutenant's might be considered favourably.

I have ground to believe that Lieutenant Fitz-Maurice will take what has passed so much to heart as he will never run into the like error again; and in regard he is the son of a worthy father, a hopeful young gentleman—one that is diligent in his duty and has been active in disarming the Papists according to the late Proclamation, I humbly hope that his Excellency will be pleased to pass by this uncautiousness of his, if not error; and if ever I hear in the future of his doing anything amiss in the trust he is in I shall not omit to give a speedy account of it; but I assure myself he will exempt me from any cause of complaint in the time to come. He assured me he discharged the two enlisted men because they had given offence to divers, and I told him I did believe he had done well in doing so.

I could not sooner pay this obedience to your Grace's and your Lordship's commands because Christmas was so near when I received them, and Mr. Hewett could not then be spared from the duty of his ministry in his parish or else your commands had been earlier obeyed.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 10. Lanesborough.—The honour of your letter of the 21st of December found me laid up of the gout, which has held me near sixteen weeks, and falling most heavily upon my right hand and arm has made them as yet useless unto me, so as I am forced to make use of a she secretary to express the just sense I have of your Grace's favour in the obliging expressions you vouchsafe me in it, and I heartily wish that there had been no occasion given to lengthen it with any other matter. But much to my grief I find that your Grace has received great dissatisfaction by my brother Orrery's late actings towards you, to which I was wholly a stranger till your Grace was now pleased to acquaint me with them, who presume on your pardon if I yet retain a hope that his intentions may prove less faulty than they yet seem to be. This I say not to lessen his miscarriage—if it prove such as your

Grace conceives it to be. But a great part of the exception you take against him being for misrepresenting the state of things in Ireland to Courtiers, Parliament men, and others here in England, it is possible a worse gloss may from thence be put upon his representation than he intended. However, I have not failed to lay that charge home to him in all the circumstances thereof as your Grace has made it to me, and have thereby given him the opportunity to say to your Grace what he justly can in his own vindication; or if he transmits it to me I shall offer it to your Grace, who will, I hope, do me the justice to believe that not any one action of mine shall ever contradict the professions I have made you of a constant and faithful service, which during my life shall be always made good.

Postscript :—I return your Grace my most thankful acknowledgments for your favour in commanding a company to be garrisoned at Youghal.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ORRERY.

1678-9, January 11. Dublin.—I fall so often into the fault of keeping your letters in my hands longer than I should, that it would be another to trouble you with excuses, since your Lordship's great civility makes them for me. As far as your Lordship has taken pains in yours of the 31st of the last month to transcribe the last paragraph of mine of the 28th you have done it justly, but where you seem to understand my meaning to be that the reflections you have made upon the proceedings of the Government here in relation to the Plot have been to the prejudice of many besides myself, I am certain my meaning was that your Lordship's having made reflections prejudicial to me was apparent to myself and to many more, and I ask your Lordship's pardon for thinking my words as they are set down by you cannot well be otherwise understood, especially when in the end of the paragraph you find the vindication I proposed was singly for myself. This, I confess, is not a particular worth so many lines, since taking it your Lordship's way I am ready to own that I believe your observations and representations were injurious to all those of the Council who advised and assisted me.

What I except against in your Lordship's carriage towards me upon occasion of the Plot, and the part I had to act in prevention of the mischief it might do in this kingdom, I thought I had expressed in my letters to your Lordship to be that there was no one thing done by me by the advice and with the concurrence of the Council (that I can call to mind) that has met with your approbation or that has escaped your censure. Your Lordship has declared, and written into England, that the setting up of the Militia was delayed to the great trouble of your Lordship and many more, which must imply it might have been done sooner if the Government had been as active and willing as it might have been, else it could signify nothing but a groundless aspersing of the Government, and the great trouble your Lordship and many others were in must import it was for the danger you

were in for want of the Militia. These being put together what can they signify but that the Protestants remained exposed to danger more and longer than they had done if the Government had been as vigilant and careful for their safety as they might and should have been? And to instance and enforce the suggestion, your Lordship mistakes a whole month in two when you say that tho' you had notice of the Plot in the beginning of September, yet not so much as any letter was received in Munster concerning the Militia till the 16th of November. For as I have, I think, formerly told your Lordship the very first notice I had of it was on the 3rd of October, and the first orders received concerning it was on the 7th; neither is there any notice taken that there was a commission and instructions for keeping up the Militia still remaining in force in all the counties of the Kingdom. If it shall be said in excuse of the neglect of doing it that it had for a long time not been taken care of, or the duty called for by the Government, and that therefore new authority and directions were expected, either that is no good excuse or it is a good one for me, who left the Militia modelled and armed when I last left this Government and brought with me no instruction concerning it when I returned to it. I have been the larger upon this particular because I look upon the setting up of the Militia as the greatest security that was in my power to provide for the quiet of the kingdom and preservation of His Majesty's Protestant subjects.

Your Lordship has been pleased further to observe that the banishment of the titular and regular Popish clergy before the laity of that religion were disarmed was, in your opinion, to exasperate both before they were disabled from resenting it, and so the Protestants were rather thereby exposed to their rage than secured against their power. This I call a reflection and no useful admonition or advice, the proclamations for banishment and disarming being published and not possibly to be recalled or mended, unless by such supplemental directions as have since issued upon observation of the ill executing of what was well enough commanded before. After all possibly I may have been of your Lordship's opinion as to the method of banishing and disarming, and should have taken it but that another was prescribed by the authority I am bound to obey, and whose commands I think it my duty not to censure, or to publish that I was of a contrary opinion. I find that your Lordship's advice for securing (that is confining) some principal persons who had lost their estates for having been in the last rebellion, and yet retained great and dangerous dependencies, has been published and dispersed in England.

[Endorsed]:—*Part of a letter intended for my Lord of Orrery, but not finished nor sent because I saw no end of the contest could be hoped, his Lordship being impossible to be satisfied and of inexhaustible invention.*

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 11. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 2nd instant I have received mentioning the death of the Bishop of

Cork.* I suppose His Majesty will expect to hear from you before he proceed to fill both or either of the Bishoprics. I mentioned the reasonableness of his nominating to the Metropolitan—he said he was resolved upon my Lord Chancellor. I then asked him whom he destined for the Archbishopric of Dublin; he told me he would speak with my Lord of Canterbury, and since I spake with the Archbishop, but he then knew nothing of the person intended. It was but yesterday and therefore I can send you nothing by this post. We are daily very busy upon the Plot, and each day bringeth fresh information, and I think there are very few that doubt of one, only as to what concerneth the King's person. His Majesty seemeth not so apprehensive as his people are for him, though that likewise be now sworn by a witness, as far as I can perceive irreproachable, only in this that he was one of the Plot. The doubts men have of the meeting of the Parliament, the great arming as for sea in France, too big for any design he can have unless England or Ireland, putteth us all in great disquiet, though as to preparations against it I see none, unless disbanding of the army can be reckoned one, the money that with much ado is to be found for that incapacitating us to provide any necessaries for defence of our forts and garrisons. In this condition we are undervalued by all our allies, who, I fear, will (too soon for us) have made their peace with our great neighbour, and that to our detriment. I would fain write more cheerfully to you but I cannot. There is a warrant signed for a thousand barrels of powder for Ireland. I will press the Master of the Ordnance all I can for a speedy despatch of it.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARLINGTON.

1678-9, January 13. Dublin.—When we first received notice of the prorogation of the Parliament, and the next day of my son Ossory's landing, all that knew him not so well as your Lordship were in expectation of some extraordinary reason for his winter expedition, and I confess I did myself look for something more than a bare visit in such a conjuncture, considering that he had entered into a negotiation with the King concerning the sending of some troops into this kingdom upon the disbanding of those in England. He tells me since his arrival that he has given your Lordship liberty to open my letters directed to him; which, if you have taken, you will find in one of them my sense upon that subject, and I hope will have thought fit to acquaint His Majesty with it, for whose knowledge it was principally intended. In that confidence and to make your Lordship [as] intelligent in that matter as I can, I herewith send your Lordship a copy [of] my Lord Treasurer's letter to me about the calling of a Parliament here and of my answer, which, tho' they do not mention the sending over of more force hither, yet the calling of a Parliament being the means by which a reinforcement of the army may be supported, I suppose may be the same thing in effect. Your Lordship will also find the first overtures I made for the sending over of

* Edward Synge, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross 1663-1678, d. Dec. 22, 1678.

companies hither in June last, the conditions whereupon I proposed it, and those upon which I yet conceive it may be done. I fear these latter will be found of hard digest'on, but the balance is in the King's hands and not in mine.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 14. Whitehall.—In my last to your Grace of the 11th instant I gave you an accompt of the great arming by sea in France, which still continueth and the design is unknown as before. There is, as 's here supposed, in Ire'land the Bishop of Killaloe, a man of very good parts and much in the confidence and trust of France; his name is Molony; His Majesty would have your Grace to seize him and his papers. It is written from France that Monsieur Vauban, the great engineer of France, is gone a voyage of four months, but not declared whither; only the words of the letter are that he is to visit the Most Christian King's ports, and possibly some of his neighbours. Whether the latter part concern you or us I know not, but I conceive it becometh us both to be careful. There is some hopes the Parliament will meet at the day appointed, though I cannot write it for certain. More discoveries every day of the Plot, and I must confess I am entirely convinced that there was a most desperate design. In a late evidence that hath been before us one attesteth he heard a letter read wrote to a Jesuit from Rome, which said the Pope had considered of the great oppression Ireland lay under, and that he would not only assist them with money, but that he was framing a design how to have them supplied with men. What relation this may have to these French preparations may be worth inquiry.

ROBERT BARRINGTON to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 16. Whitehall.—Since my last letter to your Grace I perceive that my Lord James grows very fat, and believing it might proceed from the want of exercises I advised him to play every day at tennis, which he does, and he dances, and when the weather is fair I walk abroad with him. But I shall not provide him with any other masters until I receive your Grace's commands, which I earnestly expect for my Lord's sake, your Grace well knowing that this is a very unfit place for education, by reason of the great liberties and those many indecencies that are allowed of in this Court, neither is there here any company befitting either his birth or age. I shall continue to be very punctual in observing his Lordship, and shall take the liberty as often as I durst to inform your Grace truly and exactly, without flattery or fear of disobliging any person whomsoever, of every thing that shall relate unto the trust your Grace hath been pleased to honour me with.

ROBERT MOSSOM, Bishop of Derry, to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 18. Londonderry.—The report of your Grace's intended progress to the North hath taken wing and in its flight reached Londonderry, which gives occasion to this address, in

which with all humility of gratitude I present myself and mine your Grace's servants, and do devote my house and all I have in it to your Grace's accommodation in y^r person and attendants. And herein your Grace's acceptance will make me innocently proud, who never did pride myself more than in your Grace's favour and esteem; for that hath put a value upon my person, given encouragement to my studies, and raised the zeal of my heartiest prayers.

THE IMPORTATION OF TOBACCO.

I.

Deposition of Colonel John Curtis.

1678-9, January 18.—Colone^r John Curtis, of Virginia, merchant, came this day before me and made oath—That he satisfied by Bills of Exchange for London the King's Collector in Virginia the penny per pound duty there to His Majesty for the tobacco by him loaden aboard the ship *Providence* of London, Roger Severne, master, lately arrived at this port of Dublin with said tobacco, and the deponent further deposeth that upon the satisfaction of the said duty as aforesaid the King's Collector cleared the said ship from Virginia, and that the said tobacco is really belonging to him, this deponent, and partner in London, and is now at this deponent's disposal, and that no part of it is as yet sold, but that it still remains in this deponent's custody, except about fifty pound weight which he disposed of to some friends.

John Curtis, *jurat coram me*, 18^o die Januarii, 1678.

JO. TOPHAM.

II.

Invoice.

19th November, 1678.—Roger Severne, master of the *Providence*, of London, 150 ton from Virginia, 276 hogsheads of tobacco and a parcel of tobacco loose for John Curtis, merchant, a small parcel of firewood for the master and nothing else.

ROGER SEVERNE.

III.

Affidavit of Richard Baker and others.

Richard Baker, mate of the good ship called the *Providence*, of London, came before me and made oath that a little before the said ship's departure from Aconiacke, in Virginia, in the month of August in the present year, 1678^o, this deponent together with William Butler, one of the mariners of the said ship, being sent by Colonel John Curtis, the merchant supercargo of the said ship, to the house of Colonel John Stringer, the collector for the eastern shore of Virginia, to fetch biscuit on board the said ship for their voyage, did hear the said collector say and own in his own yard that Colonel John Curtis had paid him several hundred pounds for the one penny pound duty for the tobacco loaded on board there on the said ship, and that the said Curtis by paying the said duty of one penny per pound had cleared the said ship and might

sail when he pleased ; and the said William Butler, one of the mariners of the said ship, came likewise this day before me in his own person and also made oath of the truth thereof ; and also Nathan Buskell, chief mate of the said ship, and William Edwards, one of the mariners of the said ship, came before me this day and made oath that the said Colonel John Stringer and the Deputy Comptroller of the said eastern shore of Virginia, being come on board the said ship to survey her before she departed from that coast, he, this deponent, did hear on board the said ship that the aforesaid Colonel John Curtis had their discharge and paid the duty of one penny per pound for the said ship's loading of tobacco. And this deponent with all other deponents do further say and depose that they do verily believe in their consciences that the said Colonel John Curtis did then and there discharge and pay the duty of one penny per pound to the said collector for the said ship's loading of tobacco.

Nathan Buskell,
Richard Baker,
Wm. Edwards,
Wm. Butler.

Jurat' coram me 14to die
Decembris.

WM. PETTY.

IV.

Statement concerning Importation of Tobacco.

Colonel Curtis, of Virginia, about the middle of November, 1678, imported in the ship *Providence* a considerable quantity of tobacco from Virginia, without entering the same in England, himself being aboard the said ship and owner of the said tobacco, and is so still, except what belongs unto the seamen.

That the said Curtis paid the duty of the said tobacco in Virginia according to the Statute, viz., one penny per pound, doth appear by his own and the affidavits of several of the seamen hereunto annexed.

An invoice was made of the said ship and cargo the 19th of November, 1678, as by a copy of the said invoice annexed, and the books of the Custom House may appear.

The tobacco being much damnified and a great number of the hogsheads being broken, Mr. John Rogerson, a merchant and friend to the said Curtis desired of the Farmers that he might land the said tobacco, pay £250 as part of the duty of the said tobacco and the remainder of the said duty upon the ascertaining what damage was sustained in the tobacco, which sum of £250 was accordingly paid into His Majesty's Treasury, and several of the officers of the Custom House for some weeks past have been employed in viewing and adjusting the damage in order to the making an entry of the sound tobacco, burning the bad, and to obtain the remainder of the said duty, an Importation Account having been denied by the said Farmers to the said Colonel Curtis as being a merchant stranger.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1678-9, January 20. Dublin.—Yesterday I received yours of the 28th of December by the hands of Dr. Marsh, who will shortly

be put into the execution of that charge which your Lordship's recommendation has in effect engaged him in. He shall find all the countenance and encouragement this Government, as long as I am in it, can give him; and it is probable by that time I am out of it his own merit will establish him above the need of anything but common justice.

Upon the return of my grandson out of France (where he has been more for the recovery of his health than for his education) I have agreed with his father that he shall be sent to Oxford for some time, till he shall have gained strength to learn those exercises that are proper for his age, and may prove more necessary for that he is like to live in than I wish. My further inducements are that he may be confirmed and perfectly instructed in the religion professed, practised and best taught in that University, wherein is comprehended the principles of honour, virtue and loyalty; next because your Lordship is there to direct his way of living and studies, and to supervise the conduct of him and those that you shall think fit to be about him; and in the last place I send him thither as the best testimony I have yet been able to give the University of my affection and gratitude for the honours they have on all occasions done me.

I humbly thank your Lordship for your good wishes for me thro' this new year. I do not doubt but you turn them to prayers in proper times and places and to blessings. I am at all times desirous of them, believing they can never want efficacy and success unless by my fault. But the station I am in and the circumstances that at this time attend it requires them more particularly, and that your Lordship may more readily and cheerfully afford them I here sincerely profess that to the uttermost of my power and skill I will thro' all dangers maintain and support the religion of the Church of England as it is this day taught, practised and established by law, and the Monarchy and Crown of England in a right and lawful succession. If I fail in these things or in any part of them your Lordship has in your hands wherewith to reproach me and will have good reason not to own me as, etc.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 21. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace I have little worth imparting to you, only last night His Majesty was pleased in Council to declare his resolution for proroguing the Parliament till the 25th of February. I suppose the proclamation concerning it may be ordered speedily. I wrote you in a former that I had shewed your letter concerning the Bishop of Cork's death to His Majesty, where you wrote your reasons for your not presently recommending anybody to the two Bishoprics, and I then left His Majesty in disposition to have expected that recommendation. But Friday the Bishop of London came to me as from His Majesty to command me to write to your Grace for promoting a Bishop (whose name I have now forgot and he gave it me not in writing) to Cork and that Dean Murray should be

promoted to that Bishop's see. I discoursed with the King at large upon that theme, and told him that there were two Bishoprics in one, which your Grace thought might very well be divided and serve two. He opposed not that, but said Dean Murray should have one, so that I find the interest is Dean Murray's. I pressed not for a positive order, as willing to gain time in hope to receive your Grace's answer to mine, and so write you this only to acquaint you how things stand as to that matter. I fear it is a bad compliment to send any man a libel against himself and relations, but this being a letter that cometh from beyond the seas, and addressed to the same men that are the disposers of those that come from Ireland, I thought fitting to send it to your Grace. I live in hopes to catch more of them, for this is a man that keepeth weekly correspondence from Holland.

Postscript.—Since the writing this, I have spoken with His Majesty concerning Dean Murray, and he telleth me he will stop till he heareth from your Grace. I cannot yet give you any positive assurance concerning the prorogation of Parliament. I have some reasons to believe it will be a prorogation.

ENCLOSURE REFERRED TO IN PRECEDING LETTER.

1678-9, January 20. [New Style.] Hague.—Since my last, which was of the 17th instant, I have received none from you. Howsoever, having little to do whilst we are frozen up I would rather entertain you with some stories than our correspondence should cease. The effects of His Majesty's hasty prorogation of your wild fiery Parliament you may imagine are so notable as to reach a greater distance than we are from you. Certainly an excellent Prince he is, and that never fails his friends at a dead lift. This is notable yet not unexpected news, and which hath restored a new life and vigour to all good Catholics here, more particularly to the officers in the English regiments, who do express it with a kind of triumphant joy. For those regiments are pretty well filled and the officers are generally right, the thanks of which are due to the great care and zeal of his Highness the Duke of York, who you may be sure has a substantial interest here, and my Lord Ossory, who (though he has not much brains) yet he wants not abundance of good will to promote things according to instructions; and you know men that are to execute, their excellency that way is to obey not dispute. I like his going for Ireland very well, and certainly in my opinion that is the best place to open the gap in and to furnish a sort of men, who, though they may not fight as well as your desperate fanatics, yet they can make it up another way. I observe. (but whether to attribute it to the excellency of some eminent men or to a superior cause I leave it) that there has not been a general working of the Catholic spirit till now in the world, which kind of pregnancy and agency is one of the greatest portents of production I know of. My opinion is that things will be carried here, but whether you will be able to hold it in England I confess I somewhat doubt, for those people if ever

they get head again will fight like devils. I find Van Beuning capable of right impressions, therefore he must be encouraged and those things cherished in him. His last letter was admirable. He writes that Oates and Bedloe are rascals and no great credit is to be given to their information, being infamous persons; that the Court has been ill used by the Commons; that because the Council has under debate and consideration how to raise money the people begin to smell that the Parliament should not meet again; but that the great men at Court were of another opinion, of whose sentiments he is, and a number of other pertinent sayings there is in it which would be too tedious to rehearse here. I think that if the Ambassador would write with a little more guard it would do well, for we live in an age that even blockheads can see day at the least crevice, and some of his masters said that he gives more credit to the King and his directions than he does to them, and talk of calling him home. But alas! what can they do here if things go well in England—this country can do nothing. I much approve the wisdom of His Majesty in the nomination of the persons to find out the bottom of the Plot, as your people call it; for certainly there is not a fitter man in England than the Lord Arlington, and to speak of Sir Joseph, though he has no great reach, yet he seems to make up a good apartment.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD TO ORMOND.

1678-9, January 21.—I did not think so suddenly to have given your Excellency a trouble of this nature, for I would have deferred giving you thanks for the honour of yours by my Lord Longford till I had something of moment to have presented to you, but I look upon this as an intention at least to discharge that duty I promised ever to perform to your Excellency. I doubt not but your Excellency has before this received the news of the second prorogation to the 25th of February next, which seems to add much to the fears and apprehension of many; which, joined with deferring the execution of Pickering, Grove and Ireland, increases the unhappy jealousies of many.

Your Excellency's description of Ireland agrees with ours here, and indeed we are not here at leisure yet to hear the condition of Ireland nor of England, which equally needs it, if not more. But as I was going to present my thoughts to your Excellency how little was to be done or said in such a stream of things, the proclamation is stopped of the second prorogation, and the debate of it to come before the Privy Council to-morrow, being Wednesday, where I make no doubt but the opinions will be for the Parliament to meet the first appointed time of the fourth of February. We are now in hopes therefore that it will be so declared, and God send that we may not be destroyed by the want of those who only can support our shaken condition. Yesterday the King ordered the execution of Ireland and Grove, but Pickering's is yet deferred.

My Lord Aston of Staffordshire was last night at Council ordered to be sent prisoner to the Tower, who it seems was so

unhappy in his answers that he gave much suspicion but cleared none. I have been extremely ill of the gout so that I have not seen the King since the Parliament rose. I hope I shall now be able, and am resolved to discharge my duty, there being no supporting the guilt of a conscience that shall punish me more for a neglected duty than one can be punished for performing it. The same moment that things begin to bear the least change in their countenances your Excellency shall not want my humble advisement; and if I continue able to wait upon the King according to my design, I may perhaps be as early as any in my account; and I hope then your Excellency will contribute to the restoration and peace of a divided nation, which I hope yet to see perfected, and a happy understanding between the King and Parliament, all other notions being but the desperate counsels of State mountebanks. I will trouble your Excellency no farther at this time.

SAME to SAME.

1678-9, January 25.—With this your Excellency will receive an account from Mr. Secretary Williamson with a copy of a warrant to Mr. Attorney-General for the prosecuting a suit against the possessors of Dundalk and Carlingford, which was begged upon discovery made of the deficiency of the title by Mrs. Gwyn. The King took the opportunity of it to cause the benefit she is to have to be added to some other things to buy an estate in land for my Lord Burford,* in which His Majesty was pleased to command me to take the trust upon me to follow this business, and if effected to add it to some other things granted for the same design, and to take care for the purchasing of land as he shall please to approve and direct from time to time. So upon the promise of the King to settle it when obtained, I am ordered to give the Attorney-General the informations and direction how this estate is discovered to be of right in the King. We would not proceed to desire any grant without your Excellency's full knowledge of it, and in the meantime we only prosecute the right of the King. All farther accounts of the proceeding of this business your Excellency shall timely receive from me.

I doubt not but by this post your Excellency will receive the account of the Parliament's being dissolved and writs issued for a new one to sit the 6th day of March, so that now there is no account to be given of anything, opinions being various; but your Excellency may have best recourse to your own thoughts where you will find the best measure of judging. Had I a safe way I could give you some particulars, but I forbear to add more at present.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1678-9, January 25. Dublin.—Tho' I have had your Lordship's last letter long in my hands unanswered, yet I confess I am not ready to make a return to it such as may satisfy your Lordship and myself. I find we differ more in judgment than in matter of fact. Your Lordship disowns not the transmission of those

* Charles Beauclerk, Earl of Burford, subsequently created Earl of St. Albans.

remarks I complain of, but declares the inoffensiveness of your intentions towards me, and justifies your manner of proceeding in the matter in question by your former practice in the like cases, and that without any exceptions taken to it, neither of which is possible for me to disprove. But I can and must persist in my own opinion till I see good reason to change it, that the main things that have been transacted since my last coming to this Government have not met with any favourable interpretation from your Lordship, nor been very candidly represented by you. Yet your Lordship may with all imaginable confidence believe that at this time of apparent danger to all those interests that I am persuaded are, and I am sure should be, dear and common to us both, I will receive your Lordship's advice and assistance for the defence and preservation of this kingdom and the religion established by law in it as a very seasonable help, leaving the determination of what has been in debate betwixt us to a season more proper for it than now when a formidable preparation hangs hovering over the Three Kingdoms.

I do not conceive much time should be spent in arguing where the storm will fall, for since it is impossible to be sure it [will] not fall on us, we ought to do all we could do if we were sure it would. From the first week of my landing here I have frequently represented the ill state of all things relating to war: all I will say is that they are in some things very considerably improved as far as I had means to do it; in other things, as in the consumption of ammunition they are unavoidably impaired. I hope a thousand barrels of powder are shipped for this place by this time and ten thousand fire-arms, which is all I have in present prospect, but I will spare no pains or importunity to get other necessaries, and that is the reason why I now end this letter.

I am commanded out of England to cause one Molony, the titular Bishop of Killaloe, to be apprehended and all the papers that shall be taken. I suppose he conceals himself, since the proclamation for his leaving the kingdom, and that he may be somewhere about Limerick or in the county of Clare where his friends are. Your Lordship may most likely get intelligence of him and cause him to be taken and his papers secured.

LORD CHANCELLOR FINCH to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 28.—The King having done me the honour to make my son Heneage his Solicitor-General, I hold myself obliged to use my utmost endeavours to make him as serviceable to His Majesty as is possible for him to be. For this cause I am an humble suitor to your Grace for your favourable recommendation to the University of Oxford, that he may serve for them in this next Parliament. If both the Secretaries had not secured their elections elsewhere, or if Mr. Hyde had not made himself master of the two burgess-ships by his purchase of Wotton Bassett, or if it were likely that Sir Leolin Jenkins could return time enough to serve in this next Parliament, in all or any of these cases I would not presume to importune your Grace. Nor do I yet know

but that your Grace's recommendation may come too late and find the University engaged. But since no honest man desires to be obliged unless he desire to deserve it too, my letter will at least have this effect to let your Grace see how desirous I am to increase the obligations I already have of being, etc.

MR. MULYS to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, Tuesday, January 28. London.—On Sunday Sir William Waller took one of the five priests proscribed in the late Proclamation. He was found in the stables belonging to the Imperial Envoy, and about him was a pass from Barrillon, the French Ambassador, dated the 23rd of this month. The discourse of this town is chiefly about the new elections for Parliament, in the choice whereof we are told the people shall have all the freedom imaginable, the King declaring that he will not interpose nor grant his letters recommendatory. 'Tis presumed the Presbyterian interest will have the ascendant in most places, and I do not yet find that the Courtiers have any mind to struggle for it, the King seeming to some (who have endeavoured to know his pleasure therein) very indifferent, which raises very odd conjectures. Amongst many others who endeavour to be chosen, Major Wildman, Mr. Nevil, Colonel Sallawaie and Algernon Sydney are mentioned—men well known for their Commonwealth principles.

At night about 11 or 12 of the clock a fire began in the Temple and raged till about noon the next day. In blowing up of houses the Duke of Monmouth and my Lord Feversham being there, the Duke before the houses designed to be blown up, and my Lord Feversham behind them, they say the Duke had laid the train of powder which was not known to my Lord, but his Lordship urged the gunner that attended him the back way of the house to go in and place the powder. The gunner declined at first, but being reproached with fear by his Lordship, he ventured in, my Lord with him, Captain Barrington and divers others. The gunner spied the train laid by the Duke and gave notice to my Lord to escape, but none of them could be quick enough. The house blew up, killed two or three, wounded my Lord Feversham mortally, as was then thought; but I was just now at his lodgings at St. James', and they tell me there is great hopes of him now, after the second dressing of his wounds, which are in the head, eye and breast. Captain Barrington is not like to live, nor the gunner. A brother of Sir Thomas Fanshaw's of Essex or Kent, being a student of the Temple, and busied in removing his things and helping his friends, was affronted by a soldier, upon which they quarrelled. The officer, Lieutenant Throgmorton, belonging to the King's regiment of guards, perhaps with too great violence parting the fray and justifying his soldier, so spirited Fanshaw with desire of satisfaction (to which 'tis added that the officer with his partisan pricked him in the breast) that without much time lost, as the officer was marching off his men towards Whitehall about noon, Fanshaw came up with him and gave him a josset

at the head of his company. The officer offering to strike at him, Fanshaw with a pistol shot him through the arm into the body, but no mortal wound, whereupon the soldiers fell upon him. Being a very strong and stout man he sustained many blows with the butt end of the musket before he fell. They bound his hands and brought him to the guard at Whitehall, where his wounds were dressed, when after he had told the King the nature of his provocation he was ordered to be committed; but two of the Fanshaw's servants at Court and his kinsmen bailed him.

The King having bit his nail too close brought down a humour into his thumb which filled it so with pain that His Majesty took no rest all last night, and hath been uneasy the most part of this day. Mr. Whittle took about eleven or twelve ounces of blood from him, which hath given him such ease that he was this night in the Queen's drawing-room.

Yesterday the Deputy Lieutenant of Staffordshire sent up several papers that they seized in my Lord Aston's house, amongst which are several letters under my Lord Stafford's own hand concerning the Plot, and some which were writ since the discovery thereof, giving him advice how to order affairs and deport himself. Many people talk as if the fire in the Temple began not by accident; 'tis deposed by the owner of the chamber that nobody had lain there for two nights past. Mr. Montagu is at his own house under £2,000 bail; 'tis said that he is to appear to-morrow at the Council Board and his papers to be read.

My Lady is this afternoon much decomposed with the headache and desires excuse for not writing to you.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 28. Castlemartyr.—I have been these six days past under so ill a distemper that it is with no small pain I pay your Grace the duty of this letter, which is most humbly to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 25th instant, and to assure your Grace with all reality that since you have signified your pleasure to me that to write my private opinion on public things to a few particular friends was disrelished by your Grace I have abstained from doing it, for I am firmly resolved while I live under your Grace's government I will do nothing knowingly, much less designedly, to give your Grace offence; that when I know to whom I have written, and what I have written to any one of them which may in the least have been prejudicial to your Excellency or this Government, I will with heart and hand do my utmost to repair that unintended misfortune; that in whatever your Grace shall command my poor opinion or my services, they shall be presented you with all sincerity, affection and diligence. For tho' I may be so unhappy as in some things possibly not to be entirely of your Grace's opinion, yet I am bound when you have practically published yours to help it to the utmost, as far as well I may, since I am master of my obedience but not of my belief, and I can and will obey my superiors, tho' I may wish they had taken sometimes other measures.

I perfectly join in your Grace's writing that much time ought not to be spent in arguing where the formidable preparations will fall; but since we are not sure but they may fall on us, our whole time should be employed to prepare against the very worst; and I still elect rather (by arming ourselves) to depend on what an enemy cannot do than on what he will not do. In these western parts our Militia is not yet considerable, wanting arms, ammunition and many officers. I doubt our towns have too many in them who wait but for an opportunity to act against His Majesty's government and the established true religion. 'Tis certain but few arms have been brought in or taken by virtue of the late proclamations; that the Papists have more useful horses than the Protestants; that few if any of the Romish titular or regular clergy are departed out of the kingdom; and that none of our garrisons are in a fit posture for defence.

I am glad your Excellency expects a thousand barrels of powder and ten thousand firearms suddenly; both are much wanted, but God knows how little time in case of war a thousand barrels of powder will serve a kingdom. I find we have many more men in this country than will make up twenty-four troops and sixteen thousand foot in sixteen companies. I shall write by an express this day to have all means used for the seizing Dr. Molony and his papers, tho' I doubt it will be difficult to do it, for both his friends and kindred have above these ten weeks confidently reported he had in a disguise shipped himself for France in the west. Tho' for my part I cannot certainly hear that any one Romish Bishop has shipped himself for foreign parts out of this province, only the titular Bishop of Limerick surrendered himself in order to his transportation in that city. That God will be pleased to guide and bless your Excellency's counsels is the earnest prayer of your Grace's, etc.

Postscript.—I humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I cannot but heartily lament at these following words in your Grace's letter, viz., "but I can and must persist in my opinion till I see good reason to change it, that the main things that have been transacted since my last coming to this Government have not met with any favourable interpretations from your Lordship, nor been very candidly represented by you." I hope I may live to deserve a less unfavourable opinion, which I am sure I will assiduously endeavour. And in the meantime I beg your Grace to believe that whenever such things were done, as in my poor judgment were advantageous and good, I did not only joyfully entertain the news of them, but also represented them to the best advantage as well in word as in writing.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, February 1. Whitehall.—These two or three last posts have brought me none from your Grace, save one of the 13th of January. With the enclosed papers I transmitted the last week letters signed by His Majesty for the four Bishoprics, but am in

much pain to receive nothing from your Grace as to the nomination for Cork, nor whether your Grace would have what the last Bishop governed to be in two Bishoprics hereafter.* I wrote you some posts since the pretences of Dean Murray, but nothing hath been yet concluded positively by the King, upon my reminding him that he had commanded me to tell you he would expect your nomination. Since which I received the note (of which this is a copy) from my Lord Treasurer. I went to the King upon it and put him in mind of his former promise, and nothing is yet positively commanded ; but if something from you do not suddenly prevent it I believe I shall have positive orders very suddenly. The quicker you are in signifying your desires upon such matters I think will be better, and free you from many disappointments.

The Parliament is dissolved and we are all endeavouring new elections. I am invited to stand at Oxford, but am not at present certain whether I shall resolve it or no ; but if your Grace would favour me with your letter of recommendation it would be of great advantage to me in case I did stand there, and may if the wind favour come in time.

What the success of our new Parliament will be I cannot tell. I would I could say I hoped but a tenth part of what I wish. There hath been a meeting this night at the Treasury Chamber to hear Sir James Shaen and Mr. Ryder ; the result I cannot yet tell not having been called to it.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL to JOHN FELL, Bishop of
Oxford.

1678-9, February 1. Spring Garden.—I am very well pleased, tho' in the middle of much other business, to acquaint your Lordship that my Lord Duke of Ormond cannot think his grandson anywhere so well placed as in that University and under your Lordship's wing, and the final resolution is taken therein. And I am to acquaint your Lordship that his company will consist of one Monsieur Drelinecourt, a French minister, and a person of very good endowments, who is designed to travel with him hereafter when that season shall be fit. He will also be attended with a valet de chambre, a page, two footmen, a groom and two or three horses. He must there also have a tutor of your Lordships nomination—one who may inspire a little Latin and Mathematics with most facility. He must next have lodgings convenient, and whether such may be had as have necessary furniture and whether all must be provided, and in that case whether to be sent from hence or to be procured there. And when these and such other particulars as may occur to your Lordship shall come into consideration it is humbly desired that your Lordship would make some estimate of the expenses for a year, and to return the same with what convenient speed your Lordship can.

* Bishops Boyle (1660-1663) and Synge (1668-1678) had combined the see of Cloyne with those of Cork and Ross. On Synge's death Cloyne was revived as a separate diocese, and so continued until it was suppressed by the celebrated Act of 3 and 4 William IV.

R. MULYS to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, Saturday, February 1.—On Wednesday last, in the morning, Mr. Montagu was with Mr. Secretary Coventry, and appeared with Captain Titus that morning in the gallery; at night he attended but was not called for by the Council.

In Northamptonshire he stands for Knight of the Shire. My Lord Candish parts hence for Derbyshire to-morrow morning in order to his election for that county as Knight. My Lord Russell and my Lord Bruce stand for Knights of Bedfordshire. Sir Thomas Armstrong is recommended by the Duke of Monmouth to the town of Stafford, where tho' Mr. William Chetwynd (that you met upon the road) declines the invitation of the town, I am told Sir Charles Owsly will carry it from Sir Thomas Armstrong.

By this post you will receive a copy of the speech made in the House of Peers by my Lord Treasurer in his own defence against the six Articles of Impeachment sent up against him by the Commons of England. Some of the late members concerned in that Impeachment have lately told me that they find themselves obstructed in their new elections by my Lord Treasurer's interest. My Lord Latimer offers as standing for Knight of the Shire in Yorkshire; my Lord Dunblany stands at Weymouth. The doubts that arise about the legality of the late dissolution of Parliament was considered in Council last Wednesday night and adjudged to be a good dissolution.

My Lord Marquis of Worcester's servant, Mr. Price, is this day at liberty upon bail; so is Mr. Sheldon, my Lord Castlemaine, etc

My Lord Feversham was trepanned three days since and is like to do very well. Most people are mightily alarmed at the French preparations by sea, and will not be contradicted in it, but that they design upon England or Ireland or both.

The Lords and others in the Tower have petitioned to be brought to a speedy trial, or else that bail may be admitted; but their petition is rejected. One Turner hath this day rendered himself, confessing that he is both a priest and a Jesuit, and one of the persons intended in the late proclamation, tho' not there called by his right name. He is sent to the gatehouse. The idle people of the town is full of the discourse of Sir Edmund Godfrey's ghost appearing when the Queen was at High Mass at Somerset House. A proclamation is here in town sent from Edinburgh for disarming of Papists and seizing of priests, dated about 20th of January last.

To allay our fears of the French 'tis said that lately a ship put in at Dartmouth bound for Brest, and had on board her about a hundred men as pilots from Swedeland; and I know a person who is one of the Duke's near followers who hath made a wager that his Highness within a very few months will be in as much credit and esteem with the English nation as ever he was since the Restoration; meaning thereby that he will declare himself in favour of the Protestant religion. People here are very glad to find that the practices of my Lord of Orrery and the Bishop

of Meath hath had no other effect, but that the Lord Chancellor is notwithstanding made Lord Primate, etc., and that the design of Jephson is ordered to be further looked into.

The formality of the Parliament's meeting on Tuesday next is judged necessary and then to be dissolved by commission. The Duke of Lauderdale is said to be fallen off from my Lord Treasurer and not to signify so much in Councils as he was wont. 'Tis said that his Grace being at play at a noble Lord's in the Court, and talking of news, he swore by God the Father that he neither knew of nor advised the prorogation of the Parliament; that by God the Son he knew as little of the dissolution till the King declared it in Council; and by the Holy Ghost he did believe it would be the ruin of the Treasurer.

ORMOND to the KING.

1678, February 2.—Dublin.—I received your Majesty's of the 15th of January but yesterday by this bearer. I suppose he will [not] get much sooner to Court than my son Ossory, by whom I beg leave to convey my fuller answer to your Majesty's, and through whose hands I shall hope to receive more particular knowledge of your Majesty's intentions and pleasure in a matter that so much concerns my quiet and interest, which have never yet nor ever shall be put in the balance with the good of your service. God direct your Majesty in [and] thro' all difficulties.

Copy.

SAME to the SAME.

1678-9, February 3. Dublin.—Those few hours I have presumed to take to consider what your Majesty was pleased to propose concerning my Steward's place in your most gracious letter of the [the] last were not employed to determine whether I should give cheerful obedience to your pleasure or not, for that I can never be found unprepared for; but it was to digest a thing so new to me, and most humbly to propose the accommodation of your Majesty's convenience with your declared purpose that I should not suffer by it; and that I shall most sensibly do, if the world do not as manifestly see as I do confidently believe that my remove from an office of that dignity and advantage is not a mark or effect of your displeasure, which I could very ill support and very hardly dissemble. How this can be avoided otherwise than by your Majesty's assigning for me such a compensation as may show my dismissal to be voluntary I know not, nor how the putting of my staff into another hand can be without prejudice to me [consid]ering that I thin[k] here [to] found of any mo[] such an office but by [] offence taken by the Prince and the displeasure manifested by other circumstances. But since I conceive your Majesty will believe that whilst I am in this station contending with many difficulties raised against your Government, and against me for being chief in it, the demonstrations of your favour are my greatest support and encouragements, I cannot fear that you will withdraw them

from me, and therefore I do with all assurance and submission lay myself and this whole matter with my life and fortune at your feet.

Copy.

R. MULYS to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, February 4.—Very little news hath been talked of since my last by Saturday's post. The several contests and candidates for elections is everybody's discourse. 'Tis thought my Lord Longford will lose it in Surrey—Evelyn being invited by the country, for that my Lord say they went too much with the Court. Sir Joseph Williamson goes this week to Thetford upon invitation from that town, so that he is off from prosecuting his pretence at Oxford. I am told my Lord Ranelagh stands in Wiltshire, against whom Captain William Legge sets up with his brother the Colonel's interest, for which 'tis said the King hath chid the Colonel, who, insisting upon the merit of his family in opposition to my Lord Ranelagh, the King told him that William must desist, for that His Majesty wanted speakers in the House. Sir Gabriel [Silius] was mistaken in his news when he said the Parliament was to sit at this day and to be dissolved by commission, the day producing no such thing.

The Grand Jury hath found the Bill, and on Thursday the persons therein named as murderers of Sir Edward Godfrey will be tried in the King's Bench. Touching the Plot, every day produceth one new discovery or other, which is kept very secret. The letters from Flanders speak as if the peace betwixt France, the Emperor and the King of Sweden were signed; but I do not hear that any express therewith is yet come from Nimeguen to the King.

Sir Thomas Clarges is gone to a place called Christ Church near Salisbury, where set up in my Lord Clarendon's interest he is like to carry the election.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 4. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace of the 1st of February, I have received two from your Grace, the one nominating Doctor Wetenhall to the Bishopric of Cork, and the other bringing the form of a letter. I have this day got the letter signed, so that if anybody attend it, it may be despatched to-night.

For the other letter from your Grace and Council for His Majesty to consider in Council, I shall prefer it to-morrow, and the same will not be amiss, because there is a day appointed for the hearing the Earl of Ranelagh upon the complaint of some poor soldiers that have been long starving and petitioning here. Everybody is very busy about the election. Whether there may be as many made courtiers in this Parliament as were in the last I know not, but I am afraid there will not be so many chosen. We have no certain news yet of the peace

with the Emperor and France, but it is everywhere taken for granted, and that it will be a most advantageous and glorious one for France.

EARL OF STRAFFORD to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 4. London.—I was acquainted by Sir Wm. Wentworth at his coming hither that the day afore he came from Dublin your Grace was pleased to tell him that both my Lady Duchess and yourself were very much troubled at what I had said in the Parliament, and that whatsoever disobligation I could put upon your Grace, you would be sure, for my father's sake, to do me any service that lay in your power, for you had great obligations to him. This was all, as he tells me, that your Grace said to him; and upon my asking him what the particulars were that caused you to say thus, he acquainted me it was reported all over Dublin I had said in the Parliament your Grace minded nothing in Ireland, but playing at cards, dancing and revelling. And my Lord of Arran is said to have been so just to me as to have spoke the same likewise publicly at some feast at the College. My Lord, I do not wonder at strange reports, but though I cannot discourse so wisely as others can, yet I have not been used to make such foolish speeches in Parliament as these, nor have I heard any reflection at all made of you there; and it being so easy to know what passeth in such a public assembly, I may admire who should have the impudence to tell your Grace such great untruths of me, and I think I have cause to complain that you would so easily give credit to so improbable as well as false a story of me as this I have mentioned. I never began an unfriendly thing in all my life to any of my friends, and wish, with all my heart, for their sakes that have ever been wanting to me more than I to them; but, as I have not troubled your Grace with discourses upon this subject, so I shall now avoid doing it, and shall not importune you further, nor had not thus far so late, but that I newly find a letter I writ divers weeks since has not come to your hands. So I hold myself obliged to send this, which is by that means the first and shall be the last trespass I shall make in this kind, therefore I shall hope for your Grace's pardon at this time.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1678-9, February 4. Oxford.—I shall think myself very happy if I may serve my Lord Duke and my Lord Ossory in the great concern of the education of their heir; and by God's help shall endeavour not to be wanting in any thing that may contribute to their service herein. We have at present here several young persons of the nobility, who will be no ill company for my Lord James; and here is also one who, I hope, will be very fit to perform all the parts of a good tutor, and has been practised in that employment—Mr. Aldrich—whom I the rather recommend because he has in his tuition two noblemen, whose conversation I think will be most useful to my Lord James,

and whose example may be most likely to recommend study to him. The personal expenses of a nobleman here you fully understand from my Lord Courcy's accounts; the accessions which will be made by the salary of the governor, the wages and diet of servants, the keeping of horses and other equipage, you will without difficulty compute, the rates of this place being much the same with London. Our accommodation for lodging is such as I think will be very convenient. For the furniture of my Lord's ante-room and bedchamber I presume it may be best to send hangings from London, our rooms being so high that they will receive either six, eight, or ten foot hangings; the governor's apartment and the valet de chambre's will be best provided here. My great concern is that the servants be such whom much leisure will not spoil. When you shall please to signify the time when my Lord purposes to be here, I shall accordingly provide for his reception, by clearing such room as I think most useful for him, and sending the measures. You will be pleased farther to consider whether my Lord will take his commons in the Hall, as the Duke of Southampton, my Lord Herbert and others of like quality did; or else diet more privately; for, accordingly, we shall endeavour to provide for him. In whatsoever other particulars you shall please to interpose your directions and commands they shall be executed.

Postscript.—My Lord Courcy is very well.

SAME to SAME.

1678-9, February 6.—Upon the receipt of your former letter that gave notice of my Lord Duke's purpose to send his grandson hither, I immediately returned an answer by Mr. Young, Chaplain to my Lord Ossory, who I presume by this time has put my letter into your hand. I wait your farther direction, and when I understand how soon you would have my young Lord fixed in this place, shall prepare for his reception. The servants I presume you intend should be at board wages, and the grooms are used to lodge abroad, so that, besides my Lord's own chambers, and those who immediately attend on his person, we shall not be concerned to find lodging in the College. If it stands not with convenience to send down hangings for my Lord's ante-room and bedchamber, upon notice I will see what may be done in this town; but the furniture here is such as may suit with philosophers, and not princes. The materials for a gown must not be forgot, this place not supplying what will be fit for my Lord to wear. That kind of silk which they call brocade is used by our noblemen, and the trimming is only gold and silver buttons and loops; six dozen are used to be put on. I do not foresee that there requires any long time for preparation, so that if it be desired my Lord should be speedily settled, there will be nothing to hinder it. I am sure I shall endeavour to serve all my Lord's interests. I purpose, God willing, by the next post to write unto my Lord Duke, which at present I have not time to do.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, February 8. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace I have not been able to get your Grace's and the Council's letter read at Council ; but Wednesday next is the day appointed for it. You will within receive a letter from His Majesty that your Grace send a deputation for the swearing the members of Parliament. All manner of expedition must be used, for if it come not before the meeting, His Majesty must be constrained to make a Lord Steward *pro tempore*, which cannot be done without some inconveniency to you. My Lord of Ossory is, I hear, expected here this evening, and probably may come before the closing of this.

Postscript.—My Lord Ossory is just now arrived.

EARL OF OSSORY to SAME.

1678-9, February 11.—If I had writ on Saturday last I could only have informed you of my coming to town late in the evening. On Sunday, the King being after dinner at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, he went alone with me into her gallery, where I delivered your letter. He made many professions of kindness, and that he intended only for a time to gratify one with the staff, which he would soon return to you again. After I assured him of your entire resignation to his pleasure, I offered him my thoughts upon what he writ to you and repeated to me of his positiveness in not doing anything in this affair which might prove a damage to you, which would inevitably ensue if it appeared not that you had such a compensation as would manifest your consent. He then asked what you valued it at. I replied that you would submit that to his judgment. He said compliments were to be laid aside, upon which I told him that the place was more valuable both for profit and honour than that of Chamberlain, which was sold for ten thousand pounds, that you did owe a sum of about £13,000 to Sir Robert Vyner, which, if it were made no more your debt, the salary of the place being set apart for payment of it, His Majesty might find his accounts in satisfying you and obliging the person intended for your office. After many things said expressing your's and my gratitude for his great bounties and many assurances from him of his being far from doing you a hard thing, we parted, His Majesty promising that he would not make any farther step without consulting me. Yesterday morning I waited on my Lord Treasurer, but had no discourse with him by reason of my Lord of Canterbury's being with him. As he was conducting me out of his lodgings, he said he would return my visit, being desirous to have some discourse with me, which I will give him occasion of, and shall soon after give you an account thereof. Yesterday, discoursing with my Lord of Salisbury by the fire, as the King was going from the Council Chamber, I observed him to cast an eye upon that Lord, which convinces me with other circumstances that he is the person to be dignified. So you be accommodated, I

am very indifferent on whom the lot does fall. My Lord of Sunderland yesterday took his oath as Secretary of State in place of Sir Joseph Williamson. He has been civil to my son and lived, I think, fairly with you. I leave it to your consideration whether it be improper for you to write him a compliment upon this trust conferred upon him. The paper concerning the Duke is signed, and witnessed by the [Arch] bishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor and both Secretaries, in as ample a manner as could be devised. I find it not divulged here, and therefore I wish you would only impart it to such as will not let it be known, that the notice thereof proceeds from us. I will take my time to discourse with the King upon public affairs, and then impart to you what I can learn from him.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to SAME.

1678-9, Tuesday, February 11. St. James's Square.—I had some discourse with Mr. Brisban a little before his last journey to Paris (where he is now the King's Agent for Maritime Affairs) about the present condition of the Huguenots in France, and what probability there might be (by taking the opportunity of those pressures they lie under there) to invite them over. He told me that several considerable men among them had privately enquired of him upon what terms they might transplant into Ireland, and he desired me to consult your Grace about it. I conceived it might conduce exceedingly to the service of that kingdom both at once to strengthen the Protestants' hands, and in some measure to supply the only things that country wants, multitude of people and manual arts; and, therefore, a little before my Lord Arran went over, I acquainted him with what I had learned from Mr. Brisban, and begged his Lordship to understand your Grace's sense of it, and if you approved of it that I might be privately instructed with such things as I might communicate to him upon this occasion. I have now again heard from him from Paris that the business ripens apace, and that it is highly seasonable for him to be able to acquaint them with what entertainment they may expect. I most humbly submit the affair to your Grace's prudence, and shall myself bear that part in it you shall be pleased to assign.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD to SAME.

1678-9, February 11. Oxford.—Having received notice from your Excellency's hand of your purpose to deposit your greatest treasure in this place, I make haste to return all possible assurances of my sense both of the value of the charge entrusted, and the additional obligation which such a confidence imposes, and shall endeavour by all methods of respect and diligence, to render your Excellency such an account that you may not retract the favourable opinion you have been pleased to entertain of me, or of your counsel in disposing my young lord in this place. I have given Sir Robert Southwell notice of those

little preparations which will be necessary for my Lord's accommodation, which a very few days will despatch, and then I hope he will be suddenly settled with us, to his own present content and future benefit. Although everything about us threatens confusion and ruin, we may entertain hope that Almighty God has mercy still in store for us, in that he has raised up and continues a person of your Excellency's zeal and love to religion now to stand in the gap; and, by supporting one of the Three Kingdoms, exceedingly contribute to the stay of the other. In which station that you have that greatest of earthly blessings, the being long an instrument of good, is the daily and earnest prayer of, etc.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to SAME.

1678-9, February 11. Whitehall.—Both your Grace's of the 2nd of February I have received, and have shewed them to His Majesty; for that of Dean Murray you will find by my last that it is according to your desires; but as to the Bishopric of Cloyne, His Majesty is resolved for Dr. Sheridan,* though yours recommending Doctor Smith arrived before the signing of the letter, which will be transmitted, I suppose, this or the next post at farthest. Had your recommendation come but a post sooner, I have reason to believe you would have had your satisfaction in that as well as the rest.

I wrote you in my last letter that your's and the Council's letter concerning the state of the kingdom was to be read in Council to-morrow. Of the issue I shall advertise your Grace. The greatest change we have had here is that His Majesty hath taken the seals from Secretary Williamson and given them to the Earl of Sunderland, the former having for recompense the money he disbursed for it at his advancement. The cause of this removal I cannot tell you, only thus much, there was none declared, but many conjectured and surmised, as is usual in such evennements. For Mr. Brisban's letter it is true he wrote to that effect, but he wrote what he heard at Paris, and cannot take off from the Lieutenant's report that was an oracular witness, and our Amsterdam letters confirm the Lieutenant's, and that the design is Ireland. I have despatched an understanding person to visit all these coasts, from whom I expect hourly an account very particular, and, as soon as received, shall transmit it to your Grace. Yours of the 31st January with the enclosed I suppose were in effect answered before I received them, the Archbishop of Tuam having His Majesty's letter for Archbishop of Dublin, and so I suppose that of the Council followeth.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, February 13. Dublin.—We compute you were at Court the Saturday after you left us, not taking Knowsley in

* Patrick Sheridan, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne 1679—1682. The bishop was a great-uncle of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

your way ; but perhaps we computed faster than you rid, as is natural where men are in pain to know the state they are in, of which I must take measure concerning myself by the success of my letter put into your hands. I hope James is by this time gone to Oxford, and that I shall know what provision must be made for him there. Barrington is by this post sent for to return. The last post brought many letters for you, most containing little else than news except what is before this time told you by your friends and by Mulys, I have by this post recommended your Chaplain, Dean Smith, to the Bishopric of Cloyne ; if you are concerned for him you must speak to the Secretary for despatch, and if need be to the King. I know no competitor he is like to find but one, Dean Murray, and I wonder how he comes in play, or came to be Dean, being one of the most inconsiderable men in the Church, taking in vicars and curates, as he is charactered by all that know him. I have this morning spoke with Robin Lee about my Lord Chamberlain's affair. He tells me my Lord's counsel are of opinion his case needs no corroboration. If it should, the bill is out of my hands, and no man can so improperly as myself move for any private clause, having humbly besought His Majesty to admit of none. We are, God be thanked, all as well here as we can reasonably hope to be.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678-9, February 14. Dublin.—You will easily believe, and, I hope, find, I made haste to seal and send away the commission I received with yours of the 8th within this half hour. The staff, as slender as it is, is no small support to me in the state of affairs here, and would certainly be a great one taken from me, contending as I do against those that would be glad to see any sign of the diminution of my credit with my master. I shall at more leisure give you further trouble in other matters. I have only in this to add my acknowledgments of your care.

Copy.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, February 14. Dublin.—Our letters of the 8th tell us you were that day got to Court. By those of the 11th, I hope I may have some account of His Majesty's pleasure upon the letters and papers you carried with you. The papers concerned the public, and the letter also in some degree, though it seems more immediately to my private. For whilst I am in disturbance and unease in relation to an apprehension of a public mark of the King's disfavour, it is with some distraction and heartlessness I act or think. I have reason to expect all the attacks of the disaffected party in the Parliament. The place I am in and the principles they know I profess will whet their malice and their ingenuity to find faults in me. Perhaps His Majesty may find it necessary to comply so far as to remove me from hence. In that case to be found divested of my nearer

place to the King would leave me in a posture very ridiculous to the world. To prevent it as far as it is possible, I have sent this bearer express with a commission from me to swear the House of Commons, and I will send a duplicate by the post. The express has a view to stay till you shall return him, and you may let the King know there is an express sent that attends his pleasure for his return.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 15. Sir James Shaen, who has always showed great respect towards you, and unto whom I am much obliged for his civilities, particularly for the assistance he gave me in the business of my grant in Ireland, will this day sennight transmit unto you proposals in order to the increase of the revenue*, and as he entreats your secrecy so he intends that, by your means, these offers of advantage may be tendered unto His Majesty. I doubt not but you will countenance him in things relating to the public, if you do approve them, and that upon my account, you will be ready to show him all just favour if any concerns of his own come before you. This is upon the score of making the Army ten thousand.

SAME to SAME.

1678-9, February 15.—I thought it convenient to inquire His Majesty's pleasure, after the space of so many days, concerning your affair, which I did just as he came from the Duchess of Portsmouth's chamber. His answer was that he had taken no resolution in the thing, and with heart, if not chagrin, said that he would not, without my knowledge, proceed any further in this business. I was willing to know the event of what was designed, not out of my natural impatience only, but because I have been informed, from several persons of importance, that this transaction is in many places discoursed of, and that my Lord Treasurer is to have it upon the Treasury being put into commission. I hope this offer has been made more with haste than good reason, and that, upon after-thoughts, His Majesty may have changed his mind, or at least that none of your enemies will have that credit as to persuade him to do so hard a thing as to displace you without a reasonable compensation. Considering what has passed upon this subject, I think nothing more is to be done than to be watchful, and to act as occasion offers.

As to your commands relating to the concerns of Ireland, you may be sure I will do all that lies in my power, but you know that critical minutes are to be taken, else a discourse of that nature will neither succeed or be well entertained. I am told Mr. Secretary Coventry is to be removed, and that Sir Lionel Jenkins was to have succeeded him; but now that Sir William

* See p. 330 *infra*.

Temple is fixed upon. Perhaps this also may alter, for things are in such uncertainty as resolutions are very often changed. At this instant, writing at Somerset House, while the Queen is at her devotions, I am told that Berry the porter, being condemned, has returned from being a Papist to our religion, which he professed the first part of his life, and that he will make great discoveries. This morning I saw a letter of Doctor Floyd's to my Lord of Clarendon, begging a reprieve for the fellow, but withal saying that the man absolutely denied anything of his knowledge of the matter of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. The King has ordered the execution of this man to be deferred. God knows what this man may say truly, or for hopes of pardon, but I am sure Doctor Floyd's letter seems to believe that these condemned men are innocent of that part of which they were found guilty. I have not anything worth troubling my mother withal. By the next post I hope to be able to give her an account of some of her commands.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 15. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 9th of February I have received, and humbly thank your Grace for it and the enclosed in my behalf to the University of Oxford. But I, standing fair with my old borough, and not affecting to change old masters, have acquainted my Lord Chancellor that I humbly submit that your letter for his son may take place.

As to my Lord Ranelagh, he accounts the letter, as I acquainted your Grace in my last, was appointed to be read on Wednesday last, but when the clerk was beginning to read it, the King stopped it and said it must be farther considered of, from what motive I yet know not, but I believe your Grace may guess.

I am commanded by the King to let your Grace know that some information being given him that the Duke of Monmouth has either passed, or was passing, a patent under the Great Seal of Ireland, wherein the King calleth him our son, without any such distinction as the word natural, His Majesty would have your Grace take care that no patent, now or hereafter, pass without that distinction in it. His Royal Highness seemeth concerned in the point, and His Majesty gave me express orders to write to you on that subject.

The Court hath not the usual favour in elections this time. But yet I believe that the major part of the House will be composed of men affected to monarchy and the Church.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 15. Whitehall.—His Majesty having been pleased to make me Secretary of State in the place of Sir Joseph Williamson, he commanded me to send a letter to your Grace, which was ordered at a meeting in the Treasury Chamber, con-

cerning the farm of the revenue of Ireland, which I willingly obliged His Majesty in, because the business is at last left to your judgment.

ORMOND to GEORGE MATHEW.

1678-9, February 17. Dublin.—By a letter of the 11th of this month from my son Ossory he gave me an account of his having delivered my letter to the King, and of his discourse with him on the subject of it; all very gracious and kind on His Majesty's part, still professing that it was not his purpose to do anything that should be hard towards me. He desired to know what I valued my place at. My son answered what His Majesty pleased. The King replied, "Let us have no compliment betwixt us." Then my son told him of the debt I owed to Sir Robert Vyner, and that if it might be taken from me it would content me. The King took time to consider of it, and at parting assured my son he would take no further step in the affair without his knowledge; and thus the affairs stands, and the discourse ended.

My Lord Lanesborough tells me he thinks he shall have directions from his daughter, who is a young widow in England, to put out about £1,600 to interest, and offers it me. I desire you to consider what use there may be of it, and how it may be secured to her, and to her father for her. I wish that now at the turn there may be an end put to the suit betwixt the town of Clonmel and me; that is, that the arrear may be forgiven them, the almshouses restored to its proper use, and the £9 or £10 a year given them. For I do not desire at this time to appear hard in my own interest upon a Corporation that is poor and will be clamorous.

Sir William Davys and Hartstonge, the attorney, will have order to prosecute Moore upon his carriage, which, with his son's taking his examination at Kiltivan, I suppose was a consequence and of a piece. If a combination to asperse the King and me can be fully proved, and that it is probable a jury will do us justice, I would have it thoroughly prosecuted. But if the proof be not very clear, and that made out at least by some Protestant witnesses, it's better left alone till a fitter opportunity.

Copy

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, February 17. Dublin.—I think there went a post since I received yours of the 11th, but I had not time to write by it, nor had I much to say, my private concern being brought to the best period I could then expect. What shall be further done in it, I know you will inform me as seasonably as you can, and that you will stick to the main [point] or at least desire that you may have time to consult me in a matter you know I am highly concerned in.

I suppose Sir Robert Southwell has discoursed with you about your son's going to Oxford, and the terms of his reception and

maintenance. I know not whether his governor's salary may not be too much at Oxford, or whether James will need all the servants set down there, for he will need no more at Paris. But I am not so much concerned for a hundred more or less as to thwart any man's opinion, though money is like to be a scarce commodity here, and therefore I hope you have fallen upon your retrenchment. My daughter Arran is well landed, and all your friends are well. I cannot think of anything to say to my Lord Chamberlain.

EARL OF ESSEX to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 19. London.—When I left Ireland there was a bridge building,* the completing of which will (as I am informed) cost much more than was believed when the work was undertaken. I do look upon this as a public good, for the enlarging and increasing of the city of Dublin is a matter in my apprehension of no small moment to the safety of that kingdom. Wherefore I do humbly recommend it to your Grace, if you can find anything proper to be applied for the furtherance of so public a work, and in order to it when your Grace shall propose anything hither I shall be ready to give my assistance thereunto.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 18.—This is my second letter, having writ the other so as I might show it to my Lord of Essex. I suppose you will, in a letter to him, acknowledge the civility he expresses towards you, his Lordship professing that it is only upon that account that he gives this instruction. The affairs of your staff is more discussed of, though I have owned it but to few. I find the King very kind, and hear no more of the matter. I just now received yours of the 13th, unto which I have no answer to give, having writ you notice of all things mentioned in it. I fear Mr. Smith will be disappointed by Mr. Sheridan's having a promise, but I will use my endeavours in this particular, as also for the future if it is necessary. I wish you had Mr. Young, my chaplain, in your family, for he is eminent both for preaching and good living, and not being troublesome. Besides, he is an Oxford man.

EARL OF DANBY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 18. London.—This is to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging letter of the 13th of January, and I have very little else to trouble you withal, the business of this kingdom having so taken up His Majesty's time and his Council's that there are yet no other resolutions relating to Ireland than the former ones. Only in this particular, which is the occasion of Mr. Ryder's journey, both His Majesty and

* Essex Bridge, Dublin, rebuilt, and renamed Grattan Bridge in 1874.

all here seem convinced that, if some speedy care is not taken, the present farm of the revenue in that kingdom must break in those hands which now manage it. But yet we are sure everything there is so safe under your Grace's inspection that we do with an implicit faith conclude the farm is so too, if your Grace shall continue to be of that opinion. I am sorry to find your Grace does not think it fit to call a Parliament there till you have seen the issue of one here, because as I think that kingdom is in more danger of a foreign [attack] than this, so there is more need to be quick in their defence, which I fear cannot be without a Parliament. I doubt not but your Grace has had an account of my Lord Ossory's safe arrival here.

Extract from Letter of SIR WILLIAM KING to ORRERY.

1678-9, February 21. Limerick.—I have laid out several ways after Doctor Molony, but cannot hear anything. There came one lately to my Lord Broghill and me, to tell me that he heard he was about Galway, and that he did not question but I should, if there, find him out. I gave him some money and sent him away. He returned suddenly and told me he was within two miles of this place in disguise, and in a white periwig. I sent one thither that could know him in any disguise, and one in whom I could confide; but he saw no one there like him at all, or in any disguise. I am assured by some merchants here that he is gone beyond seas, for they tell me that he went towards Waterford in order thereto.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 22.—Last post I received your letter of the 14th, and this day I showed it to the King, who I do believe has altered his resolution as to taking from you the White Staff. He said that upon my discourse upon that subject, I might see he had done nothing more in that matter. Upon my expressing my thoughts upon the present affairs, and that I believed those who were not well inclined to the Government would endeavour to remove one so firm to it from so considerable a post as yours is in Ireland, he replied that it was his part to look to that. I was sufficiently satisfied with this conversation.

What will become of affairs in general God knows. Elections go on very untowardly. Few of the Court, I do believe, will be chosen. This afternoon I had a long discourse with my Lord Treasurer in order to the affairs of Ireland. I showed him how those motives which inclined you to advise calling Parliament varied, but withal told him that you did not despair of rendering service by it, though with more difficulty than when you first made the proposal; and that, as you looked for unpleasing motions, so you did not despair of carrying your point, so the King would do his part in ordering

you, or else, by a letter from himself, assure them that what more they should give should be employed for the strength and security of that kingdom. This method he approved much more than the manner of appropriating supplies in the body of the Act, as I perceived plainly by his desiring me to explain whether the twenty thousand pounds reserved to the privy purse was intended to be kept from coming hither he apprehended. To which I answered that it was no way imagined to divert that sum, but perhaps more may be added to it, so the people might see the intention was not to drain Ireland so as to make it anyways defray the charge of England, but what they should give would be employed to the ends before mentioned. I beseech you to be careful not to grate upon so sore a place, as I told you this would be when you writ to Mr. Secretary upon that subject. The other part of his discourse was about the twenty companies, which I said you would be glad to have, and some reasonable time before the Parliament meeting, which you did believe would be an evidence that their aids would be applied to their own benefits. He desired I would know the King's pleasure soon, so that something might be resolved upon. I answered him I would do it with all possible speed, and that if he pleased to give me the opportunity, I would do it in his presence. This was left dubious, and as I see cause I shall alone or before him let the King know your mind. I was told he had some designs of accusing my Lord of Buckingham, and upon my assuring him that I would be as zealous in that as he could be, he said he was not out of hopes of procuring something very material against him. This he pleased to keep secret; for I undertook, whatsoever happened, that it should not be divulged by me.

I here send you papers relating to those unfortunate men who lately suffered; and though they may have suffered according to the forms of law, yet I believe them altogether innocent of the part laid to their charge.

I had an extreme kind letter from the Prince of Orange congratulating my return, and assuring me he was not only very much ashamed that my establishments were not settled, but that he would not rest till they were perfected. He made a present of six thousand ducats in gold to Overkirk without being solicited. The Princess, I am afraid is not with child, though they all expect her lying in within a month.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 22. Whitehall.—The gentleman your Grace sent express with your deputation to the several Lords for swearing the Parliament men arrived here two days since, and it is delivered to my Lord Privy Seal. I must confess the parting with your staff seemeth to me to have great inconvenience attending it, both in relation to His Majesty and yourself. But it is what the King heareth only particular counsels in, and, though it is everywhere talked of, it is nowhere avowed. The world hath generally parted my seals and me, but His

Majesty has not yet signified any such resolution to me, and I am in the state your Grace left me, only so much older, and consequently more disposed to a retirement, which will neither injure nor displease me, so it be not with any mark of His Majesty's displeasure, and he hath lately promised me that shall not be at any time. The great choice now approaches, and I suppose a little time will show what we have to hope or fear. I send your Grace an extract of Mr. Bristowe's last letter. I send likewise His Majesty's letter in recommendation of Sir Nicholas Armorer, but that for Doctor Smith came too late.

ORMOND to the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1678-9, February 22. Dublin.—The first assurance I had of your Lordship's being Secretary of State was by yours of the 15th of this month, else I had sooner congratulated that mark of His Majesty's favour and trust, as I now very heartily do. The letter your Lordship mentions concerning the revenue of this kingdom ordered at a meeting in the Treasury Chamber was not, as I suppose, prepared when you writ. When it shall come to my hands I will, by your Lordship, give His Majesty the best account I can of his commands. There lie many despatches and representations concerning that matter with the Lords of the Council, my Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary Coventry, which I suppose the interposition of other affairs of nearer and greater consequence has not allowed time for. Yet it is my duty still to acquaint His Majesty with the state of this kingdom, and to attend his leisure for the signification of his pleasure. Many things which sufficiently manifest that the ill-humours reigning in England is conveyed hither I omit to trouble His Majesty with, choosing rather to endeavour to assuage the distemper and to prevent the prejudice it may do, than to molest him fruitlessly with every circumstance of that nature. I wish your Lordship all happiness and success in your present station.

Copy

SIR JAMES SHAEN'S MEMORANDUM on the STATE OF
THE REVENUE.

1678-9, February 22.—Mr. Ryder went yesterday, and Mr. Stannion this day for Ireland. The latter carries with him materials to induce the Lieutenant to continue the commission, that is, preserve the farm according to the latitude given him by His Majesty's last letter. In pursuance to the Farmers' agreement with Mr. Ryder that for his own, Mr. Gurney's and Mr. Jones' shares he should be paid what remained due from the farm to him of his original advance, and lent money with Irish interest from the time of payment to the repayment thereof, Mr. Ryder did appoint one of those that had half a share with him to prepare and draw up an account between us, which he did, and delivered duplicates to him and us, with liberty to either party to make their exceptions. By that

account the original money remaining due unto Ryder and those concerned with him did amount to £16,662 7s. 6d. ; but by that the exceptions given in by the Farmers, the same was reduced to £8,825 16s. 1d., the particulars whereof shall be sent by this next post. But Mr. Ryder, finding how his noble was like to be brought to ninepence, and that *bona fide* there was not so much due to him from the farm as the money he borrowed from others, broke off abruptly, and unknown to us betook himself to extraordinary means to force us to comply with him on his own terms, and hath obtained His Majesty's letter without our being summoned or heard ; and, it is reported, is fortified with other strong recommendations to his Grace. We hope that the same reasons which induced his Grace to support the farm hitherto will prevail with him to protect it against the storm, especially considering the matter is left unto his own breast.

Since Ryder flew off, his said partner, John Stannion, (who was both ashamed of Ryder's carriage and assured that Ryder, who had grossly abused him by concealing his withdrawing of his money, would both ruin it, himself and partner), hath sold us his interest in the farm, whereby Ryder's original money in the farm is reduced unto £5,575 16s. 1d., and Mr. Sheridan tells us that when he makes up his account he will surcharge Ryder with above £3,000, which will bring Ryder's original money to a Welshman's button. The copy of the assignment from John to Lawrence Stannion is here enclosed.

Before Shaen left Ireland the Lord Lieutenant asked him his advice, not as a Farmer, but as his friend, what Shaen would do if he were in case, to which he answered : " That which was safest for the King and best for the kingdom " ; and the Farmers could not do amiss which begot the order of the 22nd of March and other rules which have preserved the revenue hitherto. And because Shaen is not there now, he doth enclosed send his naked thoughts what he would do if he were in the Lord Lieutenant's case upon this occasion, which Shaen will incline his partners to comply withal, and submit to so much thereof as his Grace shall think fit to enjoin them to observe ; but his partners will take it ill if they know this came from Shaen. But this is lent for the King and Kingdom, and all the Farmers who mean honestly, and will answer all objections.

If the enclosed account of the revenue for the first three years, as it certainly is [] there is a fair prospect of the farm, it would not be amiss if the truth thereof were thoroughly examined by the Commissioners and Inspectors, and Ryder's and Gurney's objections (if any) to it put in writing, examined and reported.

The paper intended to have been sent this post under the Earl of Ossory's letter was shown him, but, being late, cannot be transcribed time enough to go this post. Nobody must see that paper nor this, or the expedient, but the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Chancellor, Stone and Reynolds, if it be thought fit, under promise of secrecy, to avoid inconveniences.

There is nothing but the damned disappointment of Ryder's in flying from his bargain (which I always expected he would and never really intended it), but if the Government stand by us he will be forced to it, for all his friends here and brothers there will desert him if he be not advised by them to take his money). I say Ryder's not going off is the only thing that hinders our proceeding in this affair we so long and often discoursed of; for all things else are in a readiness, which will prove much more to His Majesty's service than Heron's proposal, of which I pray send me a copy.

The execution of these expedients will satisfy the Government that the Farmers of our party are honest men, and the farm in a good condition, and His Majesty is secure; and, therefore, though it seems an imposition on the Farmers and a distrust of them, yet nothing can do them more right than a true knowledge of all things relating to the farm. Neither can anything be more for the vindication of the Government, whose reports and representations have not met with that due respect and credit which they deserved.

The first part of the expedients are agreeable to, and, indeed, directed by the order of the Council of 22nd March, 1678-9, and the second part is according to his Grace's intentions in the latter end of the letter to the Lord [] 5th November, 1678, and the King's last letter was sent by Ryder in order to the full knowledge of the state and condition of the Farm, and of the solvent and insolvent arrears.

The two thousand men, from the first of May next, if this continue only as they are at present, may be constantly paid with the present revenue over and above the present establishment; but *majora canamus*, of which by the next.

All this bustle which Ryder makes is in short to get Pigott, who is neither a patentee nor really concerned in the farm, either in profit or loss, nor without consent of the seven Farmers (which he will never get) cannot be a Commissioner, to be put in the Commission, and Shaen, Muschamp and Neill, who are patentees, and by Ryder's own covenants are to be Commissioners, to be left out, and one that he may have a quorum of three to do what he pleases with the farm and Farmers, which may prove above £100,000 damage to His Majesty. And it is believed the man is not worth £1,000 in the world, and *impar negotio*. And if this Commission should be vacated because it is illegal, all the present and former Farmers, and their officers, wives and children, are ruined.

ORMOND to [EARL OF OSSORY.]

1678-9, February 25. Dublin.—I have both yours of the 18th with my Lord of Essex his remarks upon the commission, wherein he states the matter very right, and just as it has been stated from hence upon former occasions, as might have appeared at the Treasury Chambers if Mr. Secretary Coventry had been there, or if the despatches from hence upon

that subject had been called for and considered. I have seen a copy of the letter intended to be sent hither concerning the commission in question, and the whole farm, and do conceive it to be a draught of Mr. Ryder's or his counsel's, and not produced from any deliberate consideration of the whole matter as it stands represented from hence. When it comes I shall in a short time lay before His Majesty all that may give him light from this side on that affair. I am well assured of Sir James Shaen's respects and friendship to me, and he shall find I am very sensible of it as occasion shall serve. It will be enough that you assure my Lord of Essex of the value I set on his friendship and on the assistance he is so ready to afford me in this Government.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 25.—Just as the King was at supper he commanded me to let you know that he would send you over twenty foot companies with all possible speed. I showed him the paper you gave me for to help my memory, so that he knows fully your mind. How they will be paid will be your business to consider, if orders be not sent you for calling a Parliament. I wish you would contrive any way to do this without touching that fund laid aside for the building of Windsor or other privy uses. Of this I spoke largely in my last; and shall now give you no further trouble. Mr. Hungerford desires you to permit his brother the Captain to come hither for a short time, it importing much to them both.

[REV. PETER] DRELINCOURT* to ORMOND.

1678-9, Février, le 27. A Oxford.—Monseigneur, quelque vif et quelque profond ressentiment que j'aye de l'honneur et de la grace que vôtre grandeur m'a faite en me donnant la conduite de Monseigneur vôtre petit-fils: cependant la crainte que j'aye de vous faire perdre quelques uns de ces précieux moments que vôtre grandeur emploie si utilement pour la gloire et la conservation de tout un grand royaume, m'empêcheroit de mettre la main à la plume pour vous en rendre mes très humbles remerciements, comme je fais à présent, si ce n'étoit en même tems pour vous dire des nouvelles de l'état, et de la santé de milord James, et selon l'avis que my lord Arlington m'a fait l'honneur de me donner à Londres, d'informer votre grandeur de vôtre arrivée et de nôtre reception en cette ville. Mon jeune seigneur y arriva la semaine derniere en très bonne parfaite santé, fort gay et fort vif, comme il est à présent,

* Peter Drelincourt (1644-1722) author of 'Les Consolations de l'Âme contre les Frayeurs de la Mort' (Geneva 1669), a work better known in its English dress through its association with Defoe's 'Apparition of Mrs. Veal.') Drelincourt later became chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, and was subsequently appointed Dean of Armagh.

grace à Dieu. Mr. nôtre Excellent Doyen nous fit l'accueil le plus obligeant du monde, et nous donne les meilleurs logements que nous pouvions souhaiter dans le Collège, et milord James couche dans la chambre où le Roi déffunt couche pendant tout le séjour qu'il fit autresfois icy durant les guerres civiles. Milord est fort content de demeurer icy autant qu'il plaira à vôtre grandeur. Il est plus gay et plus robuste que je ne l'ay jamais veu, et sans le flatter, il me paroît aussy joly et aussy aimable enfant qui se puisse. Il est fort doux, et de fort bon naturel, et jusques icy, j'ay fait de lui tout ce que j'ai voulu. Il est déjà sur un meilleur pied que celui où il étoit avant son arrivée à Oxford. J'ay commençay non seulement à le fortifier dans son latin, qu'il faut que j'avoue qu'il avoit un peu oublié ; mais aussy à le conduire doucement à la partie des mathématiques qui est le plus facile, et qu'il peut entendre à le age où il est. Il apprend a conter aisement et en peu temps les nombres les plus grands, à quoi il réussit déjà fort bien, et il me semble que cela n'est pas inutile à une personne de sa qualité. Je prends soin de le faire écrire chaque jour, afin de fortifier sa main, dont il n'avoit pas l'exercer souvent jusques icy, à cause de l'incommodité qu'il y avoit. Il doit commencer bientôt l'histoire et la géographie, dont il a eu quelques petits commencements. Son précepteur qui est un homme savant vient l'enseigner tous les jours ; nous nous aydons l'un l'autre. J'ay soin que milord employe bien son temps avec luy, et de luy faire apprendre et de luy rendre aisé et facile ce qu'il faut qu'il apprenne. Je tasche a luy inspirer outre les sentiments d'honneur de vertu, à faire un bon usage de son argent, et, a le dépenser à propos Mr. nôtre Doyen m'a donné les contes de la dépence qui à été faite en garnissant les logements de milord, et en luy achetant ce qui étoit absolument nécessaire dans le Collège. Je les ay envoyé à Sir Robert Southwell. Pour ce qui est des trente livres sterling qui m'ont été mises entre les mains, on de ce qui me pourra être confie cy après j'espère s'il plait a Dieu en garder et en rendre un si bon conte, qu'il ne s'y trouvera rien de manque. Je demande très humblement pardon à votre grandeur si je vous entretiens si longtems. Permettez moi cependant d'avouer que je fais continuellement des voeus très ardents pour la santé et la prospérité de votre grandeur, et que par mon assiduité, mes soins et mon zèle pour le service et pour le bien de monseigneur votre excellent fils, je me rendray le moins indigne que je pourrez du précieux depos qui m'a été confié si obligeamment.*

French.

REV. JOHN NICHOLAS† to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 27. Oxford.—This opportunity of acquainting your Grace that the Convocation has obeyed your letter for Mr. Solicitor Finch‡ has made it my duty [to inform you] he

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

† Warden of New College, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

‡ See page 618 *infra*.

was this day chosen burgess, although not without some disputes that required a better management than his who is now in your Grace's service. There is none that more readily employs his strength in the rules your Grace prescribes him. But now two years' experience almost has satisfied this place that you want a fitter agent. Wherefore I cannot but crave that your Grace would make some inquiry after another that this place might less suffer by. By which your Grace would find one conveniency, that for a shorter time the burden would be more willingly embraced. This proposition attends your Grace so early because I know at this distance inquiry is necessary that the person you recommend may be worthy your approbation. Whomsoever your Grace is pleased to require of, I must say that no person is so unfit to succeed as is the same Vice-Chancellor to be continued; who hath no preferment or estate to fit me for one year's employment, and therefore hope your Grace will accept of two, and not require of me what no consideration enables me to bear but that 'tis the commands of him that none more honours than your Grace's, etc.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 27. Oxford.—Having an opportunity of writing by an express messenger, a good and learned man, of our next neighbour College, whose relations and business call him over to Ireland, I lay hold of this occasion to signify to your Excellency that my Lord James is now perfectly settled and a gownman among us. And his first diversions of seeing the place being over we begin to fall into a method of study, which we shall endeavour to make so easy and pleasant that he shall have no cause to prefer the diversions of idleness before it. He begins with very good courage, and has the company of ingenious and diligent young noblemen of his age and stature, so that I hope he may continue to do everything that may tend to his own advantage, and your Excellency's and his other friends' both ample and lasting satisfaction. By God's help I shall not omit any performance which may contribute to this most desirable end.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 28. Whitehall.—Mr. Ryder being to go for Ireland I could not refuse the recommending of his person to your Grace, though I doubt not but he is sufficiently known to you already. Concerning his negotiations here he will best acquaint you himself, for I have not of late been invited into any of those meetings. We are very busy now in preparing for the next Session of Parliament. What the temper of it will be I dare not divine. But I believe it will not be so easy as we, at least, would desire, and it may not be so morose and intractable as many believe. I do not find the preparations in France are so great as they were reported, and Mr. Brisban is still very confident that there is no preparations big enough for such a general apprehension.

EARL OF ORRERY to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1678-9, February 28. Castlemartyr.—I most humbly thank your Grace for the favour of yours of the 25th and the paper which was in it. One of my letters adds that not only in the point of fortifying Naarden the towns of Holland have stuck to the Prince, but that they have some thoughts to resent some high carriages of that city.

Since, as your Grace writes, many believe the French design their army for Ireland, is it not undoubtedly advisable to put the kingdom into the best posture it can be put into, and that without delay? 'Tis hardly to be with reason believed that they will engage in such a design but on assurance of a great party in this place either to join with them at their landing or to surprise some good places at remote distances for them against they come, or a little before their invasion. And how easy that is to be effected is but too apparent, since I know no considerable seaport in this province or near it but has many more Irish Papists (and that of the loosest sort, apt for any mischief) even within the walls, than there are soldiers and Protestant inhabitants; except the city of Cork, which though within its walls it is pretty free from such dangerous people, yet the suburbs north and south are stuffed with them. Limerick especially, Waterford, Kinsale, Youghal, Dungarvan, Galway, have crowds of that sort of people. Then as to the country, especially westward and northward, what their numbers and strengths are cannot be unknown to his Excellency and your Grace, and what their inclinations are is but too evident. For the heads of their septs live amongst them, though for the last rebellion they have forfeited their estates. And in such parts generally the Romish clergy of this province, who have disobeyed the late proclamations by not removing out of the kingdom, conceal themselves. And when the bulk of the common people are influenced by their lay chiefs and by their spiritual guides, how ready will they be for rebellion, especially if to those two powerful [motives] there be the accession of a French invasion, accompanied with declarations of restoring them to their forfeited estates, and their clergy to their honours, dignities and revenues ecclesiastical, according to the articles of that peace of which some of them brag the French King is the guarantee, and whom two of their bishops do still attend to mind him of it, and to press him to act for it accordingly.

And when to all the dangers from our enemies, foreign and domestic, our present sad fortune is thoroughly considered in all the parts of it, and which is but too well known to the discontented Papists, it may well and loudly call for speedy and effectual resolutions, which I doubt not are taking by those in authority on this fresh alarm, which seems but too well grounded; the general peace being made and signed by the greatest enemies of France, and which consequently must necessitate the less to hasten on their own agreement. And then the sudden disbanding of those vast forces the French King has will cut him out work at home, if he does not cut out work for them abroad; and where

abroad is there room to do it unless in His Majesty's dominions, for with all others he has, or will have, newly made peace. And too probably he may resent our having not only helped his late enemies, but also our having recalled those of His Majesty's subjects which we had formerly lent to his assistance; to which may be added not only our having so provoked him doubly, but also our not being in a posture to resist the effects of his resentments for such provocations, which last may be at least as operative with him as the former, since princes are most prone to revenge when they can attempt it with little hazard, and have more than hopes successfully to act.

And indeed, my Lord, what part of this European world lies more hopefully fair for his invasion than Ireland, or will be of greater use to him than Ireland will be, should he get it. For thereby not only he would be master of the best harbours in the world, to obstruct all the best harbours and navigation of it, but also he would as it were tie up the hands of England and Scotland from helping his enemies in case of future wars (which are not out of prospect since such a shameful peace is huddled up that the princes which made it will endeavour by arms again to recover the territories and honour they have lost by it, when they have taken a little breath), I say tie up His Majesty's hands, having Ireland for a back door to infest England or Scotland should our King interpose again in helping his enemies; besides the lasting war which the loss of Ireland would too probably entail on England till it be again restored to the rightful king of it.

Two things more seem to be motives, and powerful ones, to his attempting this kingdom (to omit others of less weight), that what ever else he should conquer it must drain his own country and men to maintain what he has subdued. For the subjects of all other princes of Europe (whether Protestant or Papist) had rather live under government of their lawful sovereign than under that of the French. But 'tis doubtful generally if the forfeiting Irish had rather live under the French yoke than under their natural King's government, for by their rebellion having forfeited their estates, and the King having by law disposed of them, they cannot expect to be restored by him, but may, nay do, to be restored by the French, together with the addition of the Protestant estates. Nor can they expect from His Majesty an allowance of the pomps of their religion, nor of the revenues ecclesiastic; but will expect both from the French, and in consequence will be for him who will do more for them, especially when their spiritual guides preach conscience, and their wives, children and dependants preach interest to incite them to it. Lastly the French [King] wants men, and Ireland (if he become master of it) can best supply him of any kingdom in Europe, for that his conquest here will get him armies, but any where else will swallow up armies to maintain.

I know not how I have been drawn on to write this long letter on this subject, but since I have written I dare not in duty but send it. A sure hand has positively writ to me that Sir John Narbrough and his fleet are sent for home, and it is an evidence

unless we were certain of troubles on our coasts we would not neglect guarding our trade in the Mediterranean, on which our honour and our profit does so much depend. God guide his Excellency's counsels, and the counsels of those in authority in this Government, and send that they may be speedy and for the best, for should Ireland be the design you will not have much time left to look about. I wish the elections may be as advantageous as some think they will be. A few days will now probably give us rises to guess by.

Postscript:—If your Grace think it fit, be pleased to read this letter to my Lord Lieutenant.

Endorsed:—Copy of my Lord Orrery's letter to my Lord Chancellor, ult. February, 1678-9: received out of Ireland 19th March, 1679.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 28. Oxford.—I yesterday gave your Excellency an account of my Lord James, his being perfectly settled in this place. Since that time the election of our Burgesses being past, wherein you were pleased to interpose, I make bold to signify that according to your Excellency's recommendation we have chosen the King's Solicitor, Mr. Finch, and also in pursuance of your command, put Mr. Bouchier in possession of Alban Hall. The bearer hereof* informing me that by your singular favour he is received into your Excellency's service, I am in his behalf, and their own University's, to acknowledge this repeated instance of your patronage and goodness to us, adding my heartiest prayers for the continuance and increase of all honour and blessing to yourself and family.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, March 1. Dublin.—The last post brought me more from you. By the next I expect what Sir James Shaen promises will much inform me concerning the revenue here.† Mr. Ryder is arrived, and has brought with him the King's letter for vacating the present Commission by which the Farmers act; but it is left to me to represent my thoughts, if I find any detriment like to of the revenue of Ireland is now in the hands of my Lord Treasurer, come to His Majesty by putting his commands in present execution. Haste is required, but I must take time enough to make a return in so delicate a matter and for which I may be answerable. Since you have not all this while found time to show the King the paper I put into your hands, I fear you will henceforth find less opportunity. I am sorry you omitted it. I send you the copy of a letter of intelligence which was sent from hence into England.

* The letter is endorsed in Ormond's hand "by Mr. Hinde": doubtless Rev. Thos. Hinde, of Brasenose, who in this year became Ormond's domestic chaplain, and Precentor of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and who a year later was appointed Dean of Limerick.

† See p. 330 *supra*.

What may be said in refutation is in the hands of Sir Robert Southwell. I have not leisure to be punctual in every particular, which would require a volume.

THOMAS PRICE, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL* to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 1. Cashel.—I received a letter lately from Dr. Andrew Sall from Christ Church College in Oxenford, whereby I perceive that his infirmities do continue and so prevail over him that hitherto he hath not been able to travel, otherwise he had been here ere this, where his desire is to spend the remainder of his days, hoping that (by God's help) he might be an instrument of reducing some of his seduced countrymen from the darkness and ignorance wherein they have been bred unto the knowledge and acknowledgment of the Gospel. For this it was that he excused himself unto His Majesty for refusing preferment in England, which by His Majesty was proffered to him, of which he writes that your Grace hath been informed by his Grace, the good Lord Primate Margetson. Whereupon he grounded great hopes that your Grace would have had him in your thoughts as occasion should offer. But seeing that there has been so many vacancies lately and that no provision is made for him, he concludes that it so cometh to pass because my Lord Primate is dead, who promised to put your Grace in mind of him, being now in want and destitute of means to provide remedies for his distemper. Surely our adversaries will take notice of the small encouragement such as may be persuaded to come over unto us may expect, when a person of such eminency as Dr. Sall amongst them shall be so little regarded. All this I leave to your Grace's serious consideration. I beseech Almighty God to be your guide in all things. God keep us.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 1.—To-morrow morning an officer of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment will be despatched to you, giving notice that his regiment is to embark at Harwich in order to their transportation to Kinsale or Cork, or both places if one is not big enough to quarter them upon their landing; and by your pleasure they may have notice before they leave their ships. The day proposed for their setting forth, weather permitting, is the 8th of this month. I wished this recruit had rather consisted of English than Scotch. But the King was positive in this matter, saying that no reasonable man could have jealousy of those who forsook good fortunes in France on account of their loyalty, and who consisted of soldiers and officers all of our religion, and who were so well disciplined, and whose behaviour had been so good as he was resolved to be so far from parting with them as he would have

* Thomas Price (1600-1685), Archbishop of Cashel, 1667-1685. Sall who had been provincial Superior of the Jesuits in Ireland, became a member of the Anglican communion largely through the instrumentality of the Archbishop, by whom he was in this year appointed Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Cashel.

them have all manner of encouragement. Besides he added that if the rest of the army would lay aside pride and laziness, faults natural to the Papists, and learn from them the use of arms, the whole army might be much benefited by their having among them so good and so old a body of men. The charge and detail you will receive by the officer despatched from my Lord of Dumbarton. The King intends to send you as many as to make up the number of ten thousand, but this consideration he has deferred for a time.

You will hear of a journey the Duchess intends on Monday next into Holland upon account of visiting the Princess of Orange before her lying-in. I have it from good hands, though not from the Duke, that it is in order to his following soon after, and that upon a friend of his arguing upon the whole matter he only replied "What can be done since it is the King's pleasure?" By this you will see how uncertain all men are of their present stations. I hear not in the least of any purpose of removing you from any of your employments; but the course you have taken in preparing for all such changes is certainly most prudent, especially in such times as these. I beg of you to keep secret this latter part of my letter. Guesses of what I write you may have from many, but I believe you will not have it authentically from any other hand. My Lord Chamberlain would have writ to you had he anything of moment to impart to you.

ORMOND to GEORGE MATHEW.

1678-9, March 1.—I know not what to judge of affairs in England. The elections are not so bad as we feared, nor so good as some hoped. I think Monarchy will not be struck at the root, but I fear it will be very close lopped. I am in hope the Duke has found his error and will return to our Church. He has admitted the conversation of some of our bishops, as it is said upon that point, and I believe so, for I know not what other business he could have with them. The discourse of my parting with my Steward's place is very public in England, and I think does me no hurt or my Lord Treasurer much good; but my son Ossory does not say the matter is any farther advanced.

Copy.

RICHARD ALDWORTH to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 3. Newmarket [Co. Cork].—In obedience to your Grace's commands at my late being at Dublin, laid on Capt. John St. Leger and me, I now presume on this boldness to acquaint your Grace that on Saturday last one Mr. Teige Callaghan came to me, and in the presence of another justice of the peace did very seriously inform me that in some late discourse which he and one Lieut. John Chinnery (a justice of the peace of this county) had about the Dublin Apprentices' late design of putting down the Mass-houses there, the said Chinnery said your Grace had done ill in suppressing or preventing that design of those Apprentices, and that your Grace will be questioned or called to account for it,

or words to that purpose, Which being spoken in way of a saucy and censorious reflection on your Grace's actions, I thought it my duty to inform your Grace herewith, humbly craving your Grace's order, if you think fit, for my taking the said Teige Callaghan's said information upon oath, to be suddenly afterwards transmitted to you.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 4. Whitehall.—Mr. Secretary having been confined to his bed by the gout these five or six days, whereby he is disabled from writing to your Grace, makes me presume to trouble you with news which I presume will be as surprising to your Grace as it is to us here, viz.: that yesterday His Royal Highness, together with the Duchess and most part of their family, embarked for Holland. The Duchess's journey was talked of several days before, but it was not known that His Royal Highness would accompany her till Sunday, at which time His Majesty wrote him a letter desiring him to go with all convenient speed. I presume their stay in Holland will be no longer than to see how the Parliament approves of this matter, and then accordingly to take their measures. Yesterday in public Council His Majesty was pleased to declare and sign under his hand that he was never contracted to any other woman, but only to his present wife Queen Catherine, which doth generally give satisfaction to people's minds upon that point.

The letter from your Grace and Council concerning the state put there by His Majesty's order. His Lordship told me he would speedily examine into that matter, so as there might be an answer resolved in a post or two; but I presume the meeting of the Parliament will supersede all other business. My Lord Longford has just now returned from Surrey where he has lost his election, though he has spent, I believe, at least £1,500 or £2,000; but is pretty well comforted that he lost it by tricks and foul play, and not for want of interest.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 4.—I received this morning your letter of the 25th of the last month, which was an answer to some of mine. Sir Robert Southwell will inform you of my son being established at Oxford, and of what passed yesterday at Council upon the King's declaring and ordering to have an entry made in the books, his declaring with asseveration and formality that he was never contracted or married but to any Queen Catherine his present wife. The Duke commanded me to assure you of his being a constant friend to you and yours and to send you the enclosed. I left him last night at Gravesend, there being but two yachts, one for the Duchess the other for himself. The wind blew high and directly against them. I am in much apprehension for the Duchess, who is not well in her health, which joined to her great affliction and the terrible sharpness of the weather may,

I fear, hazard her falling into some dangerous sickness. To see them go away on the sudden moved very much compassion. I hope from thence some mitigation and sober counsels may arise to diminish the hardness of their condition. The King went this day to see a new ship, the *Windsor Castle*, launched.

From my Lord Ranelagh you will have a long account of the expense of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment, which is to embark very soon. It is an admirable body of men, but I could have wished rather they had been English. I doubt not many will attack them upon account of religion, but they have all taken the oaths, and cannot reasonably be suspected to love France, having quitted it to their loss.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 7. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Graces of the 2nd inst., I have [learned the recommendations] of those Lords to whom the King committed the consideration of the points in your letter of the 22nd of January concerning the things likely to be demanded and fitting to be proposed in Parliament, which are the following:—

1. His Majesty resolveth a Parliament shall be called in Ireland as soon as the necessary forms will allow it.
2. That in it the Decrees of the Court of Claims may be confirmed by Act of Parliament.
3. That means may be found to free the entails from the vexation of Commissions of Inquiry.
4. That there may be a remission of all debts and forfeitures due to the Crown, but a particular care taken that this so doing may not bring demand of defalcations upon His Majesty, or at least, if it do, that the *quantum* of that be ascertained, and His Majesty informed of it.
5. That all ease that can be reasonably desired be given the people from the vexatious clauses in the Chimney Acts.
6. That such Acts be prepared for the settling and securing the Protestant religion as shall be approved by the Lord Lieutenant and Council.

For the other side His Majesty expects from the Parliament a grant of subsidy, which he is willing shall be wholly and entirely appropriated to the building and repairing of the fortifications, and the furnishing of stores; and therefore leaveth the naming of the sum necessary for those uses to your Graces and the Council with you.

Upon many accounts His Majesty finds it also lately necessary to increase his army in that kingdom, that when it is so there will be the less need, upon any sudden occasion, to arm either the Scots, the Nonconformists, or the old Militia: none of which can be done without some danger. He judgeth that seven thousand men effective, besides officers, is the number he would constantly maintain there. He

estimates that increase of men cannot be maintained without an addition of between thirty thousand and forty thousand a year to his constant revenue. Therefore he requireth that your Grace and the Council prepare one or more Acts for imposing such new and additional duty upon commodities exported or imported as may increase the revenue to that yearly sum, still provided that care be taken that no rash impositions may either prejudice the trade of that kingdom, or entitle the Farmers to a demand of defalcations. In the preamble of such Act or Acts His Majesty is willing it should be declared that what is thereby granted is the better to enable him constantly to support such an army there; and for the further satisfaction of the people that he desires the increase of his revenue for that only use, he would have orders given out before the meeting of Parliament for raising the recruits necessary. His Majesty likewise desireth your advice whether it will be more advisable to increase the army by filling up the old companies, or by raising new ones, and that you send an estimate of the charge along with your advice.

His Majesty is fully resolved to employ that part of his new revenue which is made over to repay the money lent by Mr. Bridges for the constant supply of his stores there, and such other public arrears as shall be thought necessary, the said repayment and such other debts which must unavoidably come upon it being first cleared.

ORMOND to [EARL OF OSSORY].

1678-9, March 6.—I hope my other letter of this date will not displease you or anybody else that shall see it. Unless in my Lord of Ranelagh's behalf I come not near the money that must not be touched to save a kingdom, neither do I endeavour to set a value upon the skill I must use to provide for the twenty companies there being no stock for it, a thing much harder to do in such a time as this than if there were an actual war. Besides what I have proposed in my other letter, I wish the officers that shall be sent away be well chosen, and that if it be possible one company be sent without a Captain, that Sir Nicholas Armorer, who is designed by the King to command the new fort near Kinsale, may be put at the head of it.

I know not well how to understand my Lord Treasurer in two particulars. He has long had a great mind, and so have both the King and the Duke, that the management of the farm of the revenue should be put into the hands of Mr. Ryder and his party, who are in a state of war with Sir James Shaen and his friends who now have it. It is to me most indifferent who does it, only I incline to Mr. Ryder because the King does. But I am not willing to advise to have it done in breach of covenants under the Great Seal, nor to be answerable for the disorder the shifting of heads may produce, especially at a time when trade is become very low. And yet my Lord Treasurer will suppose that if I stick at changing the hands (if the Farmers break as they are more

like to do than to hold) I must be in the fault ; and if by changing the hands any inconvenience shall happen, or if those who shall be put into the management shall break, which they may do as well and perhaps sooner than the other, I must also be answerable for that if I comply with the King's declared inclination. This is a difficulty I think scarce fairly put upon me. The other seems to be no less ensnaring, but rather more, concerning my calling a Parliament here, the delay of which he would fix upon my advice ; but how unjustly will best appear to you by the copy of his letter and my answer, which you will receive herewith, to be made use of only when my Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary, and you, shall think necessary.

I have acquainted Sir Cyril Wyche with the King's purpose of sending twenty companies over, and, have thought it necessary to speak of it here, so that there is no secret nor in any degree displeasing here.

SAME to SAME.

1678-9, March 6. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 22nd of the last by Barrington, and that of the 26th by this post ; and though the latter something surprises me, because I never proposed the sending of any reinforcements to this army but upon a supposition that a Parliament would be called here, yet I will not raise difficulties, nor trouble His Majesty with those I foresee I shall meet with to provide payment for the twenty companies he thinks fit to send, but apply myself the best I can to prepare for their reception. I shall only beseech His Majesty to remember that there being yet no surplusage of funds to answer this increase of charge, it must necessarily follow that, till there be, the rest of the army must fall into a proportionable arrear, which it is my work to persuade them presently to bear ; for if this should be forgotten it may hereafter fall out, as heretofore it has done, that my Lord of Ranelagh, or some dexterous projector that would have a good office, to obtain it may come with a specious undertaking which shall appear like a plain demonstration of former mismanagement, gain the place, and after five years trust to providence and dexterity to shift the examination of the performance.

In order to the receiving and dispersing of these men I desire that I may as soon as possible be informed when they will be ready to march towards the place or places of embarkation, that they come with their arms and new red coats and hats ; for if their clothes be worn out they may suffer much this next winter, and will be in worse condition in that particular than the rest of the army ; that the whole twenty companies may be landed in the West betwixt Kinsale and Waterford, including those two ports, because that is the most important part of the kingdom, and there is the greatest apprehension of an invasion, as may partly appear by the copy of a letter from my Lord of Orrery to my Lord Chancellor intended also for me.*

* See p. 336 *supra*.

I send Mr. Secretary Coventry some letters to gain me as much credit as I can have without money, and to justify some payments I have been forced to make by His Majesty's command beyond the Establishment, of which the greatest part was for the Northern expedition the last year. It will be considered that the bare pay of this recruit will not be the only charge it will bring. They must in time be again clothed, and they will immediately increase the consumption of ammunition of which our stores are ill provided. I choose to write shortly on this occasion, because I guess my letter will come in a time of much business. When I first proposed the sending of twenty companies, I showed that five hundred supernumerary soldiers might be distributed under the command of the officers, to be taken out here and set to the several companies of the army in place of so many old and un-serviceable men, which I still wish should be done.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 8. London.—The hopes and expectations of being befriended with some justifiable excuse of either news or business to give countenance to my addresses to your Grace hath hitherto betrayed me to silence, and consequently exposed me to the suspicion of being guilty of an ungrateful neglect of my duty to your Grace. In my own defence, therefore, I must presume to give your Grace this trouble; in which (to render it the more tolerable) I shall wrap up as many pertinent papers as I have on the sudden gleaned together, presuming some may have escaped other hands. As for that which contains King James his charge to his judges, I the rather lay it before your Grace, because it was shewed to the King by a great Lord, to whom His Majesty gave this gracious answer: "As his grandfather had said, so he would do." And as for that paper which gives so romantic an account of Father Whitebread it needs this account to keep it company, that I am very well assured that it is literally true. As for the King's letter to the Duke, obliging his departure, though I cannot doubt but that last Tuesday's post conveys it from better hands to your Grace (since which time I came to town), yet (*ex abundante*) I presume to enclose it, never thinking I do enough (much less too much) where my employment aims at your Grace's service. I presume its being exposed to sight was part of the design of the letter, because the Duke not only communicated it to such Lords as paid him their farewell duty, but also permitted them to take copies of it, out of one of which I transcribed this. Certainly it was the most unexpected and most universal surprising circumstance that of late hath happened, not the dissolution of the last Parliament excepted. In the generality it hath given great satisfaction, as being a signal assurance that His Majesty will allow of no whispers to alien or withdraw him from Protestant counsels. Yet such is the toad-like temper of some amongst us (who turn all things though never so

wholesome, into poison) allowing it no better a construction than the removing of him out of the reach of justice, though themselves were the violent addressers for his removal from the King's presence. We are now got into our new Parliament almost (of which my brother, by the unanimous consent of the Corporation of Gloucester (with old Sergeant Seyss) is one member). On Thursday morning they met and, by your Grace's commission were sworn in the inner Court of Wards. Before noon the King summoned them up to the Lords' bar, where he entertained them with the enclosed gracious speech, and the Chancellor with this eloquent one. When those parts relating to Popery took their turn, they were echoed with great hums of applause, demonstrating that to be their greatest concern. As soon as they were returned within their walls, Colonel Birch anticipated Sir John Ernely (who was to propose Sir Tho. Meres for Speaker) and nominates the old Speaker with a blunt, subtle harangue on the experience they had of him, whose hypocritical denial and excuses served turn to give encouragement to Sir Tho. Lee and some other members to force his willing body into that desirable chair, and so adjourned till two in the afternoon yesterday. The King's hour of three being come the Black Rod fetched them up to present their Speaker, who saith he was the night before with the King, to acquaint him with the proceedings of the House, and to know His Majesty's pleasure, who owned great satisfaction in the choice the Commons had made. And accordingly, with a remarkable confidence (nay, beyond his own usual proportion) he delivered a short account to the King that in pursuance of His Majesty's commands, the Commons had met to choose their Speaker; and that he was the result of that choice, and that, if he pleased to approve of it he would serve both them and him as well as he could, omitting the usual form of pleading his infirmities to argue his being excused, which was much wondered at. But the Chancellor, having liberally magnified his great parts, and multiplied his signal services, closed with a "But that his Majesty designing him for other parts of his service, excused him from that, and commanded them to make a new choice by eleven this morning." This great surprise to most so warmed them, and they the rest, that as soon as they returned to the House debates grew high; but, to nip them in the bud, the House adjourned till this morning, ordering precedents to be searched, whether ever any Speaker had been so refused. Besides the offence many took at Mr. Seymour's haughty behaviour (as they called it), most were dissatisfied that he closed so roughly with these words, that if the King would approve of the choice he would serve them and him, not styling them so much as the Commons, nor him so much as the King, and postponing him to them, which though charity might have allowed to be a mistake in another, yet seeing it came from so florid a speaker, and was so all of a piece with the rest of his deportment, was ill enough taken from him. Yet this unexpected refusal of him in the morning, who was so

well received by the King but the night before (as he himself affirms and most believe, though for some reasons I am yet none of those), hath occasioned many satirical reflections on a friend of mine. This morning, when they met they found their task too hard for so sudden a despatch, and therefore sent this enclosed address by my Lord Russell, accompanied with my Lord Cavendish, Sir Robert Carr, and Sir Henry Capel, for longer time. The King used them so obligingly that they boasted of it to the House, lengthened their time till Tuesday, and did insinuate into them that the best expedient would be to decline both Seymour and Meres, and pitch upon some third person, which it is thought will be Powell, if a third person be admitted of. Thus, I have presumed to expose myself, if not to your Grace's approbation, yet I hope to your pardon. If during my residence in these parts I may in any way be useful to your Grace, there is no employment that can be more my duty, nor so much my delight or design.

Enclosures referred to in foregoing letter.

I.

KING JAMES [THE FIRST] HIS CHARGE TO THE JUDGES BEFORE THEY WENT THEIR CIRCUITS.

I protest with you, nothing can grieve me so much as men's taking away from religion in my days, and nothing so much joys me as when religion increaseth under me. God is my witness I speak nothing for vain glory, but speak it again; my heart is grieved when I hear recusants increase. Therefore I wish you judges to take it to heart as I do, and prevent it as you can, and make me known to my people as I am.

There are three sorts of recusants. The first are they that for themselves will be no recusants, but their wives and families are. And they themselves do come to church but once or twice in a year, as is forced by law, but more false to God than the other sort. The second sort are they that are recusants, and have their consciences misled, and therefore refuse to come to church; but otherwise live as peaceable subjects. The third sort are practising recusants. These force all their servants to be recusants with them; they will suffer none of their tenants but they must be recusants; and their neighbours, if they live by them in peace, must be recusants also. These you may find out as the fox by the foul smell a great way round his hole.

This is a high pride and presumption, that they for whose souls I must answer to God, and who enjoy their lives and liberties under my will, not only be recusants themselves, but infect and draw others after them. As I have said in the Parliament House, I can love the person of a Papist, being otherwise a good man and honestly bred, never having known any other religion. But the person of an apostate Papist I hate. And surely for those polypragmatic

Papists, I would you could study out some severe punishment for them. For they keep not infection in their own hearts only, but also infect others our good subjects.

And that which I say for recusants, the same I say for priests. I confess I am loath to hang a priest only for religion sake, and saying mass. But, if he refuse the oath of allegiance, which (let the Pope and all the devils in hell say what they will) yet (as I find by my book and divers others) is merely civil, those that so refuse the oath, and are poly-pragmatic recusants, I leave them to the law. It is no prosecution, but good justice. And those priests also that out of my grace and mercy have been let go out of prison, and banished on condition not to return, ask me no more questions touching those, quit me of them, and let me not hear of them. And to them I join those that break prison, for such priests as the prison will not hold, it is a plain sign that nothing will hold them but a halter. Such are no martyrs that refuse to suffer for their conscience. Paul, notwithstanding the doors were open, would not come forth; and Peter came not out of the prison till led by the angel of God. But these will go forth though with the angel of the devil.

II.

ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS to the KING.

That an application be made unto His Majesty to acquaint Her Majesty that this matter yesterday delivered by the Lord Chancellor, relating to Mr. Speaker, is of so great importance that the House cannot immediately come to a resolution therein, and therefore humbly desires His Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to grant some further time for this House to take the matter into consideration, and that the Lord Russell may attend His Majesty with this message.

III.

AN ACCOUNT OF HIM THAT GOETH BY THE NAME OF ARCHBISHOP WHITEBREAD IN A LETTER.

In answer to your request in two several letters to your brother, know the gentleman you mention (more than twenty years since) came to Oxford, under pretence of a Jew convicted by some eminent divines of the Presbyterian way in London; but in Oxford he pretended to a further light by joining with and hearing the several churches and services of Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, and some others of the Independent and Congregational way. But not steadfast there long (pretending the Apostles' rule, to try all things) he fell to the Anabaptists and thence to the Quakers, then challenging Dr. Owen and several others for their principles, wherefore it was thought worthy the consideration of the learned convocation there, by whom he was censured as a Jesuit, or some other Popish seminary, and thereupon imprisoned in the castle there, where he pre-

tended a distraction and personated the madman so exactly that in a few days some friends of his procured his liberty. I saw him several times running up and down the streets with his hat under his arm, and throwing at every small bird he saw. But ere long I met him at a Papist's house, where I heard him discourse very gravely, learnedly, and discreetly, where I got not only an acquaintance with him, but familiarity also, in so much that several times (in change of habit) he came to visit me, and several other young scholars, in Magdalen College; but at length, being again suspected, and like to be apprehended, he got privately away for London. I brought him five miles on his way, and so left him to his designs. In six months after business called me to London, where, after a day or two, I heard a report of a famous preacher amongst the Quakers near Charing Cross, and there met the same gentleman, so much saved, going to speak in an old fashioned pinked fustian jerkin, clouted shoes, breeches faced with leather, and a carter's whip in his hand, altogether disguised from my knowledge of him; but he knew me, and spake to me, renewing our acquaintance. At present he went about his intended work; the next day he came to my quarters in a neat habit of a London minister, and carried me to his lodgings with him, the precincts of the Middle Temple, where I had a good entertainment and a view of several strange habits, in which he disguised himself to the several sorts of people he insinuated himself into. I saw also his orders from the Roman Court, and an instrument wherein he was assured and ordered to receive of certain merchants £100 per annum, besides a yearly allowance of £80 per annum from his father. I am sure he was born at Wittenburg, his father's name was Jo. White, and in his writing is styled John Hans de Albo by the Court of Rome. He was both Jesuit and priest in orders. I went with him by water and visited some ships, and in one house in Southwark he celebrated the Mass in the Popish mode to more than forty; the same day he visited several Presbyterians and others, and I continued in his company the space of a month, till he was apprehended, and by a special order from the then Protector, imprisoned in the Tower of London, where I endeavoured, but was not permitted, to visit him. Two years after I understood by a friend of mine and his that he was freed from his durance within the space of six months, and within these four or five years (as near as my friend could judge) last past, tampering much with the Independents in and about London, and was seen several times by a friend of mine at Dr. Manton's private lectures in or near the Lord Wharton's house, still known by the name of John White. He speaks as good English as any native, and knows all cities, towns, villages and (in a manner) all hamlets in all or most part of England. Sir, this is the sum of the relation I made to your friend. I bless God I was never noosed in his snare, but rather confirmed in our Christian principles, in which, pray God, continue steadfast both you and your loving friend, J. W.

Endorsed—A minister of a rectory of the Church of England.

Undated

IV.

HIS MAJESTY'S LETTER to the DUKE OF YORK.

1678-9, February 28. Whitehall.—I have already given you my reasons at large why I think it fit you should absent yourself from me for some time beyond sea. As I am truly sorry for the occasion, so you may be sure I shall never desire it longer than it will be absolutely necessary both for your good and my service.

In the meantime I think it proper to give you notice under my hand that I expect this compliance from you, and desire it may be as soon as conveniently you can. You may easily believe with what trouble I write this to you, there being nothing I am more sensible of than the constant kindness you have ever had for me. And I hope that you are so just to me as to be assured that no absence, nor anything else, can ever change me from being truly and kindly yours,

Charles R.

Copy.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to EARL OF ORRERY.*

1678-9, March 8. Dublin.—I pay your Lordship my most hearty thanks for the honour of your Lordship's of the 28th of February, and beg your Lordship's pardon that I made not my acknowledgment thereof by the last post, for your letter came so late to my hands that I had not time to write before the post went out.

Your Lordship's opinion that the French King will send his forces into Ireland is founded upon such strength of meaning that I shall not pretend to argue it; nor can it be much our business to question it, since we ought to be prepared against it as well as we can, and to put ourselves into a posture not to be surprised as far as we are able. The enclosed paper, being an extract of a letter from our envoy in France, seems to lessen our apprehensions in that point, for that the great preparations in France are intended for other services, as they tell him. But suppose it should be otherwise it is not the first time that they have broke their word—witness their great attempt against Flanders. Besides Mr. Brisban's conclusions being often doubtful premises they can be but conjectural at the best, and he may be mistaken as well as others. I am therefore clearly of your Lordship's sense thus far, that we ought not to depend upon our enemies but upon ourselves for our own preservation. We ought to prepare ourselves as well as we can. Then the question to be considered at present is only this: supposing the French have an intendment to invade us, but we are uncertain of the time, whether this kingdom be not put into as good a condition of defence as it will

* Much importance seems to have been attached to this letter as a statement of the views of the Irish Government regarding the internal situation of Ireland at this time. No fewer than three copies of it are among the Ormond Papers.

bear at present, these following circumstances considered : that no war is actually declared ; that no monies can be raised but by Act of Parliament ; that the charge and discharge of the revenue is made over by the Establishment ; that many (very many) things may be wanting for lack of money which the Government cannot supply ; that by law and by instructions we are bound up to such rules and limitations which must not be transgressed ; and that the trade of this kingdom runs much lower since we have been invaded by the apprehensions of war than it did before. Notwithstanding these things the standing army is well paid, the militia is in a much better posture than ever it was, and so far improved in number that in several places of the country they begin already to find them burthensome. And such care is taken by the Government for the speedy supply of arms and ammunition, that although His Grace and Council have licensed merchants to bring in arms that might answer their desires that would have them, yet His Grace, not willing to depend upon them, hath procured a ship of arms and ammunition to be sent from London, which is already at sea and is expected every hour in this harbour. The King's forts are put into as good a state as the revenue will allow, and perhaps a better ; the fort of Rincorran having cost already £5,000 at least. The chief cities (which are the garrisons of the kingdom) are as well secured as the standing forces and the militia would make them ; Mass-houses are not permitted in any cities or walled towns ; markets are removed without the walls where there may be any apprehension of danger ; the regular clergy are banished, the Papists disarmed, but such as are particularly licensed for the security of themselves and of their houses against the Tories ; and as additional to our security our Lord Lieutenant expects daily the landing of two thousand men well armed out of England, which doubtless will contribute much to the satisfaction of the English and the defence of the kingdom against all sorts of enemies, whether foreign or bred at home.

Yet after all this it may perhaps be said that some things are left undone amongst ourselves, which may conduce to our further preservation ; as first, though the regular clergy are banished, yet not a considerable part of them are gone away, but still continue in some private recesses of the country to influence the people into rebellion upon the first opportunity. This certainly cannot be looked upon as any failure in the Government, if it should be so, for they have done all they could for their expulsion ; they have not only published strict proclamations for their banishment, but have likewise authorised and encouraged all officers, both civil and military, to make the most diligent search they can for their discovery, apprehension and imprisonment. And by late advertisements which have been sent up by the Council from several parts of this kingdom, we do find that many more of that sort of people have been shipped away to foreign parts than we supposed, though perhaps not in equal proportion to those that stay ; but what further course can be taken to make the proclamation for their banishment more effectual I cannot well imagine.

It may be said that the securing of the principal heads of the most considerable septs who have lost their estates may conduce to the safety of the English ; for the chief of their septs being restrained and in our power their followers would not presume or adventure to run into rebellion. This was seriously considered at the Council Table, and upon a full debate it was looked upon as a very moot point whether such a proceeding would not rather quicken a rebellion than retard it ; the numerous followers who depended wholly upon their master's interest and authority for the support of themselves and families being angered and affrighted at the ill-usage of their heads (as they will term it) and being loosed from all dependencies would (perhaps) rather put themselves upon some unlawful way of living by turning Tories (which would be equally mischievous to us, and especially to the English dispersed in their dwellings in the country, as a small rebellion) than entrust themselves to our protection, which they can expect no longer than it may be agreeable to our pleasure. These and the like considerations prevailed with the Council at present to lay by the thoughts of taking of their heads and leaders of their septs, being doubtful of the consequence. Besides the taking up the heads of their septs by way of hostages may be thought but of little advantage upon this reason : if their followers be but few, they cannot do us much hurt as they are, if so many and numerous that they may do us any real inconveniencies, how easy would it be for them to surprise such English gentlemen in the country as would redeem their hostages ; and thereby not only render our care in that point uneffectual, but would likewise pay us in our coin, and after our own way of mintage.

But why are not the Corporations, especially those which are garrisoned, drained from these number of Irish Papists that live amongst them, which would, as is supposed, in a good measure quiet the English in their thoughts, and secure them against any surprise or private conspiracy ? To the resolution of this query, another question may not be impertinent. How came the great numbers of Irish inhabitants and servants into those towns and garrisons ? Were they not all expelled and thrust out by several proclamations from the Government, and very few, as to the numbers complained of, licensed to return ? It is not therefore to be doubted but that the English themselves received them in again for their own advantage ; they knew not well how to live without them ; they wanted tenants and they wanted tradesmen (for of such are their numbers constituted) and the Irish Papists supplied them with all these ; and the English did not conceive this sort of people to be as dangerous as beneficial unto them. But though this hath been done by the English themselves, and for their own conveniencies at that time, yet I do not doubt but that the Government would again require their exclusion, if it could be resolved on how far their exclusion should extend, either to part of them or to all of them, and how they could carry on their trade and services without them. This likewise hath been debated at Council ; and upon this occasion I think myself obliged to acquaint your Lordship that I have often heard my Lord

Lieutenant to desire the Lords of the Council that they rather would consider and propose what they thought further conduceable to the safety of the kingdom than what hath been already done, and that upon a concurrence of the Lordships' judgments he would readily comply with them. And I am well assured that nothing of that nature can be offered to his Grace by any person whatsoever but he will very thankfully accept it, and put it as forward as can be reasonably approved.

It is now high time that I should beg your Lordship's pardon for the rudeness of this length and conclude your trouble. But being entered upon the subject I could not without much abruptness break off sooner, and I was willing to let your Lordship have a review of what hath passed here on this occasion (though I doubt not but that you have formerly had some accounts thereof as they passed in particular) that we might have the assistance of your Lordship's great judgment and experience, in case anything hath been omitted that might be thought necessary for our condition and which we are capable of performing.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,
MICHAEL ARMACH, C.

Endorsed by Ormond:—"Copy of my Lord Chancellor's letter to the Earl of Orrery in answer to one of his of the 28th of February, 1678-9."

ORMOND TO EARL OF STRAFFORD.

1678-9, March 8. Dublin.—I own the discourse I had with Sir William Wentworth as to the substance of it, but I do not think I mentioned my wife, because I do not use to engage so much as her name in things of that nature. I also own what I said of my obligation to my Lord your father, and my resolution to serve your Lordship in what did or should lie in my power. It is further true your Lordship had said something in the Lords' House concerning the multitude of the Popish clergy in this kingdom, and the insolency of the Papists, which though your Lordship might well know it could not reasonably or truly be imputed to any remissness in me or favour to them, yet you thought fit at that time to say it, whereby an ill impression might be left with the Lords of me in a particular very subject to misconstruction, especially of one in my condition and station. As to the revelling and dancing I know not where Sir William got it; I am sure not from me. Nor am I only careful of clearing myself of this imputation. Thus your Lordship has all I know of the matter, which I have not told you with any purpose of engaging you in an useless correspondence.

Postscript:—This letter had been sooner sent, but that Captain St. Leger who undertook the delivery was long stayed by contrary winds.

ORMOND TO EARL OF CLARENDON.

1678-9, March 8. Dublin.—It has been written to me out of England that I am accused of having neglected to make any

answer to two or three of your Lordship's letters. One, and that of the 14th of December, I own to have received, and no more, since I last came into Ireland, nor that till the first of this month or thereabouts. I own also the promise I made in behalf of Mr. Lovett, but do not remember distinctly what discourse I had with my Lord Bishop of Oxford concerning him ; but do think I was told Mr. Lovett was well provided for in some living which could not regularly consist with a headship in Oxford. And though it be true that the late Archbishop of Canterbury recommended Dr. Bouchier to me, and that I had great deference to his Grace's commands in what concerned the University, my being Chancellor there having been the consequence of his dominion and power, yet even that consideration could not have prevailed with me to Mr. Lovett's disappointment without the other. And to let your Lordship see that in the least as well as in the greatest things that may concern the memory of my Lord your father, I will endeavour to manifest to the world how much I value the credit of having had his friendship by all the services I can do his family, and if Mr. Lovett can be content to change his residence into this kingdom, and if I continue in this government for a little while longer he shall find his account in the conclusion, and I shall in some measure repair my inadvertence.

Copy.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, March 8. Dublin.—The last post brought letters of the first of this month, but none from you, as I suppose it would if what is written in the newsletter and other private letters be true of the speedy sending hither of Lord Dumbarton's regiment, and of that Lord's and my Lord of Ranelagh's conference with you about it. It is not unknown what my Lord Dumbarton's religion is, and that tho' all his men and officers should be Protestants, yet their having been much under his command will render them suspected, and consequently very unwelcome at this time. Those who take the boldness to asperse my Lord Chancellor and me as Papists without any colour will lay hold on such an instance as this, and be able to make worse use of it than of anything that has yet happened ; for it will not easily be believed (as true as it is) that such an election and reinforcement would be made without consulting me and without my inclination. But writing as I do only upon coffee-house news and loose intelligence, I have written enough till I know more, and cannot judge what use can be made of my letter.

ORMOND to GEORGE MATHEW.

1678-9, March 11. Dublin.—I suppose there is difficulty found in England to give me the satisfaction I demand for my Steward's place, and I think it will not be taken from me without my own consent, which I shall never give without present payment, or such security as shall be next best. The Duchess going as she did with all her family into Holland, and the Duke's declaring

that he received no satisfaction from the discourse he had with two of our Bishops in order to his return to our Church, looks as if he meant to follow if he does not like the complexion of the Parliament towards him, as I fear he will not. What violent declarations, if not Acts of Parliament, that may produce, and what further consequences that and other things in agitation will have, it is not possible to guess. But if such intelligence from hence as this whereof I send you a copy shall gain credit in the House of Commons, I have no reason to expect that my stay here will be long; and therefore I am to prepare for a remove, and make myself as light as I can for it, though I cannot say whither it shall be. Upon the view of this letter most of the Papist Lords and gentlemen forbear coming to the Castle. Half of that discretion at first would have been more useful.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 11.—I should not have troubled you now but that it is to give you that account which I promised you concerning the clothing of the soldiers in the Holland army which I received from Sir Alexander Collier. What use you may make of it as to the army in Ireland I leave to your consideration. I am confident it is a true state, but how far you can imitate it will be hard to guess. Our pay and theirs is not very differing; but those of our guards everywhere far exceeds theirs. As to the common men there is nothing new among us but what you may learn from the Gazettes. You may be sure I shall not fail imparting anything to you which I think may anyways be useful. Nor have I anything worth giving my mother the trouble of a letter.

W. ELLIS to GEORGE MATHEW.

1678-9, March 11. Dublin Castle.—I lately received command from the Earl of Ossory to put you in mind of two wolf dogs and a bitch which his Lordship wrote to you about for the King of Spain. He desires they may be provided with all convenient speed, and that two dogs and a bitch be also gotten for the King of Sweden.

ORMOND to REV. PETER DRELINCOURT.

1678-9, March 15. Dublin.—I received yours of the 27th of the last with great satisfaction, as I did the first notice I had of your having undertaken the charge of that youth, promising myself that nothing but some natural defect in him can frustrate the hopes I have of his becoming a man of virtue and honour under the conduct of my Lord Bishop of Oxford, and by your industry and prudence, to which I have entirely given him up; so that you can have full power to regulate his servants, to dispose him to his studies, to abridge or enlarge his expenses and recreations, and to do whatever you conceive to be most conducing to the ends aimed at in him, namely, piety, loyalty and honesty. I shall be glad to hear frequently from you.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 15. London.—The last account I presented your Grace with of our indigested affairs here ended with the last week. This therefore begins with this. Sunday was hotly alarmed with four fires. The first was only a chimney near St. Clement's Church in sermon time, which, though soon extinct, yet served to kindle so great a fear in that congregation that it endangered many limbs and occasioned some miscarriages. The next was more dreadful, it beginning in a corner draper's shop in Paul's Churchyard, which consumed two good houses. The third was in Crede Lane, which being close might have suffered very much had not eight engines been in a readiness, and my Lord Craven to guide them. The last was in Fetter Lane, but all things being in a readiness it was almost as soon out as in. It was very fortunate that so great danger ended in no more damage. That I might act ever in my own account of such a concatenation of ill accidents, I addressed myself to my Lord Craven himself, whose opinion I also craved whether design or chance were in the matter. He, full of mercy and justice both, was for hanging half and saving half; two he thought chance produced, but suspected they gave the advantage to the wicked to kindle the other two. At one, a boy was apprehended, and being whipped was dismissed, which I thought too much or too little justice.

As for Parliamentary affairs, when on Monday morning the Commons met (for the Lords did not sit that day), they renewed their debate of the election of their Speaker, and talked themselves into a confident belief that it was an undoubted privilege of theirs to elect their own Speaker, and only formal for the King to approve, and thereupon that day ended in the delegating a Committee to draw up (not an address but) a representation of their right to this choice, which I here enclose, and which on Tuesday the 11th was presented by Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish (both which are grown sufficiently moderate, and the latter the darling of his father), Sir Robert Carr, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powell, Sir John Ernley and one more. The King no sooner heard it read to him by Mr. Powell, but he gave this short extempore answer "You do but lose time; return to the House, and do as I have directed." This surprising answer when reported to the House kindled some heats, which at present were raked up by an adjournment of the debate till Wednesday morning, which was early resumed, and they soon resolved on a new address (which I also here enclose), whose contents need no paraphrase, the burden of which being to beseech His Majesty's review of their former representation, in which the King gratified them, deferring his answer till next morning. In the meantime reflecting on the difficulty that the new Commons were brought into by the subtlety of the old ones, he was most graciously pleased thus to extricate them: Thursday morning the King in his robes summons the House to the Lords' bar, where by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor he prorogued them till Saturday morning (this morning). It was a prorogation that all things begun and unfinished might be annihilated, and

but for a day, that no time beyond what was absolutely necessary might be lost ; fitting a plaster so exactly to the sore that when they next meet they might without galling their own privileges proceed to the election of a new Speaker. One unforeseen advantage I overheard the learned (as my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs and Lord Shaftesbury) concur in opinion resulted from their prorogation that I thought pertinent early to impart to your Grace, which is the determination of the Irish Act for Cattle, which was to continue until the determination of the next session of the next Parliament, and it hath been an adjudged case that the prorogation (though no Act passed) makes a session, which more than once happened last Parliament.

This morning His Majesty in his robes summoned the Commons by the Black Rod to the Lords' bar, where in a short speech His Majesty advised them not to lose time because they had much to do, hinted the reason of the prorogation, and referred them to the Chancellor, who in a few words also reminded them of the great opportunities they had to do national good, of the King's readiness to concur with them, referred them to the steps he had made already, particularly in this very prorogation, mentioned the great preparations our neighbours were making, referred to his former speech, and concluded with hastening them to choose their Speaker who (to avoid loss of any more time) the King would expect should be presented to him on Monday morning at ten o'clock. The Commons, as soon as they were returned and crowded into the House, which will not hold them all, there scarce being a member wanting, and for several places yet four sit on double returns, my Lord Russell broke the ice, took notice of the difficulties they had hitherto been involved in, the proper expedient the King had contrived to extricate them out of them, and that now he conceived their proper work was to choose their Speaker, and proposed one Serjeant Gregory as a proper person for that employment (who had been marked out at Court without any exceptions being made against him). My Lord Chancellor seconded it, but Mr. Sacheverell stood up, owned his adherence to the former choice, and that since he foresaw he would be singular in that opinion craved leave to withdraw. Immediately (to confirm his belief of his own singularity) each corner of the House echoed "Go ! go !" and my Lord Cavendish confirming Lord Russell's choice, they two forced Serjeant Gregory to the chair, interrupting his just pleading his own insufficiency ; who craved their leave, since they would not excuse him themselves, that he might beseech His Majesty to dispense with him. He being pressed to the Chair, the House was immediately adjourned until Monday morning. This day's proceedings hath much battered our hopes and prospects of future happiness, moderation being like to be most in fashion. I have presumed to swell the bulk of this packet with a list of our new members, which may divert your Grace a little for the present, and probably be useful hereafter when I shall have occasion to name any particular person, for I determine every Saturday, till your Grace forbids me, to pay this tribute of duty.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1678-9, March 15. Dublin.—Since my last to you I have received three of yours, all concerning my grandson's going and reception at Oxford, and from other hands I am informed you have been pleased on that occasion to take some trouble upon you I should not have had the confidence to have expected. But your Lordship's descending to afford your care in these particulars is a very satisfactory argument to me that your directions in things of more moment will not be wanting. Monsieur Drelincourt has full authority to govern the servants, and upon any neglect or disorder in them that may deserve it to remove them and take in others. By what I have heard of that gentleman I have reason to hope he will discharge himself of his trust with good ability and prudence. Yet it sometimes happens that men are thought fitter for employments before they are in them than they are afterwards found to be, though persons of integrity and very capable of other business. If it should so happen in this case I will not doubt but I shall receive intimation from your Lordship.

I shall, by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, return my thanks for their choice of Mr. Solicitor to serve them in Parliament, and if there shall be any service to be done for them there I hope they will have cause to be satisfied with my recommendation. Mr. Vice-Chancellor is earnest in his address to be freed from his employment, and tho' I hear he has acquitted himself with much ability, yet I think it may be reasonable to ease him of his charge and trouble, and that it will be fit betimes to consider of a successor.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 15.—I have it from authentic hands that tomorrow my Lord Treasurer will resign his staff, and that my Lord of Essex, Sir Philip Morris[?], Sir Humphrey Wynch, Sir Edward Deering, and another whose name I could not hear, are to be Commissioners in his place. The Prince of Orange waited upon the Duke at the yacht and treated him with all the decency and respect imaginable, defraying him till he goes to Brussels. And when he showed the Duke and Duchess his guards and regiments of horse and foot he saluted the Duke twice with his sword at the head of his guards, notwithstanding the Duke's doing all he could to hinder him. I have not anything more worth informing you, nor anything to trouble my mother withal.

ORMOND to JOHN NICHOLAS, Vice Chancellor of
Oxford University.

1678-9, March 15. Dublin.—Though 'tis very well known it was not possible to discharge the employment you have had in that University with more general approbation than you have

done, yet since it will not be reasonable to continue the trouble and inconvenience upon you for the advantage and satisfaction of others, I shall desire to be advised by those who can best do it who may be fittest to be chosen against your time shall expire.

I desire that upon the next fit opportunity the Convocation may know I think myself very much obliged to them for their regard they have had to my recommendation in regard to Mr. Solicitor, and that I do not doubt that upon any occasion of their service, in or out of Parliament, they will find they have made choice of a thankful and useful person.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 18. London.—The extraordinary occurrences this is to give your Grace an account of must excuse the extraordinary trouble it gives you, which otherwise I designed but once weekly. It seems my Lord Treasurer, perceiving the severity of the Commons still increasing towards him, his enemies being re-chose into this Parliament, the rather because they were so, and his friends kept out because they were so, and considering the fatal consequence of it, either the Commons giving no money or at best not entrusting of it into his hands, and so diverting the common channel of Exchequer, last Sunday at the Cabinet Council convinced the King to accept of his white Staff, urging that he could neither answer it to God or man or his own conscience that he, instead of serving His Majesty in that employment, should so absolutely obstruct his service by continuing in it. It is said he hath laboured to effect his own degradation with the King's consent for near these last past twelve months, but His Gracious Majesty rather chose to try all manner of expedients first, but at length must submit to invincible necessity. My Lord is ordered to even all payments and accounts by our Lady Day, and that day to resign up his employment with its badge and white Staff, the latter into the King's, the former into the hands of Commissioners, the King having declared that his Treasury shall be so managed for the future, but not who these Commissioners shall be; directing a Commission to be drawn up with blanks, which with his own hand he will fill up. But (tho' many sets are made by others, yet) those in the King's eye (which your Grace will receive a better account of from better hands, to whom I might refer your Grace wholly were it not that I resolve to do my best in all your services) are Lord Arlington, Sir John Ernely, Sir Edward Deering, Mr. Secretary Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. How far these will satisfy time must try, since those who gaped widest for it will be unsatisfied missing of it. It seems at the same time the King declared he should not go off without a badge of his favour, and so directed a patent to be drawn for his being Marquis Danby, and granted a pension of £5,000 per annum to him, during pleasure (I presume), notwithstanding all the arguments my Lord could invent and urge to the contrary. I confess for both their sakes I could wish neither had now been done, or

not known to be so. For yesterday, soon after the Commons had presented their new Speaker and returned to their own House, (the manner of which shall follow next) it is said my Lord Shaftesbury took notice that he heard a person under so black a character as high treason was to be promoted, instancing in the particular, and that my Lord Halifax took his turn next, presuming it so improbable, nay so monstrous, that he gave no credit to it. Indeed it happened to go no further, as we understand, without doors, but it seems what was said was in the King's presence.

The Commons then presented their Speaker. The King, etc., being all robed, he acted his part to the life (Sergeant Gregory by name), in deed and word pleading his own insufficiency, ill becoming what he said and yet not becoming that employment. Much to seek how and what to say ; but what he said was that the Commons, notwithstanding all he could say against himself had chose him, and if His Majesty could not relieve him he would serve (not them and him as Seymour said) His Majesty and the Government as best he could. The eloquent Chancellor (who needed no such foil) told him the King understood him too well, and especially coming with such credentials, (the Commons' choice), to release him, and that His Majesty preferred innocence and integrity before greater accomplishments without it, and confirmed the choice. He then as well as he could expressed his resolution to serve His Majesty in that and all things, and proceeded according to custom (though not with customary confidence or eloquence) to petition for those three essentials, liberty of speech, liberty of persons from arrest, and of access to the King's ear, all which the Chancellor, by the King's order, granted most graciously, and concluded with this expression : " As for yourself Mr. Speaker, you may be sure that he whom the King hath created by his power he will preserve by his goodness." At which it is reported my Lord Shaftesbury afterwards took offence, taking notice of the great care that ought to be of avoiding all exasperating and offensive expressions, and that some had fallen from the Woolsack, both before and now, which might bear so ill constructions that he wished they might not be entered in their journals, and that my Lord Chancellor should reply he would consent that no more should be entered than that such a day the Commons offered a Speaker and the King refused him, and that such a day the Commons offered him their Speaker and he approved him. Thus ruggedly all things begin.

The Commons immediately began swearing their members, (the taking the Test being a previous duty to all other business) in which by their industrious despatch (going over three parts of four of the whole House ere they rose, though by the Act all are to take it in the House between the hours of ten and five) they showed how sensible they were of the time they had lost, and how willing to redeem it. The Lords rose early, that a Committee appointed to sit in the House at four might consider how far the impeachments were affected by the dissolution ; who, to show their zeal to detect and punish criminals, boggled not at some mistakes which were urged by some to be in the order, but voted

the impeachments needed no renewing, and this morning reported it to the House. But it happening to be re-debated, the result was respited till to-morrow. Some Committees were named in order to despatches of depending business, and it was proposed that days might be appointed for despatches ; but ('tis said) my Lord Shaftesbury opposed it, giving for the reason that he expected the House of Commons would employ them with other works. And though the Lord Chancellor reminded them that if such cases should happen they were masters of their own orders, yet 'twas thought fit rather to rise early than make such appointments. The Commons only finished administering the Test. Their delay proceeded not so much from the number of the members, as their irregularity in coming to take it. Mr. Seymour now bids fair for Duke of Somerset, the young Duke yesterday falling sick of that fatal disease to that family, the small-pox, and if he miscarries there is nothing but his father betwixt his worship and his Grace. We shall soon now see what to expect from this new Parliament, who yet seem very moderate, unless my Lord Treasurer's name come cross them. Be the results what they will, it shall be my care, as punctually and impartially as I can, to represent them to your Grace, as long as you shall please to indulge me with the leave and honour of addressing you.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 9.—The Parliament business takes up almost all our time here. Yesterday the House of Peers sat all day before the consideration of the House of Commons' Address to His Majesty (wherein they desired our concurrence) for His Majesty immediately declaring a war with the French King, and recalling his Ambassador from France, and sending away the French one from hence. To the word immediately and to the pressing the King presently to send away the French Ambassador we consented not, but did to the rest of the Address, and with these amendments sent it back to the Commons, who this day after a long debate and a division of the House carried it for adhering, and thus at present stands that business. What the Commons have done more I have not heard. To-morrow the King comes to the House to pass the Poll Bill ; and on Thursday come fortnight my Lord of Pembroke is to be tried before the House of Peers for the killing of Mr. Cony. The trial will be, I believe, in Westminster Hall, my Lord Chancellor being that day to be Lord Steward. Both the Coroner's inquest and the Grand Jury have found it murder ; but as the fact is represented to me (who have very little kindness for his Lordship) it will not in my opinion be found by us more than manslaughter. I am now preparing for my journey for Ireland, which I hope to begin about the middle of the next month.

ANONYMOUS ACCUSATIONS AGAINST ORMOND.

1678-9, March 20. Ross.—Coming to the sight of them twenty-four scurrilous things which I look on as a great calumniation of

your Lordship and family yesterday, I thought it my duty for to acquaint your Lordship of the same, and from what hand they come last post to this town, which do much discompose the minds of many other people. Captain William Ivory of Ross had them sent him in a letter for news, from the Castle of Dublin, by Mr. Sumner, who I am told is a clerk and writes under one of your Secretaries, Mr. Gascoigne, and Ivory spreads them all about the country. Your Lordship knows this character and your noble promise not to make known the name of him that is your Grace's most humble and faithful servant, W.

Here follows the document above referred to :—

1678-9, February 5.—Sir : I cannot forbear letting you know your and our sad condition before we became acquainted with the discovery of the horrid Plot.

(1) The Irish, who had perfect knowledge thereof, told many of their friends that most woeful bloody times were at hand. By that and several other actings of our Chancellor we were aware the mischief was near. An Irish gentleman lately fell out with Peter Talbot, and thereupon told a Protestant person of quality that he could prove Talbot a traitor if he were carried to the Chancellor, who bid the gentleman commit it to writing, which he did and delivered it to the person of honour, who gave it to the Chancellor. In twenty-four hours the party told the person of honour that he had undone him, for Talbot had the papers.

(2) Such is the familiarity and correspondency between Papists and Duke and the Chancellor, that against the time of the discovery of the Plot, the Duke went to Kilkenny, and left but six companies in Dublin, drawing all the rest from it.

(3) He quartered a regiment of Irish rogues at Rathcoole and the Naas, and the Guards then again are left without powder and ball.

(4) The powder is left at this time with only twelve men to guard it without the City of Dublin.

(5) The Duke sent to Captain Bryan to take Peter Talbot the 10th of October, who was at Colonel Talbot's. The Captain took Colonel Talbot's word and he left Peter Talbot and his papers ; the 11th of October the Duke came from Kilkenny and had Peter Talbot brought to town, but not his papers.

(6) The Duke did consult Colonel Talbot about disarming the Papists, and it can be proved this proclamation for it was drawn as he agreed it with the Duke, as also for banishing the regular priests.

(7) The Duke had commanded the arms that were taken from the Papists to be restored them.

(8) The priests that we take up are immediately discharged.

(9) In Tipperary and Kilkenny, and all places where the Duke or Arran hath to do, they employ Papists.

(10) The Farmers put also Papists into places as fast as they can, especially for the hearth-money and excise, whereby they have opportunity to scorch our houses and cut our throats.

(11) The proclamation forbidding Papists to have houses in Dublin, yet that week Colonel Talbot, and the Earl of Clanricarde, took houses there, and most of the Irish nobility and gentry are now come to the city.

(12) The number of ruffians that were there in November is incredible.

(13) Most of the Constables even in Dublin are Papists.

(14) Where the Duke or Arran could influence, Papist schools are set up, at Tully, Kilkenny, etc., and popish postmasters are put in for the country.

(15) Lord Dongan, Clanricarde, Purcell, Dempsey, Luttrell, Lord Dillon, Netterville, and many more, with Sheldon, an English Papist, notwithstanding the proclamation for going out of town and not coming into the Castle, yet are every night with the Duke and Arran at play till 12, 1, 2, and 3 o'clock in the night, and these come through all guards and gates with their coaches, give the word to the guards, and if stopped draw on them and hector them.

(16) They are constantly advised with, and so are the Talbots, about all affairs, and specially about the Protestant religion.

(17) The Papists here told us before Christmas that your Parliament was to be prorogued or dissolved before the 31st of December; yet the Lord Ossory would come hither that but a part of your army should be disbanded, that more should be raised privately, that the King would take away no new blood, that in a little time the King would declare the Plot a Protestant Plot, that Oates and Bedloe should be again examined apart, and if they diverge in the least from the former, it should be made use of to invalidate the whole discovery.

(18) Masses are more public here and more frequented than our Churches. We hear my Lord Ossory's business here is to—how ready the Papists are to admit the—and their brethren in England.

(19) We understand they are all commissioned and ready; but whether our throats or yours are first to be cut we know not, or whether the meeting of your Parliament be the time to do both we heard not.

(20) The Duke gave licences to Bridges, Levett, etc., to import arms for your militia and powder, but his Grace hath recalled his licences.

(21) We look upon him, his son Arran, and the Chancellor to be Papists.

(22) Colonel Fitzpatrick told him that notwithstanding the discovery of the Plot, he should ere long see him with a red cap on his head, at which he only smiled and drank to him in a glass of sack. Those are the devils we fear more than all those in hell, or all those in earth besides. We see your danger upon us.

(23) We hear the Commissions taken at Chester were to raise the Irish to cut the throats of the Parliament, yours and ours. God deliver both. Take this for truth, for so it is. For the rest that is intended you may read *The Massacres of Paris*, printed in octavo, 1655, chap. 6, 7. Take notice that this is lightly suggested

to you. Look well about you at your Parliament meeting or you are all undone ; but your Englishman is wise after his business is over.

(24) Eleven days since the River Boyne, which runs from Trim to Tredagh,* dried up so that the fish lay dry (which is most sure) and then it was on a sudden three foot deep in water. God warns us every day. Let our eyes be to Him, for we have none else on whom to look.

ORMOND to COLONEL EDWARD COOKE.

1678-9, March 20. Dublin.—According to our new way in correspondencies of this nature, let us leave out the formalities of titles in the beginning and subscriptions at the end of our letters. I do not wonder that yours of the 8th instant is the first I had from you a good while, or of intelligence which you can best judge when it is most useful to your friends. You were in the right when you supposed some of those papers you sent me would be omitted by others, as that remarkable one concerning Whitebread was. He seems to be another Clancy in divinity, and like him is coming towards his proper period.

In all your long letter I find not one word of Horse, Hawk or Hound ; not that I believe you have reformed your course of life, but other things fill your head and perhaps will do till buck-hunting comes in, but then your old road will take place. I am here in my old station, pulled at on all hands. Time was I was somewhere believed too much an enemy to French and Papists. Now I am said to be absolutely at their service. But I feel myself just as I was. *Copy.*

ORMOND to [EARL OF OSSORY].

1678-9, March 20. Dublin.—Yesterday I received His Majesty's of the 4th instant, underwritten by my Lord of Sunderland, for receiving the regiment late my Lord of Dumbarton's and putting them upon the military establishment of this kingdom, which shall be obeyed, and the men provided for the best I can. In case the King's affairs shall go on smoothly in Parliament, after all he has done and professes himself ready to do for their satisfaction, I shall have time enough again by his ministers to represent to him the state of his affairs, upon this increase of charge. In the meantime I will not venture to perplex him with difficulties I conceive he cannot for the present remedy, and which it is my duty to contend with the best I can. I expect according to the disposition of the time that the new regiment will be aspersed, and that it will be endeavoured to create a disgust of them in the old army upon the point of emulation, and of some advantages these new companies have of the old. But I am prepared to meet with any demonstrations of that nature as soon as I can discover

* Drogheda.

them, and to proceed as severely in the beginning as the case shall require. For though I might wish the recruits had been otherwise, and more frugally, as well as more plentifully composed, yet whilst I am in this Government I will see His Majesty's commands obeyed in the best manner I can.

I find my friends there much alarmed in my behalf by the many libels spread abroad and put into the hands, as they say, of Parliament men, and they advise that answers may be ready to oppose to them. Most of them I have seen are so false, and the rest so foolish, that no man that knows me, my way of life, and this country, but is able to refute them; and surely no man will be condemned unheard upon libels, though they should be brought into a speech in either House or Parliament, or shaped into Articles; so that I do not think it is fit to anticipate my defence by answers any further than I have done in letters to some friends which they can announce when and where they think fit.

Postscript:—I see nothing in my letter but what may be shown the King, and I think you will do well to ask his advice concerning the libels, and whether he may not think fit to command those he depends upon in the House of Commons to be ready to get me fair play at the least. It is certainly best not to be mentioned there; but, if that cannot be avoided, I cannot doubt that I have friends enough there to prevent any addresses against me till I shall be heard. For though I am less in love with this place than I should be at any other time, yet I would not be thought unfit for it upon the grounds that may be given for my removal. I saw your letters to your mother, and do think you may do well to send your wife and children hither, if it can be with her satisfaction. But then if you continue other expenses and save nothing by it, you had better let it alone. I send you a letter for my Lord Dumbarton.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, March 22. Dublin.—There was no news of the regiment at Kinsale on the 18th of this month. I fear the poor men will have suffered much in their vayoage, if they had not large accommodation, or the good fortune to put into places of refreshment. I am told my Lord Ranelagh has designed how these men shall be supported, and I suppose he had rather it should be any way than by calling a Parliament here, which he has no reason to be fond of. But I doubt all other shifts will be chimerical, or at the best will serve only to give the army bare pay, and that is but one of the things that can make it yet. I send you herewith my answer to the letter you sent me from the Duke. Our Munster letters are just now come in, but bring no news of the men. I am told my Lord Ranelagh has projected how that regiment shall be paid, and something you say to that purpose; but I yet hear nothing of it, nor have received any orders but those from the King, my Lord Dumbarton, and yourself. It is well the regiment is not yet come. The enclosed is an extract from a letter from

the Lady Ranelagh to Captain Fitzgerald her nephew. I desire to know what you suppose it may mean, and that you would call to mind what discourse you had with him when you were here.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 22.—I received at once your letters, one of the first of this month, and one of the 6th and another of the 8th. My answer to the first is that I failed not to show the King your memorial. The effects of it you see by having my Lord of Dumbarton's regiment sent into Ireland. As to your proposals for a Parliament, he said he had no leisure to think of anything but the present affairs of this kingdom. As to one of your letters of the 6th concerning the affair between Mr. Ryder and the Farmers, the scene is so changed here as I hope you may act according to your wonted principles, and not suffer upon the account of the partiality of others. As to your other letter of the same date I will be sure to show it to the King when I can meet with a time wherein I may hope he will take time to consider of it. I doubt not but before this you have had my letter, wherein I informed you of the resolution of sending to you my Lord of Dumbarton's regiment, which for several reasons was far from my desires or approbation, but was done by absolute order. The expense of that regiment exceeding so much the pay of other companies, by their having more officers though fewer soldiers, made the King slow in sending over more soldiers, though if you desire it again I doubt not that your request will be granted, at which time I think you may very properly motion the calling of Parliament that money may be had to bear the charges of so great an addition.

On Thursday last at the Committee of Examinations about the Plot, my Lord of Strafford spoke of the dangerous condition of Ireland, set on by my Lord Halifax, and my Lord Shaftesbury in his ingenuous manner shook his head and said he did not like the management of affairs there. I was not then present, but being named one of the Committee, I have attended, and will continue to do so both morning and evening. I know not, if the King would allow time to debate of his Irish affairs, whether it would be thought advisable to call a Parliament before one could judge when and how this Session will end. As I know you do not reckon upon having any money from hence, so I imagine you will do without the incomes of the revenue by making every one's particular payment proportionably to fall short, or by some other prudent course to subsist until such time as these helps may be procured. Your recommendation of Sir William Davys I have forwarded all I could. But Ned Vernon spoke to me of a letter writ by my brother in favour of Keating, and that you would be contented he should succeed, upon which I hear orders are given to have him Solicitor, and the Attorney to be made Lord Chief Justice. I assure you I have obligations and desires to serve Keating, but I could not do it in such a manner as may give the

world jealousy of double dealing until I have your orders.* I will not trouble you with public news.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 22. Whitehall.—The last post I received three from your Grace of the 2nd, 6th and 11th of March. As to the first the report concerning Mr. Robinson hath been showed His Majesty and referred to the Lord Treasurer for his approbation. The other mentioneth what order you received from the Earl of Sunderland, to which I was never called to debate, and can say no more than acquaint His Majesty of your resolution to comply. As to that of the 11th, I showed His Majesty your letter, who read it all himself, and finding at the end of it that the Attorney had declined the promotion seemed resolved to confer it on Sir W. Davys. But being afterwards put in mind of some former promises he had made for the advancement of Mr. Solicitor and Mr. Keating, seemeth to resolve that Mr. Attorney's modesty shall be overruled, and he made Lord Chief Justice and the other two successively advanced as you there mention. There hath been some mention made of removing Lord Chief Justice Booth to the King's Bench, and the Attorney to the Common Pleas, but not yet resolved by the King. My next I suppose will bring His Majesty's fixed resolution and commands.

You will hear from other hands the *embarras* we are in, and I doubt not but my Lord of Ossory will write you what hath passed in his sphere and something relating to yourself. You will easily guess how little time we have to spare, and therefore will pardon me if I answer so many letters in so short a one as this.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 22. St. James's Square.—On Wednesday last at night I received the draughts of four letters for His Majesty's service, one for employing the surplusage of the Revenue for His Majesty's uses, a second for providing for unserviceable soldiers, a third for annexing the Wardenship of Galway to the Archbishop of Tuam, *in commendam*, instead of the fourth *pars episcopalis* now paid to him, and a fourth for allowing warrants of money given upon occasion of the late Northern expedition, together with the honour of your Grace's of the 7th instant. The next morning I lodged them all four in Mr. Secretary Coventry's hand, who has promised to give them all possible despatch.

I have waited too on my Lord Treasurer with your Grace's to him, which came enclosed to me by the same packet. But

* The suggestions as to legal promotion discussed in this and succeeding letters were occasioned by the death of Sir John Povey, the Irish Lord Chief Justice in the preceding February. The Attorney-General mentioned as refusing promotion was Sir William Domville. Domville, like his colleague Sir John Temple, the Solicitor-General, held office from the Restoration until 1686. Their unbroken tenure of the two law offices for a period of twenty-nine years, is probably unparalleled in the legal history of the Three Kingdoms.

things now stand so ill with his Lordship that your Grace can have no more returns from him of public business. The House of Commons on Thursday sent to the Lords to desire he should be forthwith committed on the impeachment depending before their Lordships. Yesterday they entered into the examination of Oates, Bedloe, Tonge, and another about the Plot, when besides the repetition of the former informations, my Lord Treasurer was charged with defaming and endeavouring to suppress the King's evidence and tampering with Bedloe for money to deny what he had sworn in this matter. And this morning, notwithstanding the King's speech to both Houses (a copy of which your Grace has here enclosed), they sent to the Lords to remind them of their last message, and to demand the immediate imprisonment of his Lordship. After which their Lordships at a conference (which they desired) proposed, by way of expedient, a Bill to incapacitate him from any employments and from coming to Court or Parliament for ever. Whether this will satisfy we shall quickly see; but the easiest fall is still to a private condition.

This morning waiting on my Lord Ossory, he put into my hand an information, which he newly received from Sir Richard Rooth now in the [] made by Captain Fox. It being a matter of great moment to the quiet of the kingdom of Ireland, I immediately carried it by his Lordship's order to Mr. Secretary Coventry, who promised to acquaint the King with it forthwith, and I have here enclosed sent your Grace a copy of so much of it as was any way material.

Two days ago Mr. Weld (one of the Commissioners of Inspection in Ireland) came to me from the King to command me to wait on His Majesty. When I came His Majesty bid me put your Grace in mind of Mr. Weld's having a commission to be a Captain of Foot in that kingdom, and that it was his pleasure that it should be so, he having had an old promise.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 22. London.—On Wednesday (my last to your Grace concluding with Tuesday) the Committee of the Lords reported their opinions to the House that the impeachments were good notwithstanding the dissolution of the last Parliament; which after a long debate *pro.* and *con.*, the House concurred with the Committee. The Commons spent most of that day about reading and referring petitions in the cases of elections to that Committee, only ordered Sir John Hubert's case particularly to be heard at the bar of the House the morrow three weeks; because great complaints were made both against the Sheriff and my Lord Lieutenant of Northfolk (my Lord Yarmouth) of undue practices, in which the House resolve to be very severe, as appears by the votes of that day, as also of the inspection of the journal, chiefly in order to impeachment, that the new members might see by the light of the old. On Thursday, to show the harmony between the two Houses, both took into consideration

the important matter of impeachment. The Lords (and they of the House of Commons) found this distinction between those of the Lords in the Tower and that of my Lord Treasurer, and so both gave the latter the preference, that in that case articles were exhibited, in the others the impeachment was only in general terms, they being imprisoned before ; so that the Lords expected to hear from the Commons in the case of the Tower Lords before they could proceed, but thought in the other case the Commons were to hear from them ; and in order to it voted that my Lord Treasurer should put in his answer in a week. But the impatience of the Commons could not delay so long, but sent that message mentioned in the votes by my Lord Cavendish to desire the Lord Treasurer's restraint, a greater politician than courtier saying he was making up his bundles to pack away with the spoils of the nation. If he believed what he said he very much mistook, but it happened before my Lord Cavendish got to the Lords' House that House was adjourned. Both Houses this day expressed great concern and zeal against Papists and Popery. The Lords making ready a Bill to give the first cutting blow for its downfall, for a more easy and expeditious way of conviction. All Committees were elected in both Houses. In one it seems the Government of Ireland was thought fit to be reflected on, and consequently the Governor, as too indulgent to Papists. Some were named, but because the thing is so well known to those who have the advantage to hide persons and things under a cipher, I will content myself with this small hint, and proceed to the important proceedings of yesterday.

As soon as the Lords had despatched some Committee affairs and performed their devotions, the address (or message) was delivered to them by Lord Cavendish for securing my Lord Danby's person ; which occasioned a long debate in that House, some who did it not for my Lord's sake opposing it for their own. Since the charge was the same as before, why should not their orders upon it continue the same ? And since there was no alteration of the cause, why should the effect be changed ? Supposing it an undue levity so easily to recede from their own orders, at length, much daylight spent, they gratified the King as well as complied with their own convenience, and adjourned the debate and House till next morning. The Commons, after they had questioned a bookseller for printing the Treasurer's speech and Mr. Montagu's letters, and a pamphlet styled *A Letter from a Jesuit beyond Sea to a Friend here*, the bookseller naming the printer he had them from, both were ordered to attend. And so they proceeded to hear what Tonge, Oates and Bedloe could say at the Bar in relation to persons and plots, whose discourses lasted till past ten at night. As to the Plot, all was old, but the new matter related to my Lord Treasurer. Oates said that as he one day passed by my Lord Treasurer in Whitehall Garden, with a crowd at his heels, he heard my Lord say " There goeth Oates, the saviour of this nation, but I hope to see him hanged within this month." But Bedloe goes further, and informs that one day, waiting on my Lord Treasurer in his closet

about his own concerns, he offered him great rewards to step out of the way, and urged it very enforcingly with him ; and that he took time to think of it, and coming the second time fixed in his resolution not to revolt to roguery again, my Lord added threats to his former allurements. He first only declared the meeting but refused to name the persons, and was twice bid withdraw 'ere they could draw that part (the most material one) out of him ; he urging that his very life would be endangered by it, as he had bound himself by promise never to reveal it. But persuasion prevailed and my Lord Treasurer was the means. This unwilling answer was drawn out of him by this single question, asked by mere chance, whether he had ever received any threats or been offered rewards to suppress his evidence. The Commons, to show their concern for his safety and encouragement, sent my Lord Cavendish and some others with an address to His Majesty to beseech his favour for Bedloe's safety, who received his gracious promise on his royal word to take care of his safety, which both satisfied the House in general, and in particular dispersed all Mr. Bedloe's great fears.

But this hath been as extraordinary a day as I have ever seen. I went to bed last night with an expectation that my Lord Treasurer would stand his trial, and in order to it put in his answer. 'Tis true I heard the King resolved to come in his robes ; who did so, and having summoned the Commons to the Lords' bar, (without the assistance of any paper) told both Houses to this purpose—"That he expected some progress in public affairs, but found this business of my Lord Treasurer obstructed all ; whereupon he was come to put an end to that, and he hoped to all their satisfactions : telling them he had granted him his pardon before this Parliament met, and that if it should be wanting in anything of circumstance or form, he would grant it ten times over to strengthen it, as, he said, he had always done to such servants of his as were separated from their employments, instancing in the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Shaftesbury, withal adding that for the full satisfaction of every one, he would remove him from his presence and councils. He took notice of the nature of his impeachment, most of which he owned he had given him orders in, and particularly that of the letters, and concluded with his expectation that they should proceed immediately to the consideration of those important particulars he had formerly recommended to them." The Lords, on the debate of the matter, came to this reasonable height, that a Bill should be framed to make certain what the King had promised, with these additions—That he should be absolutely banished from the King's presence, made incapable of either sitting in that House or having any manner of employment or pension granted him this Parliament, particularly the £4,000 per annum, as also any additional title of honour. The Commons flew much higher ; sent a message by my Lord Anglesey to continue their former demand by having my Lord Treasurer immediately secured, and another by Sir Thomas Clarges for a Fast, that they would concur in an address to the King. For once the Lords, instead of answering

in the first case sent to desire a conference. The Commons sent word back that it was unparliamentary to desire a conference without proposing some subject matter of it. My Lord Chancellor said that it was true the Commons were in the right and they were in the wrong; but it appeared that it had often been done; yet that no delay might unnecessarily be occasioned, the Lords sent the Commons word that my Lord Danby was the subject of the desired conference; which accordingly soon followed, when the Lords proposed these five heads for a Bill—banishment from the King's presence, exclusion out of the Lord's House, incapacity for public employment, annulling all pensions granted since the 6th instant, and no addition of title of honour. The Commons returned, and having received an account of the King's appointment for both Houses to attend him at 3 o'clock next Monday in the afternoon to present their address for a Fast, and so both Houses adjourned till Monday. A great instance of the frailty of greatness and of the difficulty of stemming such tides. When things of importance happen, your Grace, till you forbid me, shall read letters as well by Tuesday's as Saturday's post, at least by the last weekly.

ADDENDUM.

A PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE IMPORTATION OF IRISH VICTUAL AND CATTLE INTO SCOTLAND.*

1678, March 15.—Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: To our Loving Messengers, our Sheriffs, in that part conjunctly and severally specially constitute, greeting. Inasmuch as we and our estates of Parliament, by our several acts have (upon divers weighty considerations) discharged the importation of Irish victuals and cattle into this kingdom, under the pains and significations therein contained. And whereas the Lords of our Privy Council have emitted several acts and proclamations in pursuance of the said Acts of Parliament; notwithstanding whereof, and of all the cares and endeavours taken to hinder and prevent the importing of Irish victual and cattle, finding the same is imported into this kingdom; and considering the best and fittest way of preventing thereof might be to commissionate some persons of power and authority in the several places of the country where the said victual and cattle is ordinarily brought and landed. We, therefore, with advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, have thought fit to grant full power, authority and commission to our right trusty and well-beloved cousins and counsellors, Archibald, Earl of

* The compiler of the Catalogue of Ormonde Papers in the 6th Report of Hist. MSS. Commission, having overlooked the fact that this proclamation was printed in Scotland, erroneously ascribed it to the year 1678-9 instead of 1677-8. Hence its appearance at the end of this volume instead of in its correct chronological order at p. 20 *supra*.

Argyle, and William, Earl of Dundonald, and to our well-beloved Richard Murray of Brughoun, by themselves their deputies, servants and such as they shall think fit to appoint (for whom they shall be answerable) to search for, seize and apprehend all Irish victual and cattle, and salt beef made thereof, that shall happen to be imported from Ireland into this kingdom in the particular places after specified, viz. : The said Earl of Argyle in all places from Lochlong to the Mull of Kintyre and round about the same; the said Earl of Dundonald in all places from the Burgh of Glasgow to the March of Galloway on the South, and from Glasgow to Loch Long on the North; and the isles of Bute, Arran, and Comray; and the said Richard Murray from the March of Galloway to the March of Nithsdale. And for the more ready and efficient prosecution of the said commission have granted full power and authority to the said Earl of Argyle, Earl of Dundonald, and Richard Murray, by themselves, their deputies, servants, and such as they shall think fit to entrust in the respective bounds foresaids, to secure all barks or travelling boats, whether Scots or Irish, until the shippers or owners shall find caution that they shall import no Irish victual or cattle hereafter. The said Commissioners or their foresaids are thereby authorised to search all barks, boats, or other vessels wherein any Irish victual or cattle are suspected to be, and to seize and secure the same in case they find the said prohibited goods therein. And for better discovery thereof, all merchants, shippers, and owners of boats, barks or other vessels travelling to or from the places aforesaid, are thereby ordered before they break bulk or liver any goods, to advertise the said commissioners or those entrusted by them, at one or other of the ports following, viz. : at the point of Garvel, near Greenock, the towns of Largs, Irving, Turnberry, Dumbarton, Rothesay, Brodick, Dinoon, Tarbet, Campbeltown, Inverarey, Portpatrick, Glenluce and Kirkcudbright (at which ports officers are established to receive there advertisements) under the pain of confiscation of the said vessels and goods, and being holden as confessed importers of Irish victual, provided that the shippers or owners shall not upon such occasion be obliged to wait longer than one tide's water. If upon pregnant presumptions the said Commissioners or those entrusted by them shall suspect any person or persons guilty of importing Irish victual or cattle, they are thereby authorised to convene any such person or persons before the nearest magistrate in burgh or landwart, and to lead all manner of probation against them for proving thereof; whereupon the said magistrates are to give present and ready justice. All Sheriffs, Stewarts, Bailies of Royalties, Regalities and Baronies, and all Heritors are thereby ordered to give their speedy and ready assistance to the said Commissioners or those entrusted by them, wherever they shall be required, either as to the searching of vessels, by night or day, making open and patent doors, searching of cellars or other suspect places for Irish victual and cattle,

which they are thereby authorised to do. The officers of any garrison are obliged to concur and assist them with a party of soldiers as they shall be desired upon any extraordinary occasion, in case any seizure be made of the said Commissioners or those entrusted by them. The heritors next adjacent to the said place are thereby required to cause carry the victuals to some convenient place nearest until our Council shall give order thereanent. And those so employed shall be paid by the person who makes the seizure for such horse carriage not exceeding 2s. Scots the mile. The said Commissioners or those entrusted are thereby empowered, with consent of the magistrate of the place, to send any person or persons to prison who shall be proved guilty of contravening the said laws, or shall be contumacious in refusing to depone, the magistrates of the place being always free of the prisoners' charges, : in which case the magistrates are to secure the prisoners and their said vessels, and to be accountable for them. And in case any person or persons shall make open resistance against the said Commissioners or those entrusted by them in the execution of the said commission, and that there shall happen bloodshed, mutilation or slaughter to follow through the said resistance, it is declared that the said Commissioners or those entrusted in giving assistance to them, shall never be called in question or pursued therefor, civilly or criminally, in times coming. And further, by the said commission, it is declared that the same shall no ways free or liberate the importers or heritors of Irish victual or cattle or heritors upon whose ground the same shall be imported; but they shall continue still liable to the pains and penalties appointed by the said Acts of Parliament and Council as if the said commission had never been granted, which commission is to begin and take effect from and after first of April next, and to continue till the first day of April, 1679. And to the effect all our lieges and others concerned may have due and timeous notice thereof, we have thought fit that our letters of publication of the same should be direct in manner and written. Our will is therefore, and we charge you and strictly command that incontinent these our letters seen, ye pass to the market corner of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton and other places needful. And thereat in our name and authority by open proclamation make publication of the premises to the effect that all our lieges and other commands may have due and timeous notice of our pleasure in the premises, and may give ready obedience to our commands herein, as they will be answerable at their highest peril.

Given under our signet at Edinburgh, the 15th day of March of our reign, the 30th year, 1678.

Per actum Dominorum Secreti Concilii.

God save the King.

AL. GIBSON, *Cl. St. Concilii.*

Edinburgh, Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson,
Printer to the King's Most Sacred Majesty. 1678.

[Printed.]

LETTERS OF

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL

TO

JAMES, 1ST DUKE OF ORMOND,

1677-1686.

1677, September 1. [London].—We are much rejoiced to hear of your Grace's safe arrival and the splendour of your reception, as also your giving to my Lord of Essex so honourable a departure, All the French volunteers but the Duke of Monmouth are returned. And because as yet my Lord Ossory is not, the next post shall carry him a copy of your Grace's of the 19th from Conway,* as also copy of the poetry on your Grace's arrival, particularly the allegory of the Register of the Admiralty, wherein he is deeply concerned, and Sir William Petty hath therein scoured up his old muse to very good purpose. But the truth is, my Lord's friends are here in affliction to see how to his detriment it is imbibed that this galley was not so much upon volunteering as upon business, which is not now so popular. And therefore we all wish him well returned, and hope that within a fortnight it may be so. I am told that the Spanish Ambassador did to His Majesty plainly charge the Prince of Orange since the coming hither of Bentinck with voluntary deviations from the public interest, to which His Majesty with resentment answered that he said nothing to the Prince but what he said also to the King of Spain, and to the King of France in quality of mediator, that he thought not the Prince of Orange capable of admitting dishonourable counsel, and if any thought him capable of giving such, he declared them rascals.

Our Exchange is alarmed with the jealousies of a war from Spain, fomented there as is said on purpose; the Spaniards thinking that they can thereby sufficiently revenge our partiality to France, and our presuming on their impotency, by the menace of a war which our people will so abhor as to frighten the court into anything that may avoid it. It is true that the Ambassador has lately given in two memorials, one

* See Ormonde Papers Vol. II. (1899), p. 263.

of them demanding reparation for what Don Bernardo de Salinas and Fonseca had suffered. The other was of more importance, calling His Majesty into their alliance, offering him presently Nieuport, and that if he named Commissioners for him to treat withal he would further declare what large overtures he had to make. 'Tis not long since this paper was presented, and meeting since in conference with Mr. Secretary Coventry, he demanded an answer thereunto. Mr. Secretary told him he should receive it as soon as he had His Majesty's commands therein, but said he might not reasonably be so pressing, when 'tis above six months that His Majesty by his Ambassador at Madrid had demanded satisfaction against Salinas and Fonseca, and that no answer had been yet returned. The Ambassador replied: "Nor are you ever likely to have answer therein." Whereupon the Secretary told him that until His Majesty had answer therein he would venture to say that no answer would be given to anything. And whether it were upon account of this shock that an express was posted on Thursday night to Madrid, or whether upon other discourse, I cannot tell. For the Ambassador had let fall, besides his pointing at the temper of Parliament and disposition of the people, which is often recited and appealed unto, a computation of £400,000 worth of effects that lay in Spain, which would be of no small assistance to that Crown, or detriment to this, if a misunderstanding should happen; to which Mr. Secretary answered: that if things should ever come to that unfortunate extremity, there were articles to be observed which required six months' notice of a rupture; but if things of that nature should pass for nothing, he hoped the fleet His Majesty has now in the Mediterranean would be able to reprise that loss on Sicily and Naples. But if not there, that His Majesty had 400,000 subjects in the West Indies who might even there make any to repent that should unjustly provoke His Majesty or despoil his subjects.

The Duke of Lorraine is gone post for Vienna, leaving the Marquis de Baden in his place. Some say 'tis to marry the Emperor's sister, but others think it the effect of dissatisfaction in that Court for his not being more successful. And whereas formerly he was voted to govern Flanders, now 'tis said this government will be given to the Marquis de Balbaces, who is Plenipotentiary at Nimeguen, and was before Ambassador at Vienna, unto which Court Dr. Bernardo de Salinas is lately sent in quality of Envoy Extraordinary, so far is he from his being in disgrace upon the King's complaint.

Yesterday at the Tangier meeting, my Lord of Inchiquin's enemies had very little to say; at least they were found so extreme faulty themselves as that on Monday something will be declared to their detriment, and, as is expected, to my Lord of Inchiquin's vindication. Sir Richard Bellings' servant had a letter from Purcell, who was landed at Rohan, and desired supplies from your Grace. Mr. Secretary Williamson, going into Wales to visit his friends, met with an unkind agree, which fastens upon him.

1677, September 18.—I am so taken up in conducting about my old friend the Conde de Castel Melhor,* who finds a most kind reception from the King, Queen, and all at Court, that I have little time to acknowledge your Grace's of the 8th. Nor does there much offer besides the discourse of sending (as my Lord Ossory has invited) all the yachts and some ships of war about the end of this month for the Prince of Orange, who will land at Harwich, and thence in the King's coaches to Newmarket, where preparations are making for him. His Royal Highness is observed to speak high to his advantage in all things; upon which the malice of the world is so great that, none now doubting of the match, some will needs have it a thing of the French King's making, and by that rumour and impression disrelish what has been hitherto the desire of the kingdom. This will extinguish the fear of the Dauphin, and all wild pretensions that have ever been spoken of, but whether the poor Prince will hereby get ground in Holland, where the Spanish animosity and late reflections have taken too much place, time must decide.

1677, September 22.—I have yours of the 8th, and suitable to what I last said of the Prince of Orange's coming over into the caresses of this Court, there is daily confirmation of it. The Duke hath assigned him his own lodgings here at Whitehall, and the young lady is not much startled when the Prince is named unto her. But as all things look cheerful and welcome on that side, so there is a spirit of contradiction prevailing that will needs mix France in the whole contrivance, so that the party who were formerly here so vehement for the Prince are now grown averse. And how things go relating to the Prince in Holland, I shall be able ere long to send you a very material discourse thereof. In the meantime Sir Wm. Temple still continues here, and if the Duke's exception to him was on the Prince's account all that will now surely vanish, and so no difficulty to exclude him from the late pretension, but that which the present incumbent will deserve for his consent.

'Tis certain that Buckingham passes a great part of his time with Nelly, who because the Lord Treasurer would not strive to make her a countess, she is at perfect defiance with him, so that the Treasurer's lady is there acted, and the King looks on with great delight, which has been a fatal prognostic unto some. And the knowledge hereof, together with the revenge, which Buckingham declares gives the Lord Treasurer some trouble of mind, perceiving also that *hz* takes sanctuary at that place, and has all manner of assistance which that place can afford, and all the promises of those that come near it. I am also told that *hn* is there of the party.

On the other side it is observed that *te* [The Lord Treasurer] stands very well with *fi* [The Duke of York], and

* Roderigo, Conde de Castel Melhor, sometime Prime Minister to Alfonso VI. of Portugal. Some letters and several allusions to him will be found in the correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshawe. See *Report on the Manuscripts of J. M. Heathcote*.

that Monsieur Barrillon is in long and frequent discourse with him, and so on that side he seems very strong.

Yesterday Sir Robert Howard appeared at the Council Board, and his design being to gain time, His Majesty seemed to allow what he desired; so that the hearing of the matter is put off until the third Council day after the King's return from Newmarket. The Condé de Castel Melhor is here at last arrived—extremely caressed by all.

1677, September 25.—There is very little news here stirring but that all preparations are making to fetch the Prince of Orange. Sir Gabriel Silius is going to look after conveniencies for his Highness, who is to come in a new yacht belonging to the Duke, and called the *Mary*. And as most do conclude that all our caresses herein have approbation from France; so how they will find their account herein does not otherwise appear than as by this expedient France hopes for a peace, and that it is of the highest importance for them. But how a peace will import the Prince of Orange looks like a very great paradox. I will refer your Grace to the enclosed papers as a discourse coming in season, though not exposing all the good omens that you wish to his Highness, but I fear there is very much truth in it; 'tis very secret, the author having only showed it (besides myself) to one of the Secretaries, but yet I have his permission to send it unto your Grace for your own perusal.

I have heard it said that the Emperor takes such part in the Queen of Spain's mortifications that Don John, partly on resentment and partly to acquire strength, is meditating a match between the King of Spain and the Duke of Orleans' daughter, and will avoid that proposed with the Emperor's.

1677, October 9.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 29th, and it is no news to me what you intimate of a correspondence with my lord of Orrery; for that a few days since Mr. Robert Boyle industriously took occasion to acquaint me with it, and how civil your Grace had been to his Lordship's two sons when they were sent to wait upon you. The only use and application that I shall make thereof may be to become somewhat more complaisant towards his Lordship, and to write him now and then a letter from hence, which for some years I have not done, and which I believe he takes not well at my hands. I am also told by my Lady Petty that your Grace has discoursed with kindness to Sir William, which is matter of great contentment to her, and all her friends shall be sure to know it. I confess I heartily wish your Grace could lay some particular obligation upon him as to his present difficulties. His talent is very considerable, and he has several admirers of it, and I should be glad to see him remarkably under that badge. My Lord of Essex hath promised to set all things to rights with His Majesty, which by his representation were accomplished.

I hope your Grace received the paper I sent relating to the Prince of Orangé. His Majesty read it here with great attention, saying that, in the lump, he had heard of some dis-

satisfactions towards his nephew, but the particular sources of it were never made plain to him before, and he feared that even his nephew was not sensible of all that did concern him therein. The paper was drawn by one Mr. Hill, who had been, for some months, lately on that side. It was he that writ *The Zealander's Choice*, being then minister to the English at Flushing, for which the States ordered his banishment, as a thing judged by them of too much service in that conjuncture to England. But since his late return, he was enjoined to correspond with his friends on that side, and especially to find out the general opinion touching the Prince's coming over. Whereof what his advices amount unto, and what is sent down to His Majesty at Newmarket, your Grace has here in the enclosed paper, which I hastily took, having his allowance to communicate the same to your Grace, for whom, (though unknown) he has a great estimation, as you will see. But first, as to the Prince's coming over, when we heard that the States made some kind of pause thereupon, as a thing altogether new, and they not consulted therein till the day before the arrival of the yachts from hence, it was said by Mr. Secretary [Williamson] that the whole business of the Prince's coming arose from himself, and without any invitation from hence. And as to the point of the marriage, it is a matter altogether as yet in His Majesty's breast. A little time will now explain the whole.

I suppose your Grace has heard of this Mr. Hill I mention, and has seen his book of *The Zealander's Choice*. He is a man of very good learning, and one that is often with me, and knows very well how the world goes. And being a man acquainted with books, and with the press, and meeting (among many other things) with a manuscript writing *The Affairs of Ireland from 1641 to 1660*, in about twenty-four sheets of large paper, and pretty close writ, he told me he had never met with so great a vindication of the late King, in reference to the affairs of Ireland, or of your Grace's government, as in those papers, which he left with me to read. But I, doubting my own capacity, did think Peter Walsh would be much a better judge. And he, having read them over, does assure me that 'tis an excellent history for the truth of all those transactions. And he could heartily wish, for your Grace's sake, that it were put in print. Upon this testimony thereof I discoursed farther with Mr. Hill, and was in hopes that Mr. Walsh would have dined here with him this day, or have conferred upon his subject. But he was hindered to come. However, this is the result of my conference with Mr. Hill: he says he has leisure and good will, and if your Grace think fit, he will take upon him to draw forth, in a more proper and acceptable style, the whole matter contained in those sheets, and that as he draws forth every sheet the same shall be sent to your Grace for approbation and amendment before he goes to the next. And he will first also consult here with Mr. Walsh as he goes on. And finally that he will take care to see it printed as it ought to be. And, says he, when this

is done, all I shall expect for my recompense shall be only his Grace's recommendation and good offices for me with His Majesty. I told him, as to this part, I would be answerable if the work went on that he should not be a loser. He does not tell me who writ these papers, but says it was a person of Ireland who is now dead, and that in time I shall know his name. I guess the papers came casually into his hands, but so as they are now his own. Thus your Grace sees what I here represent. And 'tis left in your own choice freely to say what you think best. I will only add thus much, that Mr. Hill is master of a clear and perspicuous style, and a man indefatigable in whatever he is to do. And I conceive your long life and many years of employment, and variety of fortunes, will deserve a little care, even from yourself, to see that justice be done; since every man is a debtor to his family, and 'tis not enough to leave great heaps of materials behind, if they must be left to the mercy of those who shall not employ them aright; therefore I am so far in the other extreme that I would even press and importune your Grace to have somebody capable of the work employed in nothing else (while you are in the Government there, and have all papers about you), to write the memories of your whole life, and if not to the world, yet to bequeath them to your family. I know your Grace will pardon all my presumption herein, as being assured that I do it with a faithful mind and for your Grace's service.

1678, October 10.—What I writ your Grace by the last is what I would now again write if it had been omitted. My Lord Longford told me that he feared *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick] would not follow the advice that was given him—so that perhaps he might need a letter from your Grace to the same effect. I know *ph* [Lady Portsmouth] wounds *ks* [the Lord Lieutenant] wherever he can be heard on account of partiality to *mæ* [Papists]—nay would persuade some that there can be no true settlement of that kingdom unless the same zest may be there enacted as here, or at least that none act as Justices or sit in Parliament but those who take the Oath of Allegiance as well as Supremacy. Since my last *ce* [the Lord Chancellor] was saying to *rs* [Sir Robert Southwell] that at the meeting of the Parliament there would be great looking to see what was done by *ks* [the Lord Lieutenant] in *ip* [Ireland]—to which 'twas answered that there was no doubt but all things that were appointed would be performed.

In tumbling over the papers of information given in by Dr. Tonge I find this note.—“Archbishop Talbot is certainly a mortal enemy to the Duke of Ormond; however his brother and other Popish Irish, by flattery and their dispensations, may obtain the favour of some commissions under him, and so bring him into suspicion with the Protestants.” “Also this note: Pacquets from the General to Archbishop Talbot are superscribed to the Viscount Mountgarret, but are sent by special messengers to

West Chester as far as we can learn." 'Tis also said that letters to Ireland are sometimes superscribed to Mr. Pipard. And because the Lords here have appointed that all letters coming to the posthouse for any against whom warrants are issued should be stopped, and are accordingly brought to the Council Board and there examined, I have writ to Mr. Secretary Coventry to send his order to Chester to that effect, and your Grace may do well to watch the posthouse there.

Mr. Richard Langhorne, of the Temple, was the last night sent to Newgate upon Mr. Oates his deposition that he was knowing of the Jesuits' conspiracy; but the truth is in all their papers nothing as yet appears as evidence thereof, so that all the care and pains is chiefly applied to the unciphering of Mr. Coleman's letters, which doubtless will cost him dear; being, though of a different, yet, all of a dangerous strain.

I venture to send your Grace copies of two of the letters which came to Mr. Bedingfield at Windsor, which he himself brought to the Duke and the Duke to the King. The originals are both writ in very suspicious hands, and nothing like the usual character of Dr. Fogarty and Mr. Fenwick, as appears by their papers seized and examined. But I send these to your Grace for information only, and if false that you may see what strings are touched upon as the current sense, or what some would make their business to have current.

Yesterday my Lord Arran departed towards your Grace and carried with him some entertainment for your leisure, namely so much of what we expect from Mr. Hill as reaches to the year 1648. He was long before he could settle to it, but now his head is full of nothing else. But 'tis late and I will not now say anything upon this matter, but wish your Grace all the honour and happiness I can desire.

1677, October 16.—I am not able to make any judgment out of the variety of opinions and discourses about the Prince of Orange's being in this Court. Doubtless the States of Holland have sent him out as the dove; for they dismissed him after all with extraordinary tokens of respect. We have a talk arisen of a triple alliance between us, France and Holland, in order to compel the Spaniard to sit down with what we think proper for him, and therein for the peace of Europe. For we think while he is left to himself he sees all things with the spectacles of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, and will never take measure of what he is this day. Some do marry the Prince to the Duchess of Guise; others, who will not hear it so, say she was born in '36 and he in '50. 'Tis here the desire of the people (and none say that either of the parties are averse) that he were married to the Lady Mary, but some will doubt whether the Duke will be so forward as they wish. Therefore time must afford more light.

Your Grace will here enclosed see how far beyond my last motion, touching Mr. Hill and the piece I told you of, Peter Walsh does go. 'Tis surely a matter worthy of your consideration, and as such I will attend your answer in it.

1677, October 20.—The enclosed letter will in the general show your Grace the present temper of Holland in relation to the Prince's journey. His Highness is often here in close conference with His Majesty, as also with the Duke and with my Lord Treasurer; but I hear not of any other that partakes in the secret of what is managed, unless Sir William Temple. And as to the business of the marriage the discourses are not warm in it. 'Tis said the French repent their late success of defeating so many Germans, for that they themselves have lost many more, and their whole army retreated for two days from the Duke of Lorraine, who is yet in hopes to get quarters on this side the Rhine.

My Lord of Canterbury had at once upon him so violent a looseness, with a fever, ague, and the strangury, that the hiccups took him, and he was abandoned by the physicians, so that a certain German was admitted with his potion of *Aurum potabile*, which has had wonderful effects, and gives fair promise of a recovery. However, the candidates look about, and my Lord of Durham* is newly come to town, and spoken of to be in a state of particular favour, especially there where my Lord of London† is greatly in want of it. Nor can his friendship with my Lord Treasurer (as it is said) stem that current, though his Lordship appears more than anybody else gracious in the same place; therefore my Lord of London bends all his industries in favour of the Archbishop of York‡, not only for having been his quondam tutor, but for being a man very positive and intractable in his way, and even older than my Lord of Canterbury that is dying.

Yesterday my Lord of Essex presented His Majesty in Council with some papers showing the yearly disbursements of the concordatum money, and how that upon the whole he had not exceeded his bounds therein, unless in the sum of £187, which was thought a very frugal management. His Lordship has lying by him a short narrative of the state of Ireland, which he thought might have been called for and read at the Council Board, but nobody minding it since his return he seems not willing to make an offer of it.

Enclosure referred to in preceding letter. §

1677, October 22. [N.S.] Hague.—Sir, We are full of joy to hear since the Prince's arrival, the good intentions of your Court of giving the Prince so good a lady, and us a peace. Upon what grounds this is written or believed I know not, but should be glad to understand from you. And indeed we are so weary of the war that our Hogen Mogens are for a peace any way, which it seems the Northern Princes are so jealous of that the King of Denmark, Elector of Brandenburg, and Duke of Lunenburg have renewed their treaty for carrying on the war

* Nathaniel, 3rd Baron Crew, Bishop of Durham 1674-1722.

† Henry Compton, Bishop of London 1675-1713.

‡ Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York 1664-1683.

§ It does not appear who was the writer of this letter.

against the Swede. So that whatever you and we do, it seems they are resolved against peace, till they have got what they desire, fight for, and are in a probable way of obtaining. For the Swedes decline daily, having quitted the Island of Rügen (where the King of Denmark is in person) excepting one small post, which they are not likely to hold long. So that there is no appearance of succouring Stettin, and therefore we conclude (if the weather permit the siege) it must of necessity fall in Brandenburg's hands, as we suppose Stralsund afterwards, that garrison having denied the Swedes from Rügen entrance, and only admitted their cannon and baggage to come in. As for the armies of Lorraine and Créqui, they only seek to tire out each other for want of provisions, without any engagement, and when they have tried who shall stay longest in the field, and drawn into winter quarters, Lorraine goes to the Emperor's Court to marry his sister, the widow of the late King of Poland. Our army is drawing into winter quarters, the Prince's baggage comes hither, so that we expect no more of this campaign. We hear the King of France hath given orders to be early in the field, but we hope a happy peace will make great preparations for us unnecessary. For we presume the Prince's interest will prevail with your Court, that Monsieur Odyke and Van Beuningen (who we hear have the orders concerning the treaty may bring that business to a happy issue. For we are not able to carry on the war for want of money, at least not with those great numbers and vast expense we have done hitherto (and less we fear will not serve) which, considering our small success, hath both exanimated and exhausted us so greatly that a peace becomes absolutely necessary for us. And if your Court can draw our allies to a compliance with us herein, the Prince will gain himself great reputation among us, as the happy instrument of so good a work.

1677, October 23. Spring Garden.—I am not very forward in giving testimonials, but I am now called very heartily into it in the case of Captain John Martin, of Kinsale, who, since His Majesty's restoration, has commanded a company of the Militia there, and was above all other men of the town forward in surprising the fort at the time for His Majesty's service, but never had any consideration. My father did always put him upon whatever employment he could, and particularly (if your Grace remember it) he was sent over on the biggest of the East India prizes from Kinsale, in which trust his care and vigilance was so remarkable and successful, that the Lords Commissioners gave him treble the reward which my father had agreed with him for, and also their commission made him surveyor of prizes for Ireland, but the war soon ended, and he saw no benefit of that favour. His most humble suit at present is that, whereas Hayward, St. Leger's lieutenant, is above seventy years of age, and cannot live long, that your Grace would vouchsafe him a promise when the lieutenant dies that he may have a commission to succeed him. 1

have known this man since I can remember anybody, and he is truly loyal, stout and diligent, and I would not thus recommend him if he did not deserve this, or a better thing.

1677, November 10.—On Wednesday last Sir Robert Howard's business came on. He came in upon crutches, being lately risen from the gout. The King spoke kindly to him, and ordered a chair whereon he sat. There was a very numerous appearance. The King's counsel urged home the charge, and produced witnesses, with two letters of Sir Robert Howard's. The counsel of Sir Robert were all heard in reply, and Sir Robert himself, desiring leave to speak, rose up, and from his crutches made an harangue which was more moving than anything his counsel had said, and he kept within the bounds of some heads that were down in his paper, though it was thought he might have spared the declaring himself not to be a man that had raised any great hasty fortune. But it was his business to show how generously he had administered his office, and to disprove, or at least extenuate, the small concern he had in the matters objected. But, as he was calling his witnesses, the King broke off the cause, adjourning the residue of it unto Friday, upon notice then given him by a messenger from the Duke that the Duchess was in labour, and consequent to this we had in a few hours the good tidings of a young Prince, who is named Charles*, which, as is said, puts a little water in the Dutchmen's wine.

Yesterday came on the residue of Sir Robert Howard's cause, and with great opinion among his friends from the symptoms of the last day that he should have some taste of victory, his witnesses were all heard, the evidence on both sides summed up, and so all parties withdrew. Thereupon a debate arose of what was fit for His Majesty to do. It was taken notice of that whatever did relate unto the business of the false bags, did wholly rest on the testimony of Sir William Doyley,† the teller, who appeared so infamous a man, not only in breach of trust to His Majesty, but of treachery to his friend, that there ought small regard to be had to that point. But forasmuch as it was manifest that Sir Robert Howard did know the time when Sir William Doyley wanted four or five thousand pounds of his cash, and did not reveal it to the Lord Treasurer until it came to £8,000, and not then neither till his Lordship was by some suspicion put upon the search; and whereas also it did appear that Sir Robert Howard borrowed four or five hundred pounds from a teller, knowing it to be the King's money, though it be true that he paid it justly again, yet the example of such a thing in an officer of his station, and as check over the rest, could not be less than a misdemeanour; so that it was proposed His Majesty should call Sir Robert in to give him reprehension on these two heads, and to leave the prosecution of the whole matter to his Attorney-at-Law. This

* Charles, Duke of Cambridge, firstborn son of James II. by Mary of Modena, b. Nov. 7, d. Dec. 12, 1677.

† Sir William D'Oyley, Bart., a Teller of the Exchequer.

was by others objected against as a kind of sentence presently given which might influence the like doom in Westminster Hall. But if on a more rigorous trial there he should be acquitted, that would not sound much to the honour of this Board; and therefore it appearing that although Sir Robert Howard were blameable in what had passed, yet no man had objected that he was to be any gainer thereby, and that he had said very much in mitigation of the offence, and had very well served His Majesty and the late King, and that to a man of honour nothing could be more grievous than the declaration of His Majesty's displeasure, therefore it was proposed that the whole matter should only be dismissed to the law. But this being much opposed as an unusual method, that after His Majesty had sat so long and heard so much he should say nothing; which would certainly be considered to the disadvantage of his Lord Treasurer, and as if he had troubled His Majesty with a matter of no weight; it was proposed by others that the prosecution of law should be omitted, for that it did not appear Sir Robert had anything transgressed in his own office which might occasion a forfeiture thereof. But for a failure in duty towards others it might be fit to reprehend him here. This motion at last, with some little addition, took place. And His Majesty himself discoursed somewhat largely on the matter, chiefly to vindicate my Lord Treasurer from any imputation of malice, as it was spread, for having known and allowed this thing to run on for near a year and a half; the same being done in order to a complete discovery and particularly with relation to the false bags which Sir William had undertaken to make more apparent. But his Lordship had immediately, upon the first discovery, given His Majesty notice thereof, and therefore the King ordered that (when Sir Robert Howard and the company were called in again) he should declare His Majesty's satisfaction in what my Lord Treasurer had acted in this matter. And in the two points of Sir Robert's not declaring the want of cash when he first knew it, and the borrowing that which belonged to His Majesty, that he should understand His Majesty's great displeasure, and that His Majesty should take it into his own consideration what was farther fit to be done. And this (Sir Robert and the company being called in) was declared accordingly. And so the matter ends with honour to my Lord Treasurer, and without danger of suspension or loss of office to Sir Robert Howard.

Yesterday, according to your Grace's prognostic the good Archbishop† passed into a better life, begging for several days all his friends to pray that he might die, so little ease or contentment had he in life.

I have the honour of two from your Grace of the 20th and 27th past. Yesterday P.W. [Peter Walsh] and Mr. Hill dined with me. I returned him the manuscript and he will fall to work upon it in the manner I have already mentioned, and

† Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, d. Nov. 9, 1677.

they are to dine with me once a fortnight at farthest for the better comparing of notes. I did venture with Mr. Hill into a discourse of the whole subsequent history as mentioned to your Grace, for in this point nothing had been said unto him before; but he was not prepared for any other answer in that matter, though I gave him prospect of requital, than that he would first go through with this small piece, and if therein he could acquit himself to your Grace's approbation he would then better know how to frame his thoughts to the greater work. And I think his answer is not much amiss.

I have waited upon my Lord of Ossory, who most obligingly showed me what your Grace has lately writ, and for the view transmitted by your Grace touching the present state of His Majesty's revenue he bid me call on my Lord Chamberlain for it, which I have done, having had the same request from both to become master of it, so as by discourse to make it easy to them. And this, I think, I am now pretty well prepared to do, and am attending their best leisure.

I send your Grace copies of the concordatum expense as they were lately presented in Council by my Lord of Essex, and if he give in any account of that kingdom, I shall be sure to give your Grace an early copy of it.

1677, November 13.—I do not yet hear who will be Archbishop. My Lord of London seems to have more voices in the public discourse than any other. The Duke, 'tis said, is for the Dean of St. Paul's*, and one that heard your Grace here recommend him took notice that you knew the secret. Some speak of the Archbishop of Dublin. Denny Muschamp apprehends something of it, but affirms 'tis not desired by his Grace, who, having thought of it, and made all calculations, thinks the removal would not turn to his profit. The Prince of Orange sets sail on Friday next; he has been here very close and intimate with my Lord Treasurer, whereof one effect has been to mediate a reconciliation with my Lord Chamberlain, who himself told me somewhat of it, and that the overtures looked fair. Nay, that my Lady Danby had told her Lord that he should not rely on any of my Lord Arlington's renegades, but rather make friendship with himself. I did not perceive his Lordship over fond of the proposal, and so I know not if it will have any effect.

The Lord Feversham is gone for France, Mr. Montagu having prayed to be excused for some little time. That which I hear whispered is as if what has been here debated with the Prince of Orange is to be consulted at Paris; and so, between us the concert of a model peace, wherein the chief care is for leaving a sufficient frontier unto Flanders, and to sacrifice for that Burgundy and the French Comté. But this seems a reckoning without the host, and upon supposition that Spain will swallow that which shall be imposed; but what will be the consequence if they do not swallow I cannot tell.

* William Sancroft.

I am assured from one that received it from an eminent hand in Paris that the French Ambassador, Monsieur Barrillon, writ word two days before the marriage of the Prince of Orange that he had broken it off. And this being mark enough of no concurrence to this matter in France confirms the whisper on my Lord Peterboro's disappearance at that time that he passed over privately to make the best of things.

Sir Robert Howard did not long remain under His Majesty's displeasure, having on Saturday kissed his Royal hand, but withal he was commanded to go and make his submission to the Lord Treasurer, which he intends to do.

I most humbly thank your Grace for purposing good to Captain Martin; he deserves it well.

1677, November 20.—The Prince of Orange, being very intent on his return, did yesterday embark without any favour of the wind, and is likely to depend on the tide alone for a good passage. There go none with him from hence who return again, as foreseeing the want of leisure to spend much time in caresses on that side. What preparations of peace he carries with him (which is generally expected by his country) does not appear, and some suspect that he has no more inclinations for it than is necessary for a disguise, which temper would suit very much to the sense of the House of Commons, but prove very disobliging to France, which aims more at a particular than a general peace. For, if Holland were struck out of the list, the residue of the war would be but a play, since, as it is, he everywhere carries his point. The winning of Fribourg gives him not only fresh quarters but may operate very far to press the Duke of Bavaria into a partnership of the war with him instead of neutrality. And it is said Ypres is even now besieged.

There is a rumour that in Scotland the assemblies of fanatics grow very tumultuous, and that my Lord Fretewell is drawing that way with four troops.

'Tis not yet declared who will be our Archbishop. The general vogue runs for my Lord of London, and the more for the opposition that is said to be against him in one place.

I spent this morning an hour with my Lord Ossory upon the state of accounts sent lately by your Grace from thence; for now I suppose there may be time to look into it.

This new war declared with Algiers will require of necessity a greater expense than we are prepared for, which is a vexatious circumstance of it.

By the enclosed your Grace will see a new model in the form of laws intended for Jamaica, which will give my Lord Carlisle a little work to establish, for the Assembly there flew high and were in a fair way of treading, in time, the footsteps of New England.

1677, November 27.—By the last post I told my Lord Lanesborough of the order for superseding the late commission to seven of the Farmers, and observed to him how sharp some expressions were that fell to their share, little less than as if they were running

away with the revenue. I know not who 'tis has informed that they mean to lay claim to the eighty thousands pounds payable in the two years by the Lord Ranelagh. But on Sunday, before the Cabinet sat, Mr. Attorney attended the King, my Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer at the Treasury Chamber, to justify his draft of their patent as well as he could, and that they had not thereby sufficient title for the demand, and 'twas not clear how far my Lord Ranelagh sided herein with the Farmers. This I heard in great secrecy and 'tis concluded that the Farm must break, and that indeed it is taken at twenty thousand pounds too dear. If this be true there will most of it soon appear.

As yet we hear not of any Archbishop. My Lord of London takes it not himself; but many are so zealous for him as that 'tis said whoever else carries it, yet he will be at the head of the Church.

1677, December 4.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 21st past, where I observe that you were renewing the solemnities of joy upon the birth of the Duke of Cambridge, wherein you outdo not only Scotland but other places which made some expressions on the first occasion, but very faint ones on the latter.

The late purchase your Grace mentions of eight parts just confirms the jealousy I lately hinted as if all parties were agreed, unless His Majesty, for the disposition of that £80,000. I hear it now more openly said that Sir James Shaen did in the very beginning invite partners and comfort himself with that secret of hedging in the said £80,000; but what resolution is taken in this matter I do not yet certainly hear, but an opinion is spread as if the Farm must break.

On Saturday, my Lord Feversham came from France, and when on Monday both Houses met without any expectation of change, Mr. Secretary Coventry presented the House of Commons with a message under His Majesty's hand, importing that he saw some weighty reasons to shorten the intended adjournment, and therefore desired their meeting might be on the 15th of the next month. This is generally interpreted in the sense that every one pleases; and most people do hereupon talk of a war with France. For they tell you (and it is too obvious) that Flanders will immediately be swallowed up, and the French intend a winter campagna to that purpose. Then they undertake to know all my Lord Feversham carried and all that he has brought. They say he went with a project of a general peace, or at least a preliminary treaty importing a good understanding presently to be had between England, France and Holland, in order to that greater work, but hereupon particularly that all the French troops should abandon Flanders and leave that place in a state of security. 'Tis said that these overtures were undervalued, that my Lord Feversham's reception and farewell were very cold, and that His Majesty is very little satisfied with the narrative thereof. I suppose Monsieur Barrillon is little surprised (though he may be troubled) with the shortness of this adjournment, for

he was extreme inquisitive beforehand to find whether the time was intended to be shortened, which implies that his master had taken that in hand which deserved to alarm us.

On Thursday last Monsieur Barrillon made his public entry, and being advertised the night before that what had been lately practised at Paris in giving precedency of the coaches belonging to the princes of the blood to those of our two late ambassadors—the Earl of Sunderland and the Lord Berkeley—the like rule was now intended by His Majesty, who had appointed the coaches of the Duke and of the Prince, to follow next immediately after his own, this message put the ambassador to his wits end. He would have an entry without it, and would have no entry with it; and in this contention and uncertainty he remained even till the next morning. What was affirmed therein by the Lord Sunderland and the Lord Berkeley could not appease him, till he understood that His Majesty was firm in the matter, and then he took an instrument under young Mr. Cotterel's hand, who had been then at Paris, and taken observations of what had passed. And then he sat down and acquiesced in the ceremony, which was performed accordingly.

Upon the opposition continued against choosing the Bishop of London for Archbishop, the report has run strong in favour of my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and that he was actually landed. Some imputed the recommendation of him to your Grace, and others (more generally) to the Duke, and consequently various censures against both, and evil reflections against the Lord himself. And thus it is like to continue until the Bishop of London be chosen, who indeed has the general vogue of all the churchmen for him.

Near Windsor was lately taken a woman who for six months past has acted all the parts of an highwayman, in clothes and accoutrements suitable to the rest that are now seized with her.

1677, December 22.—Your Grace's last was of the 26th past, which I had sooner acknowledged but for some indisposition that has lately attended me. Nor can I now say much but as I collect it out of the various discourses I meet withal.

Mr. Montagu is arrived at Paris, and what answer he will receive from that Court is to be the matter of our highest resolutions either for peace or war. So that all mankind are with impatience attending the event thereof. The discourses take this use that when the Prince of Orange was here there was a perfect model agreed upon for the future disposition and shape of all affairs abroad; that His Majesty's mind herein being signified by the message of the Lord Feversham, but rejected by the King of France, it alarmed His Majesty as one quite disappointed of the trust and credit he valued himself always upon (in relation to the safety of Flanders at least); that seeing the flame start up where perhaps he thought (as well as his people) that it had already devoured too much, he resolves to show some resentment hereof; not only by hastening away Mr. Montagu to expostulate, but calling his Parliament to meet

suddenly to assert that matter, should his negotiation be undervalued. What this answer will be is to most very uncertain, but the discourses are to this effect :—

That by the 6th of the next month that King will march at the head of 70,000 men, effective, some say towards Metz but most others towards Flanders. The soldiers have double coats, and their pay augmented and not a shoebuckle wanting to the purpose in hand. So that whether this powerful prince, who has it manifestly in his hands to seize Flanders, which has been so long within the appetite of that crown, will now desist or not rather leave it to the arts of assuaging us, or the defiance of our pacific temper (if that will not do), is to many a very great doubt. For the accounts I hear of that prince's power are strangely formidable. 'Tis affirmed that he has in his pay by sea and by land 284,000 men, namely, 10,000 dragoons, 48,000 horse, and 226,000 foot and men upon the sea. That the advances of money for this year are as large and plentiful as for any year (hitherto) of the war. That he will this year have no less than thirty galleys and ninety ships at sea. And that he has put forth such invitations for the pay of seamen, and encouragement of strangers to live among them, as has not been known. Sir Philip Percival passed lately at Rochfort (in his way to Italy), where they were so intent on the building of new ships as that no holidays were excused from the work.

There are those who plainly say that France doth both expect our siding with the allies, and is providing for it; and that the disorders in Scotland may have relation hereunto. All the Irish officers that came hither for recruits are, by the French Ambassador, forbid to raise any; which some interpret one way, yet some another, and as if that king would not have our Parliament exasperated, and that he will give Mr. Montagu a very good answer, and have mercy upon Flanders, and proceed no further at this time in what must certainly either throw us into war against him, or into auxiliaries that he must connive at.

And thus matters are discoursed without doors, observing the frequent meetings of councils, and taking notice of recruits hastening away to Jersey (together with Sir Bernard de Gomme) for the better defence of that place. And several other instances of this nature there are which imply jealousy enough of what Mr. Montagu's answer may happen to be. Only as to poor Ireland I hear of nothing, notwithstanding the seasonable animadversions that some know have been given touching the miserable nakedness of that place.

The next part of the general discourse runs upon the meeting of the Parliament, and what they are like to do. The discontented cry out that, let France answer as it please, they care not; the opportunity is lost, and seasonable advice before given being rejected, they will submit to what may follow; and so neither give counsel nor part with money. But the more wise have other thought. They mean not to die for fear of death, but are likely rather, not only to resent an ill answer from France, but happily the very best that is like to be given. For they may not think it

enough to have the troops of that king drawn out from Flanders, but conclude all lost, or at that king's pleasure, unless he restore and throw up what he has gotten. They may also probably urge an open alliance with Holland, and be convinced that now by the Prince of Orange 'tis more likely than ever it was before to become certain and effectual to either side, and so advise His Majesty to embark.

But when all is done the great shock which can embitter the business worse than anything else is to be apprehended from the unhappy distrust and jealousy touching the management of the war and the husbandry of the money ; wherein all good men do however hope that the prospect of the danger will beget a right understanding on either side. 'Tis generally expected that His Majesty will now insist for continuing the additional duty of wine which otherwise expires at midsummer next, and which amounts to about £150,000 a year.

The vote abroad continues still for the Bishop of London to be Archbishop. Yet 'tis affirmed His Majesty had long since declared for the Dean of Paul's, had he not been extremely pressed to avoid the mortification it must be to so many prelates, that none of their whole order should be thought competent to that dignity.

Mr. Hill begins now to enter upon the work I have formerly mentioned unto your Grace, whereof he last night showed me a sheet, appointing to meet P. W. [Peter Walsh] for some information, and I have this day sent him a dozen bottles of sack to enliven his pen.

A most happy Christmas to your Grace.

1677, December 25.—I have just now the honour of your Grace's of the 18th, and since what I wrote the last post, methinks the cloud from France appears very thick.

Mr. Montagu, though but newly arrived at Paris, had time to observe that he was not likely to have a speedy answer, unless to the same effect with my Lord Feversham's. Upon this Mr. Thynne was yesterday despatched to the Prince of Orange, and the night before His Majesty and the Duke were both so hot upon the French Ambassador, as the like had never been heard before, and it was in the Duke's closet. My Lady Portsmouth having been very ill of late is now resolved to drink the Burbon waters, which all conclude a final adieu to England, and place it among the probabilities of the war. They say Dixmuide is invested and Ypres must then soon follow, and the French King will not forego his pursuit of Flanders.

'Tis certain His Majesty is now alarmed with this danger and will speak his mind very freely to his Parliament, and will go very far in the ways they shall advise. Good men hope they will enquire how to get out, and not how we got in, nor take advantage of the King's necessities for their aid. He has long forbore to call for a tax, but could now have held out no longer, even if this new danger had not presented. Besides the war with Algiers is

very galling. So far do the general discourses run upon the war that among them 'tis said your Grace is to be sent for over to be a general. Stettin is certainly taken, but on good conditions.

1677, December 29.—His Majesty has this night declared Dr. Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, and just now is arrived an express from Mr. Montagu signifying that the King of France does on Monday next march at the head of his troops towards Flanders, and that he declares his resolution of keeping his Court at Brussels, so that now no man doubts but that we must enter into a speedy war, and everything as well on the part of France as of our side looks the same way.

My Lord Dumbarton is every day in close conversation with my Lord Treasurer and (as we think) modelling the matters of the war. As he was riding post from Paris hither he was called back by Monsieur Louvois with order to speak with him in the moment of his return; and accordingly he was waked out of his sleep, and in short [Lonvois] asked my Lord if there should be wars with England whether the King of France might not place obligations enough on him to engage his stay; which when he declared the impossibility of, if his own king should call him, the other replied, that he then valued but little a marshal's staff. His Lordship's regiment is sent to the farther side of France in purpose to be harassed, and the Duke of Monmouth's regiment are refused either quarters or pay unless they will subscribe to serve the whole campaign.

Mr. Brisbane is called home from Paris, and everything else shows what we are to trust unto. I wish Holland may be in a condition to stick to us. I saw this day a serious letter as if their hearts were broke, crying shame at the sloth of England to stand by all this while and to see them perish.

I have your Grace's of the 23rd instant, and showed the same to my Lord of Ossory and my Lord Chamberlain, together with the representation of the Commissioners for the accounts of the undertaking, as I will do unto others. The short of the matter is that if Parliaments be called upon for their good will and hearty concurrence now at a time of need they will be better satisfied in these particulars. And I presume there will be no great difficulty to gratify them in several things that are now thought very dear.

1677-8, January 5.—I know not if this milder day will encourage my Lord of Ossory to set sail, who was yesterday persuaded back by the tempestuousness of the weather. But while everybody talks that his Lordship's expedition to Holland tends to war, and that he goes to make conditions for a body of men that he has leave to raise and transport into that service, the last letters from France seem full of that king's inclinations to peace; so at least it is generally voiced, and thereby several of the members of Parliament grown more keen for war than while they thought His Majesty more earnest in that mind. What is said from

Holland to Mr. Hill by a very wise and sober Dutchman in the Government your Grace has here enclosed in English, which gives but melancholy symptoms of their present condition. There passes a rumour as if the Parliament should be for a few days prorogued ; that so a late vote against giving money this session might not stand in the way now when so much is expected. And tho' a prorogation will determine also the expense of the corn clause, which has cost His Majesty dear, and is still a continuing charge ; yet the same prorogation will also set free a prisoner who is of some consideration in such a conjuncture as this is like to be, when His Majesty may have some difficulties with the Parliament as well as with the King of France.

There came lately to my house Captain Shales, whom I have been long acquainted withal, and still lived in good friendship with him. He opened to me how that two days before the Lord Treasurer (in whose service he is) calling him upon some important matter of accounts appeared in the beginning very cloudy and uneasy ; but at last out this accusation came against him that Sir Thomas Erscot having made way to a reconciliation with his Lordship did lay to the Captain's charge that it was by his means that he ever went about to disserve his Lordship ; and particularly that the Captain had engaged him to procure from your Grace the station of one of your secretaries, which he would merit by revealing all my Lord Treasurer's secrets, and what else might tend to his Lordship's disservice.

The Captain told me that he was extremely astonished with this sudden accusation, tho' not with the news that Sir Thomas Erscot should bear him ill will, he being a man with whom he had had much to do, first in the way of my Lord Treasurer's service, which he pretended to promote, and during all that time lived in great friendship and intimacy with him, but afterwards in a state of war and enmity when he discovered the ill will and disservices which he began to profess against his Lordship. That true it was when the Duke of Ormond was declared Lord Lieutenant and that there seemed a fair understanding between his Grace and his Lordship, Sir Thomas did tell the Captain what power he had with his Grace, and used many inducements for improvement of his fortune, to stand candidate for a place of secretary ; but 'twas as true that in a very few days he answered Sir Thomas that as he could not hope to have any credit or admission to his Grace, but by my Lord Treasurer's recommendation, so considering his want of health and numerous family he did not see how the removing into another kingdom could turn him to account, and therefore gave Sir Thomas in a short time his final negative therein. The Captain farther added to his Lordship that 'twas not credible such a man as the Duke of Ormond would ever admit one to be his secretary upon the credit of betraying another master. Much it seems also passed from my Lord Treasurer upon this occasion touching his suspicions of Sir Thomas Erscot, who has made his way by the Lord O'Brien, and touching other like men that are making fair weather with him. But that which his Lordship more particularly said was

this, that he had writ to my Lord of Ormond touching this matter, and that he was sure his Lordship would tell him the truth.

Now the reason that I trouble your Grace with this whole narrative is first to observe that the intriguing men are never fixed to a point, as you will easily conclude by this new friendship between Sir Thomas and my Lord O'Brien, and so forward. And in the next place I desire your Grace would let me know (if as a friend to Captain Shales you think fit) what it is your Grace may have writ to my Lord Treasurer upon this occasion; or if your Grace be still to write that you be aware if anything can be picked thereout to Captain Shales his disadvantage, it is very probable that he may feel it, which is the reason I presume to enlarge upon this matter, that nothing may happen for want of caution which is not intended.

1677-8, January 12.—Your Grace's of the first instant took a very exact impression of the figure it was like to find us in, for from Sunday last until this Saturday morning the Cabinet Council has in a manner been constantly sitting.

Mr. Thynne is returned from Holland with the ratification of our league and Mr. Sidney Godolphin is hastened over to the Governor of Flanders, and we are in other respects certainly doing all that an approaching war requires, bating the demonstrations thereof.

I observe how willingly your Grace inclines to favour me at Kinsale, in the midst of these probable combustions. But the state of things is very lately altered, for Captain Brett, Mr. Parsons and Mr. Vincent have by proposing to victual at three farthings less in the Mediterranean and one farthing less on this side the straits than formerly swept all before them; especially by adding the offer of £60,000 to His Majesty in loan at 8 per cent. whenever he should call for it, so that they are in full possession of the victualling, and none but they. And notwithstanding His Majesty did on my petition (whereof I presume to enclose the copy) graciously recommend me to them, as also did the Lords of the Admiralty; yet they are men of a flinty nature, who will neither let me hold any part or give me any gratuity for turning out, so that little butter sticks on my bread, and I am not half so good a courtier as I ought to be. But I think the Lords of the Admiralty will recommend me for some good turn to His Majesty when the occasion presents.

Yesterday for two hours at the Council Board it was argued warmly who had the right of disposing the Groom porter's place, Mr. Offley being dead. Tom Chicheley claimed His Majesty's promise of the reversion granted by warrant in my Lord Manchester's time, which his Lordship then opposing, the warrant lay deposited in the Lord Arlington's hands till that right should be decided, which till now was not inquired into. His Majesty was wholly bent to favour Tom Chicheley, and thought his hands too much tied up, almost in all cases, if this should be determined against him; that the superior officer should dispose of the places beneath him; but my Lord Chamberlain spared not also to assert

his right, and to that degree that many hope Mr. Chicheley will give him some compensation for his admittance, as Mr. Offley did just in the like case to my Lord Manchester. My Lord Chamberlain bears all things with the best temper he can. I asked him this morning what he would have me tell your Grace of the public; he told me they were somewhat busy, but that Mr. Secretary Coventry had received orders to impart to your Grace the present state of affairs, and then doubtless your Grace will have everything in its true figure.

1677-8, January 19.—I had the honour to receive from my Lord Arran's hand your Grace's of the 8th instant, together with the enclosed computation of the northern charge, which as to the part that continues was, it seems, by what Mr. Secretary Coventry tells me, all ordered from hence, and as to the other part about the shipping 'tis already at an end. My Lord of London was this day shewing a letter he had from Scotland, where it seems they have lately apprehended and hanged up one Mitchel, a desperate fellow, who having attempted in 1668 to shoot the Archbishop, but hit another Bishop in the arm, came secretly again and took a shop over the way with a purpose to renew the experiment; but being discovered and confessing the fact at the Council Board a jury of fifteen found him guilty; that confession of his not made upon any promise of favour, passing for judicial, and there being farther proof that he attempted to take away the life of one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors (which it seems is their law). The new Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, was very jealous in the prosecution, and it was for too much mildness in such kind of things that the other Advocate is laid aside. Several menaces were sent from the party to this Advocate as to the Archbishops during the prosecution. But it seems things are now there in a way of composure, for that several of the countries had offered to make themselves answerable for any disturbance that should happen, which is the good effect that quartering of soldiers upon them hath produced. I took occasion upon this to say that they saw what a rod was held over them from Ireland, if they did amiss, and how forward all things were put by your Grace to take account of their proceedings, upon which his Lordship took notice that the Lord Lauderdale was troubled that such preparation was made, for that he only desired what had formerly been done in that kind. I told his Lordship that the Duke of Lauderdale and his Duchess also had written in a very different style to my Lord Granard, and that the stopping of the ships was but very suitable to the apprehensions which at that time their Graces expressed. I have given my Lord Chamberlain the full account of this matter, and though Mr. Secretary means to lay it all before the King, yet when he may have opportunity in a thing which is no more thought on but just at the first I cannot tell. Upon Monday I may probably know what he says to the representation upon the address of the Lord Ranelagh's partners.

As to the matter of the war I understand that all things are done which depend on consultation as the calling home our forces from France, the raising new men, etc., that His Majesty does believe it will be a war, and yet is unwilling to declare it himself, but would have it done at the instance of the Parliament. This suspension occasions idle rumours, as if we had received money from France to sit still, and I know not what. The truth is those who love war least, and know how unprepared we are for such an enemy, do yet confess that a year hence we shall be worse, and every year degenerate, and that nothing can ruin us but a general peace, which will only give rest unto the Allies, whose company we may now have and turn the whole stream upon ourselves. We are at this time thought abroad infinitely richer than we are, and all buried in luxury ; so that nothing can hinder such a prince who commands 100,000 fighting men, and a hundred French millions a year to support them, from exercising their rapine upon us. Therefore they say the sooner we enter the better we shall speed, for now we shall have allies. We have men and wealth enough, and want nothing but skill and practice to reduce both unto what they are capable of. And therefore though we may expect to be great losers for the first year in our merchant ships, which now overspread all the sea, and the ravage of our plantations and their seizure also had the Frenchmen to maintain them ; yet we shall at last come to do as well for ourselves as we do for the French, where 'tis observed that His Majesty's subjects are not only capable of the greatest fatigues, but are made the sheet anchor upon any brunt of service. All which the brave men of France spare not to acknowledge, and envy that toughness of courage, where the soldier sticks voluntarily to his officer without the need of a cudgel, which the French often lament the defect of among their own men, and therefore make not so slight of provoking England as others do. So that I hear his most Christian Majesty is even willing to give us all we ask, bating St. Omer, which he positively refuses ; and because that is a key to let him at all times into Flanders, we say he gives nothing if he gives not that up also ; so that we seem not to expect any farther answer from thence. But it is from the Governor of Flanders we expect to hear whether he will receive three thousand English in Ostend, which was, it seems, offered to the Spanish Envoy here, but he declared want of powers to accept it. And 'tis, I suppose, to be prepared in some points of this nature that His Majesty made this short adjourning of the Parliament. Some have been angry for it, as if all might be lost in so little a time, but others acquiesce in thinking His Majesty had good reason for it, and will be the better prepared to speak plainly to them. 'Tis believed by many of the Court that nothing but an excise can support the war, and nothing would make His Majesty more willing to engage than a vote to support it for three years ; yet with a proviso of ceasing whensoever the peace was to ensue, and even becoming accountable for the regularity of the expense. I presume that the whole labour of the cause will arise from the point of distrust in relation to the management and expense of the war, wherein God Almighty direct for the best.

My Lord of Essex told me that he had put in a word about some care for poor Ireland, where if any attempt happen I expect to be the first man undone, so naked is Kinsale, that famous and approved inlet, left; as if it were abandoned to whatever might happen. I know very well your Grace is in the same pain and I continue here to lament it wherever I can hope for relief.

My Lord Castlehaven is here among us, who says (as many others do) that all the burghers in Flanders are in dreadful apprehension lest we embark in the war, and so continue their misery, who languish to be in the hands of one that can protect them. I am certainly informed that although the King appear doubtful in his resolutions what course to steer, yet the Duke is settled and resolved in the necessity of a war, and 'tis not doubted but that he thinks of commanding all, and hopes that the Parliament will believe him firm to what he once declares, and qualify things which now lie too much in the way of his serving the public.

1677-8, January 29.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 12th, and in return thereof do here enclose His Majesty's speech with the votes which have passed this day. The debates ran very strong that to preserve what remains of Flanders, or to have accepted a peace with the restitution of some few towns, would be destructive to us. For France, whose Government is founded in conquest, would rest no longer than to take breath, and then choose rather to fall upon us, who lie remote and out of the concern of the Empire, than to meddle again with Holland, which would, as it has done, awaken the whole Continent. And therefore the preservation of Flanders could not be of use to England but in its full extent, when the frontier thereof reached near unto Paris, and from whence an easy invasion might be made, as often as it has been, to balance whatever violences that kingdom offered to its neighbours. Therefore nothing less than such a state of safety as appeared by the Pyrenean Treaty was fit to be thought of. And it was necessary to hasten an address to this effect that His Majesty might not now stand engaged by the late project, in case France should upon second thoughts come up thereunto.

The other part of the work relating to supplies will take up a separate consideration; yet many things have already been said, as if the preparations proposed by His Majesty could not be supported for less than £200,000 a month, which the Kingdom is so utterly incapable of bearing as if while war is mentioned it were not so really intended, and that it looked somewhat strange to speak of the duty on wine when nothing was so inconsistent with war as any toleration of that trade. But it was replied that other wines would still be drunk, and that their calculations towards war were not so strictly computed by what we might spare as by what our preservation required in respect of him we fear. And that in truth His Majesty was already under the tie of such preparations by the alliance which between him and Holland is already made. There were some reflections made for not having sooner taken these counsels which were long since

offered by the House, and yet there did not appear much sharpness therein, but even some excuse given, as if the benefit of the trade was a consideration very dear, and that had swayed long with His Majesty, and that the peace he had hitherto been making was rather in his character of a mediator than as it was peculiarly advantageous to himself. And so things passed with some smoothness this day, and I wish the like temper may be found in the rest of the work that is behind.

Mr. Speaker was yesterday very warmly attacked and a charge in paper presented against him as an infringer of the liberties of the House by not admitting them the freedom of speech, but adjourning them as he thought fit. He made a speech for himself which was of use unto him, setting forth how he had always proceeded by the King's command, and what the practice in his search of precedents had ever been on such occasions; that he could not go by any other rules than what he found; that if those rules were mistaken or ill entered he should readily give obedience to such amendment as the House should herein think fit to prescribe; that to those who seek an office there is an exactness of duty to be required at their hands; but if he was put into the chair without his seeking, and did perform therein to the best of his understanding, he hoped that all mistakes would be taken in the most favourable sense. It is believed that when on Thursday this matter comes on to debate as it is appointed, that the House may make a new rule in the thing, but let him alone for what is passed. That which I hear without doors objected to this Pyrenean vote is the engaging His Majesty in a persevering war, when the allies will leave him all alone and catch hold of any peace. But it is answered that this vote will cheer up the allies that were otherwise desponding and rather increase their number than dishearten those that are in.

Dr. Sprat being named to preach to-morrow, the anniversary for his late Majesty, gave occasion to a debate concerning the scandal of his not being more honourably interred. Those of the Court spoke most in this point, others fearing they might have left some reflection elsewhere for what hath been omitted in this particular.

1677-8, February 2.—The enclosed address comprehends more than the first vote, in that part prohibiting others from trade; which in truth sounds somewhat like the decree sent forth by Augustus Cæsar that all the world should be taxed. It was much opposed from the injustice of it towards all, and the inconvenience to ourselves, who must on all occasions make use of the Italian ports; and therefore to forbid the Hanse towns, Portugal, and the Italian princes and even the great Turk from trading with their ally was very hard. But the stream ran so strong on the necessity of wounding France in its great vein of trade, that 'twas replied it mattered little to offend the Hanse towns. As for Portugal it would be enriched by giving them the monopoly of salt and a great vent for their wines, and stop only that trade which is the most pernicious to them. That for Italy the mer-

chants indeed would murmur, but all the Governments there would be content to suffer anything for the humbling of France whom, but for fear, they would rise against. And in short that the other clause excluding ourself and allies from the French trade would signify nothing if any others were permitted to carry it on.

While this address was driving through, it bore this great objection of regarding only future alliances, and supplies to be given upon information that such alliances were made; but what should become of the present alliance actually made with Holland, and the impending danger which could not brook delay? To which it was said as the general sense of that side the House that they could give nothing for what they knew not. That His Majesty had formerly on like occasions imparted to them not only the scope but the very contents of his league with Holland, and they cheerfully supplied him therein. That whatever this league be, more or less, they will take it in as part of a good work which is to be carried farther on; and they will presently vote supplies which may be equal to that and the present occasion. But till they know something of particulars they cannot proportion their votes. And all this difficulty seems to arise from a jealousy they have that this league tends only to the securing of such a peace as may not be sufficient to disable France, but leave him in that vigour as to break out speedily upon us, when all chain of alliance is dissolved. And that it may appear that they mean to be doing they moved for estimates to be presently brought in touching preparations both by sea and land.

Mr. Speaker's business was not mentioned on Thursday and is very like to vanish.

Unto the two companies lately sent to Jersey three more and a troop of horse are hurrying away, upon advice from Sir Thomas Morgan that at St. Malo's great preparations was making of flat-bottomed boats.

His Majesty's answer to the address was that it consisted of several parts, and he would take care to return a speedy answer.

1677-8, February 9.—On Wednesday last the adverse party, finding themselves outvoted, did not as was first intended press further to see the treaty with Holland; but as people that were kept in the dark they resolved, on implicit faith, to contribute a sum to answer His Majesty's preparation in all events; and if, upon a war declared, they should return at Michaelmas, they would then give all the supplies which were fit to support that work. And though somebody named only £350,000, yet they would have ventured as far as £500,000 or £600,000 by implicit faith, and left it to His Majesty's management without further care. But when they found others pressing on the scope of His Majesty's speech for the support of ninety ships, then all the jealousies broke loose again, and the debates lasted till eight o'clock on Wednesday night. It was very frankly declared on His Majesty's part that he would only take to himself for indispensable occasions £200,000 from the customs, and the whole residue should be applied as

they pleased towards these ships, which appeared very frank and fair. And yet because that this could not be reduced to any certainty, especially in case of war, therefore they on the other side pressed to be on a certainty, and that the Commons should maintain forty of those ninety, and to leave the rest to the King—which measure was taken from a certain notion affirmed that the customs were all at first given for defence of the seas, computing fifty ships for the summer's guard and thirty for the winter. But upon a division of the House it was not thought fit to leave only forty to the care of the Commons and the rest to His Majesty, but that a sub-committee should take into consideration what the charges of ninety ships might amount unto by the month, and report the same to the House, examining the computations given in by Mr. Pepys, making the monthly charge at £4 a head, besides the ordnance, to amount unto £103,000 per mensem; and what the charge of the ordnance was I cannot well remember—but both are in examination of a committee, who hope to find excesses in the computations of the first, but much more of the latter.

And when all this is returned (as yet it is not), then the House is free to conjecture how much of such charge the customs may bear with the deduction aforesaid, and then how the rest shall be provided for. But those gentlemen do not yet so much as hint the matter how,—only seem, in debates, to renounce the method of a home excise, which they suppose is aimed at, and declare impossibility of doing it wholly by a land-tax, while they compute that what his Majesty has demanded cannot be supported for less than £230,000 per mensem, which they say will break their backs. And thus they go on contending and disputing every particular step that is made, having a greater number of able and contentious speakers, though they are outdone in votes; and declare that since the free and implicit supply that they offered would not be taken, and that since this longer method is insisted on, they are resolved to contend it as men wholly disbelieving any real intentions of war with France—concluding it in part from the sharpness of His Majesty's late answer to their address, which was made with some sort of distrust that he was not so far and so heartily embarked as they could wish, and then by observing some other hints in favour of this jealousy, so as not being convinced that all this preparation was really intended, where they are sufficiently convinced it is needful, they turn it all into poison, as if all tended to the old work of a standing force and the dependencies thereof.

But yet our strength at sea is not matter of so much distrust as what hath followed in the debates of those forces which are proposed by land. The scheme proposed for 30,000 men, viz., 26,000 foot; and the rest, horse and dragoons, according to the narrowest model, were one part of them to be embarked on our fleet to the number of 8,000 men in order to descents in France; 10,000 more for our islands and maritime coasts, and a body of 12,000 or more to be sent over into Flanders. This third branch was generally approved of, so as they might go by way of auxiliaries where others, more experienced than we are, might answer

for the conduct. Many instances on this occasion were shown how happy the English had been as auxiliaries, now lately in Alsatia, before in Portugal, before that at Dunkirk, and higher up to the distressed states of Holland, etc. ; and on the contrary how unfortunate at the Isle of Rhé, Cadiz, etc. Then whether horse, but especially dragoons, were necessary to the aid of our foot was much in dispute, but overruled. And then came in the whole argument of the Spaniards refusing us lately Ostend, and their distrust of any reality from us, and how far it imported us to help them, though they were even averse to be helped by us. Upon which occasion it was affirmed that His Majesty had appointed the Lord Treasurer and two Secretaries to treat with their Minister here, who had within three weeks spoke more plainly, and offered more than ever formerly he did, whatever was voiced abroad to the contrary. And how much would yet be finally obtained was hitherto uncertain.

As to the soldiers to be put on the ships, many did question their usefulness, being rather a pest and incumbrance than otherwise, unless they were part of the ship's complement as they were in former wars. But as to the ten thousand men designed for guard of the coast, that was most of all their matter of jealousy, arguing that if our fleets were on the French coast the French fleet would not stir out, and so these forces would be needless ; and where they were not necessary they were certainly very dangerous, and that if a third part of the militia of England, where the whole consists of eight score thousand men, were drawn out and trained to answer emergencies this would do the work and give no matter of jealousy.

But after all the matter being put to the question it was voted that while we have a war with France the numbers aforesaid were necessary to support our alliances ; and 'tis referred to the same Committee to compute what the charges per mensem may amount to. It was asked whether to all these preparations Scotland and Ireland should not contribute, there being a considerable surplus in Ireland in case it were not diverted.

Thus I tire your Grace with a recollection of what now, as the post is going, occurs unto me, that you may the better know how things proceed in this place, and conclude that there must be some high and important grounds of jealousy that make these gentlemen so disbelieve a reality of a war with France ; which they thinking could hardly happen unless they themselves did provoke it, was, I believe, the greatest motive which made them yesterday propose, and it was accordingly ordered, to have a Bill brought in to exclude for three years all manner of things that were either of the growth or manufacture of France.

This day till after five was spent on the Speaker's case, in the matter of irregular adjournments, wherein he made such a defence for himself by precedents in all times as that the House entirely waived any further charge or impeachment of him, and so directed the debate to the settling a rule for what hereafter of like nature might occur. Upon which the men of learning and antiquity showed their parts—precedents there were clear for one side and

some clear for the other, and others which were doubtful were like cannon gained fixed upon those who first drew them into the field. And thus the conflict lasted for many hours, a question being at last pressed hard whether the House could be adjourned by their Speaker but by a question, and upon a vote. Which though all allowed it could not be otherwise, and that the Speaker whenever he did it took their tacit obedience and consent to His Majesty's command, and therein spoke but their own sense, yet how far such a vote might authorise others to resent the King's command and induce him to turn every recess into prorogation, which no man disputed he had the power to do, and which was by him only refrained in favour of the House, and to preserve all their labour in the Bills they had depending; this gave matter of long debate, so that the question being thought detrimental to either side, those of the Court were most willing to leave it without determination; and so, upon division of the House, carried it for adjourning, which, though it were not by many voices, yet I suppose this whole matter is at an end and will sleep.

There is much discourse upon the Duke of Buckingham's being returned into favour, and the consequences this may produce.

1677-8, February 16.—I acknowledge with all due respect the honour of your Grace's two letters of the 6th and 10th instant. In virtue of the first I attended my Lord Arran, who has imparted to me those admirable reflections your Grace hath made for the defence and preservation of that kingdom, and which of necessity must give ease to His Majesty's mind in that great particular. But in truth there is arisen a perfect mist in this great affair, that the keenness and concern at first expressed when the Parliament was called upon and *pb* immediately to depart is since quite blunted, and the friends of *te* [the Lord Treasurer] give out that 'tis by infusing thoughts of quiet and pacification that *bm* [the Duke of Buckingham] makes his Court, therein serving *gg* [France] and pleasing nature.

The Duke of Buckingham is said to go on in the growth of his interest with His Majesty, from which many do apprehend much danger. My Lord of London in his late sermon before His Majesty did so particularly explain the dangers of ill conversation, or the showing any degree of countenance or delight in those who were under marks and blemishes of evil life, that the meaning was very visible unto all.

I did acquaint Captain Shales in general with what your Grace had writ to me in his particular case, wherein he hears no more of his Lord's displeasure towards him. But yet his antagonist makes there his Court, and is struck in with my lady, who is not displeased with a man of intrigue. Major Huntington (whom I take to be a very good man) was expressing to me the great honour he had for your Grace, and how by your Grace's care and favour they did most punctually receive what the Farmers were obliged to pay them. I presume to send your Grace what Captain Shales lately writ me, as intending, I suppose, your Grace should see his thanks.

My Lord Chamberlain did lately desire me to remember your Grace of his late request about a lieutenant's place for one Duncan, whose grandfather was a Scotchman. He has been much in service and I have heard well of him. His father is now travelling with the Duke of Somerset, being a Frenchman. I had lately a very courteous letter from my Lord of Orrery, to whom after long silence I had wished a good new year; his Lordship is very earnest that I should sometimes acquaint him with the occurrences of this place.

I lately met Mr. Wyld attending at my Lord Treasurer's with a patent in his hand which Sir Fretswell Hollis had gotten for the command of Rincorran, and at last he owned to me that he was there soliciting for that Government, having been invited thereunto by his friend the Earl of Orrery. And though his Majesty had formerly put him off with saying there was no fort, but now that one was going to be erected he did hope he should prevail; and that as this new work could not in reason be pretended to by Sir Richard Rooth as dependent on his government, so it would be for His Majesty's service to have a distinct commander there. I do not know what success he may have; perhaps not what he desires. But I did this afternoon (as I had before to my Lord of Arran) represent this matter fully to Mr. Secretary Coventry—how inconvenient it would be for to have anyone imposed on your Grace by a patent, when surely to such a bulwark of the kingdom as that will be your Grace would find out a man of experience and acquainted in arms, especially while we had the prospect of such an enemy at hand. He told me he would not fail to advertise His Majesty hereof, but at the same time plainly owned to me (which I might wonder at as well as he) that in all the officers here now named, the Secretaries had not been consulted for one. He is not only sorry to see how things are understood in the House, but how brokenly they are managed among themselves; one day directions given here and another day there, without adjusting or preparatory care, and yet much dissatisfaction if matters happen otherwise than well. The truth is he deserves highly from His Majesty for his service in that House, and what he says is of credit as well as weight. Mr. Secretary Williamson speaks often, and His Majesty says that he is improved to admiration.

One thing is to be lamented in the present uncertainties and discredits that are thrown upon the pretence of a war, that when we are in earnest, and compelled to be so from the violence and attacks of our enemy, 'twill not be easy to raise up the mettle of the nation to that pitch of fighting and supplying which it now seemed to be warmed unto.

I must most thankfully acknowledge your Grace's remembrance of my petition, wherewith yesterday, in Council, Mr. Secretary acquainted His Majesty, and it goes now referred to your Grace. If you break ground before it comes your Grace has very good title so to do, by whose favour the proviso for the whole was confirmed to my father with this memorable declaration at the Board then when some did oppose and spoke of adventurers—

that your Grace knew not of any greater adventurer in Ireland than Mr. Southwell, who laid down what he had after the King was murdered, and the usurpers in a manner gotten all.

I can assure your Grace the allegations of my petition are exactly true, having no boon to brag of there since my being Clerk of the Council, unless what your Grace got me the other day before you left this place, namely a fourth reversion for one of my children to be Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench.

1677-8, February 16.—I suppose your Grace, being so intent on the welfare and defence of your province, will be somewhat amused to hear how slow we drive, and that no wheels move aright. For this last week there has been a kind of total damp on the work we had in hand, nothing more being passed but a declaration that the charge of the ninety ships would be £108,000 per mensem and of the land forces £49,000 per mensem. But even before this declaration could pass (which is far short of a resolution for the ways and methods to raise it), there was much opposed to the land forces as a matter of great danger to the laws and liberties of this kingdom, and without we were more convinced of a war the militia were sufficient to be relied upon, and that it was matter of sorrow to observe they were not more accounted of, being capable of doing much but never of giving jealousy. Others were for a part of these land forces to be sent in a body of about 15,000 into Flanders; but, considering that His Majesty had now already in pay about 10,000 or 12,000 men, they desired to see no more soldiers at home, and so very many divided against the question, though in vain; for they were outnumbered, which put them into rage, and some into a mind of returning home, though now they seem to alter countenance, upon the success of a vote or two, wherein they have carried the question. The Master of the Ordnance had brought in three papers—the first an estimate of the charge for furnishing and repairing the several castles and fortifications we have in England, the total making £150,000. The second was an estimate of the charge of arms for the land forces amounting to £28,000. And the third the charge of a small train of artillery of twenty three pounders and their equipage to attend His Majesty's forces designed for Flanders, amounting to £55,800, with officers and ministers for the train £46 per diem.

But these papers, what between the incredulity of a war, the aversion to land forces, the bulk of the monthly tax already in view, and some defect of eloquence and persuasion from the worthy hand that proposed them, they were treated by many with very little respect, wondering what should be done with His Majesty's own revenue, if not applied to many such occasions. And so, upon a division of the House, whether those papers should be read, in order to have them considered as other things had been, it was carried in the negative. Yesterday there was read a Bill sent down from the Lords, mitigating the trouble of the late Bill about the Test, but being understood to mitigate somewhat of its force on the Roman Catholics, and it being whispered that a proviso would be offered for excusing a great

person in order to his serving the public, though no such thing was offered, the Bill was thrown out with very great inequality upon the division, in token of which success they presently moved to repeat an address which had been often made by message to the House of Lords, to put them in mind of a Bill long since sent up to their Lordships against Popery, and to incapacitate all of that persuasion to partake of any command or place of judicature. The Lords did upon this message call for the Bill, but others called to adjourn, especially one who thought it not so seasonable. And since I touch upon matters of that House, 'tis said my Lord Halifax brought in a petition from the Earl of Shaftesbury, seconded therein by the Lord Clarendon and the Lord of Essex, and faintly by the Duke of Buckingham and some others; but the Lord Treasurer showing that he had not made due application to His Majesty, as the other Lords had done, and that in contempt of a superior court he had appealed by *habeas corpus* to an inferior, the petition was thrown out.

But to return back to the House of Commons, they had there this day a very long debate touching wool, and seemed to be in earnest to enact somewhat for its more general wear during six or seven months in the year by all, and the taking off the duty on exportation of cloth, etc.; with which debate they seemed so well satisfied as that on the report of some late letters that speak of an embargo on our ships in France they did upon a motion agree that on Monday they would enter upon the consideration of His Majesty's supply. This debate of the wool arose from a Bill that was read to prevent its exportation. Upon which occasion much was said of the great quantities sent from Ireland, and how it could not be otherwise, whenas one that had been Secretary to a Lord Lieutenant told A. B. that he himself got £1,000 a year by the issuing of licences, and that his Lord got £4,000 or £5,000 yearly by it. Then that bonds were taken from unknown persons and when from those that were solvent the forfeitures were granted by patent, and C. D. affirmed that he had known £8,000 worth begged in a morning.*

Old Mr. Culpeper was yesterday, by order of Council, sent to the Gatehouse for accusing my Lord Chancellor of injustice and defrauding him—when after two hours hearing he could prove no single tittle of his impudent complaint, which in truth related chiefly to orders and decrees made in the time of my Lord Bridgeman and Earl of Shaftesbury. A noble lord of that name told me he was ashamed that his cousin should have no more discretion or respect, so that he thought him mad; and surely when that noble lord gives testimony your Grace will take his word.

1677-8, February 16.—I must beg a thousand pardons that I make so much use of another's hand, and that even in matters of my own interest and concern. Mr. Tisdall will present your Grace with my petition about Rincorran, and furnish such

* See *Wool Licenses*, p. 665 *infra*.

names as may be fit and knowing in the valuation of those acres, which surely will fall short of being equal in strict justice to the bulk of my pretension; but all I can say for myself is that I beg but seldom and make no great haste to be rich, and so hope to fare the better when I happen to come on the stage. I will send your Grace a very fine draft of the harbour of Kinsale by the first hand, being taken from what His Majesty hath had presented him formerly by Sir Jeremiah Smith. Captain Martin will make there a very good overseer of the workmen, which was the thing he had before, while some preparations were once thought of.

1677-8, February 19.—Yesterday the House voted a million to enable His Majesty to enter into a war with France. The Secretaries made the proposal of a certain sum, in compliance with that sense which had so strongly possessed the other side while they distrusted a war, suspected an unhappy peace, and foretold the dangers of raising so great a force, and were therefore willing only to go to a certain sum, sufficient to set forth; and, if things came to earnest they might meet the sooner and support it to the utmost. So that the length of the debate arose only from the bulk of the sum; some few stuck at six, others frankly came up to eight; but it was by twenty voices carried for a million.

The work of this day has been to show the honour and advantage of saving the lands for a dead lift; and therefore in hopes to throw half this expense elsewhere they have voted the payment of half a year's value on all houses built upon new foundations without London, and within the bills of mortality, since the year 1656; for it seems there was then a tax upon buildings which yet did not produce, as some said, above £40,000, and some compute that this may not now raise above £100,000. I suppose tomorrow they will go upon a Poll Bill—yet so as to make good all uncertainties by the Land Tax, so as that His Majesty will be sure of the million and may take his measures accordingly. But certainly nothing will ever unite that House but an hearty war with France.

Mr. Godolphin is just arrived from Holland. Here is one Evertson, a Dutch Vice-Admiral, sent over to adjust our stations at sea. He was taken prisoner by us in the first Dutch war. All his family have been great commanders at sea, and all dying in that element and the combustions that attend it. My Lord Chamberlain acknowledges some late letters from your Grace, but still reminds you of Monsieur Duncan to be a Lieutenant, whom the Dean of Windsor has known from a youth and gives him a great character.

1677-8, February 23.—This day were reported nineteen heads, which are ordered to be drawn up under the title of a Poll-bill, and which 'tis presumed will afford the greatest part of the million that is voted. Colonel Birch would needs have added the sellers of brandy, calicoes, French and Indian silks, but the

time was thought too precious for new methods ; and some think we have already grasped at too many for so sudden a digestion as we need. But the business of a Land Tax was made so dreadful, especially to begin withal in a work of duration, that other expedients were for a time very popular. It was said that not two persons of thirty did pay anything to a Land Tax ; that the country was drained of money and of its inhabitants, and all England in a manner run into London ; here the Court was fixed, here the scale of justice, here the great trades to the Levant, Guinea, East Indies, etc., were peculiarly fixed, with the exclusion to others ; and therefore 'twas necessary to meet with the money where it could be found. Some were at first for an Act of Resumption, since the lands of the Crown were the stock of the nation, and could not be alienated by private grant ; but others denied this doctrine and the validity of confirmations in Parliament, saying that this arose not from any incapacity in the grantor, but from words of mistake and insufficiency in the grants. Next that the grants of this nature were inconsiderable, for inland at His Majesty's return there was found but to the value of £19,000 per annum (though Cromwell's officers had taken it in Debentures for £50,000), of which nineteen ten were given by Act of Parliament to the Duke of Albemarle and to the Lord Sandwich for his early repentance. In the heat of this debate there was a hot knight who would needs have this inquiry carried into Ireland, and if resumption could be thought of there was matter for it indeed, but he was not seconded unless by such an other. At last they pass to the thoughts of laying a year or two's value on such grants here, but it being thought unjust to lay that weight unless you confirm the title, that point also passed off, and they went to the new buildings and other heads which have taken up many days' time.

The Secretaries still pressed on for expenditure and the necessity of ready money ; upon which it being declared that £200,000 of the Ship Money lay ready without use, it was made appear that all which was ready was by orders already appointed to several immediate uses, which tho' believed did not much mend the pace of those which still very slowly believe the truth of a war, tho' they are told by others that according to the course of things it is not in the wit of man to prevent it. His Majesty has forbidden the ships bound for Newfoundland to go out this year, upon the certain prospect of their being all taken. My Lord Shaftesbury will on Monday answer before the Lords for his *habeas corpus*. 'Tis believed he will beg pardon of the Lords as the only way to escape for offending that jurisdiction, which so many of his judges are not a little fond of.

1677-8, February 28.—Coming late from a Committee I can only touch on the heads of our present concerns and entertainment here. The last night Mr. Puckle came express with ill tidings of Ghent's surrender to the French. It yielded upon summons as most other places will probably do, like men after long storms willing to be thrown upon any shore where

there is hopes of safety. 'Tis said that the French King was about investing of Luxemburgh, when upon Thursday night he received a copy of His Majesty's answer to the late address, wherein the Commons are checked for their intermeddling in matters of peace and war, and collecting thereby the disunion here and the improbability of any resistance from hence, put immediately forward that night towards Ghent, into which by Friday he was received, and 'tis said that copies of that answer translated into French and Dutch have been scattered by contrivance in several towns of Flanders to dispirit them out of all hopes of any relief from hence. The consternation of all that country cannot be set forth. Puckle says that when he left the Duke de Villa Hermosa he saw the tears in his eyes, and this could not do less than it did with us to breed a great damp in the Court last night. To-morrow my Lord Howard of Escrick with Sir William Clark and 1,200 men do embark upon the yachts for Ostend, with hopes to be there admitted, but that is all.

This morning the Poll Bill was read, whereof the heads are enclosed, and it seems Mr. Solicitor, who drew it, did by former precedent insert a clause for enabling the borrowing of money on the credit of that Act; which in truth was not minded by the Secretaries at its reading, nor could they well suppose it there because many had argued against the mischiefs that had been occasioned by interest and seemed to repute this as ready money.

Soon after the reading of this Bill Mr. Secretary Coventry did acquaint the House with the state of things in Flanders and did set forth the strange backwardness of the Spanish Minister here to do things which were absolutely necessary to the safety of Flanders. And when His Majesty offered to send some forces there in confidence that Spain would answer him according to reason, and without any present capitulation, yet this Minister would not promise any reception there unless His Majesty would first sign to a treaty, whereof one article bound him to furnish ninety ships and 30,000 men to be commanded by the allies, and for reciprocal hereof that Spain would furnish what galleys and ships they conveniently could. And at this rate the whole strain of the treaty went, by which the House might judge how it comes about, and whose fault it is that Flanders is in no better a state of defence; that he thought the nation in never more hazard than now since the invasion of '88; that the alliance is in great danger to be dissolved, and therefore proposed that since we might have a fleet abroad by the end of May, if ready money could be immediately furnished, and no fleet at all (especially of the great ships) without it should the House think more seriously thereof. And Mr. Secretary Williamson seconded the same motion, desiring a clause in this Bill to encourage loans, which in truth was already put in.

This dismal account of things and importunity for present money stirred up a very cloudy and ungrateful repetition of things passed, shewing all along our partiality to France, the breach of the Triple Alliance, the engaging with France against

Holland, our aiding of France when we seemed to leave the war, and by all these ways and provocations so affronting the Spaniard and running counter to our own interest, that it was no wonder to see them so distrustful and suspicious as they are represented ; that this news from Flanders is not matter of surprise, nor to hear that all the rest is gone, since it was foretold years past by the repeated addresses of that House. That still they are kept in the dark touching the contents of that alliance, which being now said to be ratified also by Holland must be supposed known to the States-General and the States that sent them, and yet thought fit to be still made a secret to that House. That until they saw a war declared against France they could not tell how to interpret anything, or to what purpose the money intended should be given ; and that if His Majesty were in earnest there ought to be some other demonstrations than the language of necessity and irreparable damage now impending, for he ought to make examples of those who had been authors of these miscarriages, and not expect to get out of them by the same hands that [] the frequent prorogations were here also thrown in to aggravate the account. But for a more mature consideration of all these heads the House has adjourned the debate thereof till to-morrow.

The Earl of Shaftesbury is now freed, having made very humble submissions for his first offence and for the second about his *habeas corpus*. After which 'tis said the Lord Arundel of Trevisa acquainted that House of a new offence touching words spoken in the King's Bench by that Earl of a dangerous nature. This engaged the Lords in a long debate, supported with all sort of vigour by the Lord Treasurer and often seconded by the Duke ; but when Mr. Blaney, that had taken shorthand, was called on to attest the words, he said Mr. Rushworth had at the same time writ shorthand also ; but comparing what they had done they then differed with each other, but at last they drew up something out of both by conjecture, so that he could not say those were the Lord Shaftesbury's words. Whereupon this new matter fell very flat. There are two wicked libels come out. The one is a book shewing (or pretending to shew) the growth of Popery in the management of the late Councils ; and the other is to persuade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a new Parliament by giving a list of all those who vote for the Court as labourers in the great design of Popery and arbitrary power, by shewing what gifts or benefits they receive from the Crown, with all scandalous reflections on their persons that could be devised. If I can light on either, your Grace shall see the prognostics that always bode evil—I mean the boldness of these []. The condition of Flanders makes everyone rejoice that is concerned to hear what your Grace is putting forward at Rincorran. I acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 16th instant.

1677-8, March 2.—The news of Ghent's surrender to the French, as soon as looked upon, made on Tuesday last in the house several discontents to arise, and the debate being adjourned 'twas believed

that on Wednesday there would be a prosecution of that anger against the ill conduct of Ministers. But it fell out quite otherwise, for they sat close to the business of the Poll-bill, commuting all at that time for this point, that whereas a particular Bill had been ordered for the exclusion of French commodities, such exclusion should be now tacked on and annexed to this Bill, and so to continue not only during the war, but afterwards till there were such a treaty of commerce settled between the two nations as might give an equal balance to the impositions upon trade, and this passed the House with very little contradiction.

His Majesty, upon the misinformation that Ghent was taken, did presently hasten away Mr. Brisban with letters to the Governor of Ostend and Bruges to know if they would receive any succours from him and to bring information how matters stood, for there is either such misunderstanding or mistakes between us and the Spanish Minister here and Governor there, or of these two between themselves, that 'tis a matter of perfect lamentation. But His Majesty so sent, knowing that if they were in extremity they would consent to anything for their relief.

In the meantime my Lord Howard of Escrick and Sir William Clark, under him, drew out eight hundred men of the Guards, who embarked upon yachts on presumption of their admittance into Ostend. And now the alarm increased, as if Bruges were also taken and even Ostend and Nieuport in extremity of danger ; so that 'twas observed that several pressed His Majesty to hasten away a thousand men for the safety of Nieuport as that which would much contribute to the safety of Ostend and preserve the country between for the future footing of our forces. But His Majesty undervalued this proposal, which gave many that observed it some trouble.

My Lord Castlehaven, who passes here for an exalted Spaniard, has frankly emptied his quiver and said many things that men of greater wealth are sorry to hear. He tells the King that the Spanish Minister has instructions for everything he does, that he offers a treaty for the fixing and securing of our alliance with them, and after such marriage will admit of what we please, but nothing beforehand, as not knowing what side we are of ; that the Spaniards do as much admire at our counsels as we at theirs ; that the people of Flanders attribute all their miseries and ruin unto us, and will the more willingly throw themselves into the hands of the French in hopes of revenge, and to become keener enemies to England than they ; that the port of Ostend signified little to Spain if all the rest were lost, and better it should be also taken by the French than delivered to the English ; for if any turn of fortune should persuade France to restore that, England might still retain Ostend, but the consequence of France's seizing all Flanders would be an irresistible conquest of Holland also, from whence would follow an absolute dominion of the seas, and then the case of England was very apparent.

The business of the Poll-bill went forward in the House of Commons as fast as the nature of that tax would admit, and the faster for an opinion of danger so generally diffused that in most

it bred a great damp and in many no less than consternation. The matter also of the new levies went forward with as much vigour as people without money could do ; commissions drawn with all speed and hundreds already signed in blank ; and to show concern in every place the Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Mulgrave, and a numerous train of volunteers embarked on the yachts with eight hundred men more. And yet with all this appearance would not some be satisfied that His Majesty was angry enough for a war, and especially to hear him say sometimes that the Spaniards would themselves lay hold on a peace, and sometimes that the backward and slow proceedings of the House of Commons would constrain a peace whether he would or no. But to aggravate whatever jealousy this gave into an open diffidence, on Thursday here arrived young Monsieur Ruvigny, who had been lately here upon some errand before. He came from the French camp near Ghent, and affirmed the place untaken the Tuesday before. All that he is heard to say is that his master is in Flanders with so powerful an army that he forbears to take all only in consideration of His Britannic Majesty ; but what the substance of his errand is I cannot yet hear, yet observe that his coming highly augmented the distrust of peace and secret arrangement with France, than which nothing seems more fatal and abhorring to the generality, and warlike preparations perplex and affrighten too many, while 'tis not demonstrable to them where they shall be applied. But yesterday Mr. Brisban's return put a better face on things than appeared before ; he left Bruges on Thursday at ten o'clock. Ghent upon Wednesday was not taken, but on the contrary the burghers appeared in good heart. They made up 15,000 men into regiments, took out of prison Don Velasco, who had been lately confined about a duel, a hot-headed man, and by his courage they beat the French out of a half-moon and from the counterscarp. The Prince of Orange was then at Thermont, eight hours from Ghent. In Bruges were 2,000 Spanish soldiers, very good men, under Don Diego Spinosa, and at Ostend under Don Lewis de Costa 2,000 more, made up of Spanish, Flemings, and Walloons, but none from the Prince of Orange. The burghers were in each place well disposed, all in expectation of aids from England. And the two Governors testified by letters to His Majesty that his forces should be received with open arms. And 'tis believed that my Lord Howard is this day there arrived. He has for this expedition the character of Major-General, and the Lord Feversham of Lieutenant-General, under the Duke of Monmouth. His Grace, with the Duke of Albemarle, took post from Gravesend to Deal. Some orders went after him to call back all the volunteers who were listed for new commissions that they may look after the raising of their men ; but whether the Duke will come back or go on is yet uncertain. The Poll-bill is like to take up the work of one day more. The Secretaries this day, to hasten it, told the House that what now remained of Flanders was only to be saved by the English, and whatever forces must do that work were to be raised upon the credit of this Bill.

1677-8, March 2.—I acknowledge your Grace's of the 24th past and shall take notice of your Grace's discourse upon the wool subject where it is proper and needful. 'Tis whispered as if the Earl of Essex were in some disfavour on account of his bearing up so stiffly against my Lord Treasurer in the quarrel of the Lord Shaftesbury. 'Tis said he is no more summoned to the Cabinet, yet I believe not the discourse that he should be discharged the Council. The French amuse us extremely with visions of peace, and nobody knows what really we would be at, so that if at that distance you are uncertain 'tis less to be wondered; but nothing is more probable than that the designs of France will make all your Grace's care and preparations but seasonable.

The Wednesday's last vote against French productions is somewhat round and to the purpose. Old Sir Charles Herbert on that occasion said that a member of the House whom he knew had given 960 bushels of malt for one tun of French wine. There is much discourse here of two bitter libels that are out; the one is of bulk. I can never believe that the Lord Halifax his pen is in it; many also do guess at Mr. Mervin, who surely knows how to employ his time much better. If I can light on them your Grace shall know it.

1677-8, March 5. Spring Garden.—By your Grace's of the 27th past I have the honour to know what you mean to say of my Lord Chamberlain in the case of Lientenant Duncan, who lately came to me with news that he is invited by the Lord Alington to serve in his regiment, and so will not be altogether destitute of an employment. Your Grace is pleased to anticipate the disappointment I may receive in my present suit for abating my quit-rent, to which my answer is as ready, that I desire to be the last man of all others that shall occasion the breach of any rule taken up for His Majesty's service or for your Grace's own safety; so that I shall write now to my agent to be very passive in that affair, choosing rather to be a benefactor to the public if two or three acres for situation will do, and to give all the stones of the old walls and forego the damage sustained, than to have anything put to an unwarrantable strain. Besides, when I consider the benefit which may accrue to me in the security of the small residue of what I there hold, and the difficulties I must here expect from my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Ranelagh upon any report of favour to me, 'tis almost a point gotten to despair betimes. My Lord of Orrery in a long letter of the 19th past offers himself to be a mighty champion for me in this behalf. I will this night acknowledge the favour, but waive the effects. And this I the rather mention for the opportunity to tell your Grace of an old matter which otherwise I should have quite forgotten, but my good father did very ill digest it as long as he lived. He was, as your Grace may remember, a long time very eager to be made constable of this intended fort, on account of its lying in the bounds of his estate, where a stranger might prove unruly, (but surely

otherwise his desires were improper as being no military man). But I remember that nothing did trouble him more than once to hear that my (now) Lord Lanesborough should say that the Earl of Orrery had egged him on to this demand from your Grace, knowing it was unreasonable and would not succeed, that so in consequence he should remain among the number of the discontented. Certainly he died with as great and true a zeal to your Grace as to any man living, and I never could discover that your Grace suspected the contrary. But I humbly beg pardon for this transgression on your Grace's time.

1677-8, March 5.—This day the House went through all the parts of the Poll Bill in the committee, and to-morrow it will be reported. 'Twas an observation made by some that the Secretaries hardly spoke anything this day, not so much as to the point of haste; when Ghent was not taken, as now it is, nor any of our forces on the other side as now they are, their concern did much more appear. There is a wonderful amazement in the minds of most, and very great trouble to think there should be so much indisposition to a war as they suspect. The scope and tenor of this Poll-bill requires expressly in the appropriating penal clause, that all be expended for the use and service of a war against France. 'Tis explained in the House that if the war be declared, then all charge of preparations is well expended; but if no war the penalty enters upon all manner of expense, the same as was in the late Bill about the ships, so that a Lord Treasurer has hereby but an ill office unless a war ensue. Yesterday the clause passed for excluding wine, brandy, silk, linen, salt, and paper; but the following words "of all other things of the growth and manufacture of France" were left out.

Mr. Godolphin went this day to the Prince of Orange, as some say, but others say to the French camp, he taking his last instructions from my Lord Treasurer, who seems to be alone in the secret of what is now transacting with France, and was, they say, called out of his bed at one of the clock on Saturday night to attend His Majesty and the Duke, who had been at a long conference with the French Minister. The late treaty with Holland, which has been kept so secret from the House, and upon which so much disgust has arisen, is started forth in print at Frankfurt and Hamburg, and the allies at Nimeguen having copies thereof seem very ill satisfied, as well at the manner of making it without their knowledge as at the contents thereof, thinking there is too little regard of them therein. And I am told that some of our angry members have also copies thereof, which in due time we shall hear of.

My Lord of Arran has been pleased to show me what your Grace has offered concerning wool, and as soon as my Lord Treasurer can see it I shall receive a copy, and then make use of it as that theme shall in the House of Commons come again into play. I did presume to recommend to your Grace Captain John Martin to be overseer of the workmen at Rincorran. Here is now another of Kinsale, one Mr. Isaac Colfe, who is petitioning

His Majesty for some help to ease a hard bargain undertaken by him about cleansing the harbour of Kinsale, wherein he has several years been labouring. He foresees a little employment which will grow up with the fort at Rincorran, which is to be clerk of the stores, and for which some small allowance will be given. He is fit for it and I presume to recommend him to your Grace. But I need not add any more, if what entertainment I sent by the last post be come to hand.

1677-8, March 9.—Yesterday the Poll Bill went up to the House of Lords, where it was read, and afforded, as it seems, such matter of distaste in the taxing of the Lords, etc., that if His Majesty shall not lend some good degree of countenance to the passing thereof it may easily run danger of miscarriage, or at least delay. The very title of it is an offence to some, as a denouncing of war by the House of Commons, it being a gift of money by poll, and otherwise for entering into an actual war against the French King and an exclusion of some French commodities.

If the Bill should pass as it is and no war ensue I see not how any officer dare issue one penny of this money; and yet the annexed Act would be of force, which provides at large for the exclusion of all wine, vinegar, brandy, salt, silk, linen cloth, and paper for the space of three years, and from thence to the end of the next session of Parliament; this exclusion to commence from the 20th instant, and a year afterwards given for the consumption or exportation of what we have, and then the utter destruction of all, even tho' taken in war as prize. This exclusion reaches to Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Alderney and the Isle of Man, and comprehends not only France but all its dominions and conquests. It was much urged by some to have the word Ireland inserted in the Bill, otherwise the stream of all this trade would flow into that kingdom and make it the emporium of Europe; nay, all the English ships that wanted brandy for their West India voyages would not only call there to be furnished with that, but with all their provisions also, which would soon be felt. But it was answered that the naming of Ireland would in this matter be of no avail to oblige the exclusion there; that the Adventurers were not settled by the Act of '49 which was urged, but by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation which were made by the Parliament of that kingdom; that to dispose of the trade and prosperity of a people that were unheard was not reasonable; that the Acts passed here in favour of some noblemen on His Majesty's restoration had new confirmations there, and if this matter were so necessary it must be wholly left to His Majesty's order and directions. Others added that 'twould be some remedy to the hardships which would befall some particular men of this kingdom in the late return of their ships and necessity of exportation, that they could go and find a vent so near at hand. And so that matter slid off, as also did another contention for lengthening the time of admitting the return of ships coming from Marseilles, when but even nine days more were desired; but to this was opposed the objection of a vast glut of

other things that a few days would bring in, and so the matter passed. Mr. Secretary Coventry urged this point vigorously home as much as any one, nor was there a voice heard to show what a vast defalcation this would presently make to His Majesty's customs, because nothing has been held forth or supposed but a speedy war; tho' nothing seems more doubted of than a war by all that are ardently for it. And 'tis generally observed that for this week past, and especially since Monsieur Ruvigny's being here, the dangers have not been so pressed as they were before, nor do matters proceed with that air that is natural to the purposes of a speedy war, tho' the loss of Ghent and the besieging of Ypres and the dissatisfactions in Holland do not lessen the dangers we are in. But time and the necessity of things will undoubtedly force upon us that which we are not over willing to embrace.

The Commissions are now, they say, all issued and advance money is the next week expected, viz., £500 for a troop, £350 for dragoons, £100 for a foot company.

1677-8, March 9. Spring Garden.—I am apt to think if the exclusion of the French trade proceeds here in manner as the enclosed sets forth it may be seasonable for some motion to be made your Grace and the Council about the free port of Kinsale which has been so long intended, and in which business I purpose to employ in the town's behalf Mr. Richard Aldworth, who is now at leisure and likely to be diligent in it. We shall not press the Farmers to any unreasonable or prejudicial rules, but just such as may make that matter subsist, wherein I pray a word from your Grace. I understand your Grace has appointed Mr. Stowell, of Kinsale, to receive and pay the money about Rin-corran Fort. He has a substantial estate, and being also an active man, I am purposing if Sir Richard Rooth be called over, as I hear, to give him during Sir Richard's absence my deputation of Vice-Admiral, there being most probable need of it in that port.

1677-8, March 12.—This day the Poll Bill passed the House of Lords without any sort of alteration, and the speed thereof in that place implying an assurance of the royal assent, I do not see but by this exclusion of so much of the French trade from hence there will (as I formerly observed) in all probability a great flood of it run into Ireland and help to draw away in exchange all the commodities of the country. The Commons sent up this day a Bill to the Lords for easing the vexatious part of the Chimney Bill and a new Bill for burying in woollen is ordered to be engrossed; both of these I think will be good patterns for Ireland.

To-morrow the House of Lords enter into a deliberation concerning the present danger of Flanders and the consequences thereof, being hereunto moved and animated by my Lord Castlehaven, who is this day departed, telling their Lordships that England was not more in danger the month before William the

Conqueror's arrival than it is at the present, with many other expressions thought by some very rash and hasty, and accordingly undervalued, but the more it was stirred the more it took place.

I have not yet seen that which goes about in several hands, being a copy of our late Treaty with Holland, printed, they say, by order of the Elector of Brandenburg as soon as it came to his knowledge, he taking, it seems, high resentment to be so forgotten by his nephew and the States. The heads I have heard mentioned are as follows:—That France should restore back unto Spain eight principal towns for the better security of Flanders or be compelled thereunto. That the Swede have restitution of all he hath lost, which being done Messina was to be restored and the residue of Lorraine, which till this performance was to be detained. Burgundy to remain to the French. England and Holland to keep up a force in Flanders for the enforcing of these conditions; but if assented to on the part of France then all three to join for obliging the rest. These are the points I hear, but whether true or false I cannot aver, having not seen the print. Certain it is that things in Holland are very ill disposed, and particularly with relation to the Prince, so that they talk as if a party were so considerable there as to negotiate a peace with France *volens volens*. The actions of the East India Company, which is their common weather glass, are fallen from 480 to 305, and if Holland, by their many bridges, be as near to England as Flanders to them, these tidings cannot be good for us.

1677-8, March 16.—I wonder as much at my confidence as how I find time to trouble your Grace with such tedious narratives. But I consider that Ireland lives but at second hand, and must take all things here as they occur for better or for worse. And therefore your Grace may have curiosity not only to know the conclusion but the premisses, and how great or how little the majority is which decides an important point. The Lords have sat this day very long in contention about the address from the Commons for declaring the war, and as I now hear have adjourned the debate until Monday.

The late tidings from Holland put things there into an ill condition; and as if that province were resolved on a peace whatever the consequences might prove hereafter. Some letters speak as if they had even resisted the payment of taxes for the war, and that the Louvestein party made such head as your Grace may remember was formerly pointed at in Mr. Hill's notable discourse. If, by any disorders among those people or incapacity for the war, they should strike up a peace, we should be much to seek about new measures, and perhaps either take any peace that is offered or fight alone because of its refusal; for there want not those who verily think that whatever shows and desires of peace France pretends to maintain with us 'tis all but amusement to hedge in some opportunities, but that they will never lose the advantages now before them to pursue the war.

Just now came in a person who tells me that my Lord of Essex this day began the debate upon the address for war, taking notice

how universally the people were bent that way ; yet considering how precious a thing peace was, and how the resolutions of this nature must depend on such preparations as had been thought of by those who were most intimately knowing in His Majesty's affairs, therefore he thought it most properly behoved them to open the debate. My Lord Treasurer took notice that he thought himself hereby called upon, and, as they say, made a very handsome deduction of several things, concluding in the whole that how necessary soever a war might be, yet His Majesty was not yet in a condition to declare it.

One of the Lord Bishops proposed to begin so great a matter with a day of fasting, which was seconded by his Grace the Duke of Buckingham, and at last it was voted ; tho', as is said, not with so much gravity and seriousness as the matter required. Doubtless the declaration of such a war as this is a thing that requires the utmost consideration, though all that is left seems only to be about the time when His Majesty thinks the motion of the Commons to be too precipitous, and would have them only advance their money, and he will take care of the rest. God Almighty take care of us all. I send your Grace what passes here for a copy of the late treaty with the Dutch. I suppose it wants not some mistakes.

1677-8, March 19.—Since by the honour of your Grace's of the 7th I perceive you are not tired, therefore, while the heat of this session continues, I will take it for a virtue to be prolix. On Saturday the Lords entered warmly upon the Address from the Commons about an immediate declaration of war—no man more vigorous than the Earl of Essex to push it on, and admiring while the danger abroad was so apparent and the whole tide of the nation set in so strong that anybody could advise the contrary. My Lord Treasurer, looking on himself as attacked herein, and made accountable for the reasons of delay, did openly declare that no man for these two years past had lived with greater apprehensions of France than himself, and more convinced of the necessity of a war. But beginning to tell them how distracted he found the Exchequer ; how little has been given since ; how much he has done with what there was ; and yet how many parts of preparation are wanting to so perilous an undertaking ;—he did extremely stagger the House as to their keenness of going immediately on. And upon motion from one of the spiritual lords to begin this great consultation with a fast, that was at length voted, and His Majesty is to be moved to issue a proclamation to that effect, which may perhaps the more slowly issue from the little reverence that accompanied this point during the debate.

Yesterday the matter was again resumed and the debate lasted till after 4. The Lord Halifax, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Hollis, the Lord Clarendon and the Lord Wharton did chiefly support the debate for an immediate declaration, urging over most of the arguments which had been urged among the Commons, as the union at home,

the encouraging of our allies, and resorting frequently to His Majesty's speech at their first meeting about the great dangers we were in and the necessity of speedy remedy. The Lord Chancellor accused the address as a style of direction, by limiting His Majesty to time and pressing on His sovereignty by disposing of ambassadors ; that the forces His Majesty had sent over, being but auxiliaries, might go without infraction of peace, and in other respects France would in policy be backward to strike, for it would irritate his own people who have so great a subsistence by our trade. Whereas, if we strike first, it would provoke and unite them ; and therefore His Majesty was master of his own time, and it would best answer all our ends to have a little more patience. His Royal Highness urged the expectation of many fleets homeward bound ; the great disadvantage of the privateers of France all ready to break out ; that 800 good soldiers were on their return from Virginia. But as for the forces we have in France why they did not come over was because the Monmouth regiment and another had been under no capitulation, and so were reformed into other regiments. But for the Scotch regiment and another, making about 3,000 or 4,000 men, their conditions obliged them to stay till thirty days after a war, and therefore no expectation of them till that time. The Lord Treasurer urged the necessity, above all things, of being unanimous at home and having a full supply ; showing how that already in preparations for sea and land there is already incurred a debt of £500,000, and that if we jump preposterously into a war the allies will leave it upon our hands and obtrude unreasonable conditions upon us. His Lordship further urged that he had the day before received a letter from the Spanish Minister insisting indeed on the sending of more forces over, but pressing the perfecting of our treaties before we declared the war ; and that, by a large discourse with him in the afternoon, he owned plainly that if we set forth before we were in due preparation we might begin with some battle that would rather dishearten the allies and prejudice the cause.

The Lords of the other side did presently lay hold on this argument, importuning very much that this great reason of backwardness in Spain might be urged to the Commons, and then perhaps they might recede from what they had offered. But his Lordship thought this very hard measure when he had candidly and without leave imparted to them so great a secret of the Cabinet. My Lord Essex owned himself convinced with these important reasons, and in conclusion the word "immediately" was changed for the declaring it "with all possible speed His Majesty's occasions would permit," and that clause touching the ambassadors was quite left out. And thus it was this morning sent to the Commons by the two Chief Justices. And soon after the debate began for agreeing or not agreeing with the Lords, and tho' some hours were spent therein by contention on either side, yet I could hear nothing new which had not been urged before ; so the House dividing upon the point of agreement, it was carried in the negative by forty-three voices, and reasons are drawing

to support the same. The House received a message from His Majesty to press on the rest of the supply which is promised, and to declare that he will pass the Poll Bill to-morrow.

1677-8, March 23.—Upon Wednesday, at Council, His Majesty appeared much dissatisfied with the usage of the French towards some of our English regiments there, but that he imputed all to the brutality of Monsieur de Lounoy. His Majesty told my Lord Bridgewater that he had nominated him, the Earl of Essex, and Lord Fauconberg (and one of the Secretaries should always help them) to treat with the Spanish and Dutch Ministers, that they might impartially see what could be obtained from them, in order to the alliances so much pressed for, and touching which so many doubts and surmises had passed, as to his backwardness and indisposition therein. Then His Majesty (which had been usually the preamble of other wars) ordered a proclamation to call in all his mariners in foreign service; a general embargo to stop all from going out; with circular letters to the Vice-Admirals for the listing of seamen and doing all other matters necessary for the complement of 25,000 men. Notwithstanding all which particulars there appeared this day in the House of Commons as much doubt of a war and as many jealousies and reflections upon all proceedings as had hitherto been heard. For this morning being appointed to go on with the debate of raising money by the new buildings, it was strongly moved to adjourn the debate until we saw clearer into what was intended, and especially since the address for war had been so tossed in the House of Lords, and disagreement against an immediate war, that it was fit to see in what that matter would determine; for that the Lords had let some days pass without taking cognizance of the reasons also given for adhering to the address as it was sent up; and that until there were a certainty of war there was already enough and even too much given for a peace. To this motion was as earnestly opposed the infinite detriment that a vote of this nature (putting a damp upon the progress of money) would give to all His Majesty's affairs at home and to the allies abroad. And this gave occasion to beat over the field again upon all those topics and through every particular which your Grace has heard sufficiently before; some taking notice as if it had been elsewhere said that in truth there were hitherto no alliances at all, and that was given for the reason for not declaring immediately. Others fell foul with the alliance made, as calculated only for peace, and therefore hurtful and wholly to be rejected. That in all that led to the two late Dutch wars everything was exposed to the sight. That in the Chancellor's speech soon after His Majesty's restoration, it was worthily said that His Majesty would make it the measure of his actions to do things that were suitable and correspondent to the sense of that House. That the victorious Kings, Edward the Third and Harry the Fifth, had communicated in matters of state with their Parliaments, and the latter had condescended so far as to pass an Act against peace with France unless they consented thereunto. But that

now matters were so reserved and so studiously kept in the dark that it manifestly implied that there was neither certainty of war or of alliance ; so that it not appearing clearly whether it were better to go forward or backward it seemed best to address to His Majesty for a month's recess, by which time fixed measures might be taken, jealousies cleared up, and a full House to meet, and then only would be proper to make further progress in the matters of money.

It was added also on the other point that there seemed to be greater care in the raising of the land forces than those of the sea, which sounded very ill, while there remained such probability of peace ; for there seemed no use of such forces at home, unless to make their parade in the place we sat. That there was some ill-boding cloud a brewing on the other side of Tweed which might deserve timely consideration. That it was a very melancholy dilemma to have the prospect of either being overrun by France or pulled down by a standing army. That we often vote against Popery and forces, but by giving money we advance both ; therefore it seemed advisable to adjourn all supplies. That the hearts of good subjects were sunk very low and stood in great need of being warmed by another method of proceedings and a clearer discovery of what was intended, and therefore that it might be even the best way for expedition's sake to adjourn the debate, for we were not (or seem not to be) in the case we stood, either fit to give money or fit for a war. There was thrown in a story for reflection on the ministers that upon Richelieu's death several, making expressions of joy for the deliverance, they were soon discomfited by a grave man that told them that tho' he were gone he had left some journeymen behind that would carry on the work ; and such was the experiment still with us that tho' some were removed yet the same ill bias still remained, and there were always some or other endeavouring to divert His Majesty's gracious goodness and inclinations from the zeal and addresses of this House. To this effect the several objections and influences of displeasure amounted, and I shall be fain as promiscuously to set down the defence and answers given for want of time to recollect or well noting how they passed, tho' most things were vigorously retorted and ended with success.

It was affirmed that it was neither an omission in His Majesty or a fault in his Ministers that alliances were not more advanced with Spain and the Emperor than they are, which hitherto could not have been but at this price of letting them slip out as we stepped in. That the copy of His Majesty's alliance with Holland is plainly false in several material points. That it is now fully and formally ratified and agreed unto by the States-General ; and whereas 'tis here blasted for a treaty of accommodation, the particular dissatisfaction that arose against it in Holland was for putting them too remote from a peace ; and nothing seemed more frightful to them, in the harassed condition they now are, than when they heard of our Pyrenean vote. That the treaty had been fairly and candidly opened to this House and nothing retained by His Majesty on any account so much as its seeming

to be demanded. That the expulsion of the French trade was a notorious manifestation of what His Majesty intends. That he has now 5,000 men ready to annoy the French on the other side, who were tumbled over with such expedition as might show sufficiently they were not designed to be kept on this side. That everybody walking the streets may hear the beat of drums; but if they saw also all the various operations which relate to the preparation of the navy they would say that never in any time was there more earnest tokens of a war intended than at present appear, nothing being wanting but that which is in the power of this House only to supply. That His Majesty has run vastly into debt upon the credit of what this House has said and his expectations from us. That the Poll Bill passed will not defray that debt. Some said that less than two millions yearly would not support this war. That Holland and we must stand and fall together. That without a sudden unanimity and preparation we are ruined. That France will speedily have all without making a peace but constraining it; and such a sort of peace differs very little from a conquest. That to adjourn for a month is a greater respite than any man can promise from France, considering the provocation we have given them; and 'tis very uncertain whether we may not be forced to act as well as prepare within a month. 'Twas also hoped that it could be no man's intention to bring the King into extremities; for so he would be in case the Lords should agree with us for an immediate war and His Majesty be left without any further supply. That all the allies abroad were gazing upon us and calling aloud for help. That our votes had hitherto raised their spirits, and, if when we have promised a million, any vote should pass that looked like a negative upon money (when they know we have not the power of anything else) how fatal a damp would it breed, and nothing but confusion amongst them.

There were many sober expostulations on the hard things said and reflections made upon persons and things, so that at last the House did not divide, but yielded to the going into a Committee on Tuesday next upon the bill for taxing of the new buildings. And when all is done 'tis very probable it may be thrown out, few being in love with the nature of the tax, as likely to produce but little, very perplexing in the collection, and somewhat unjust in squeezing a few in order to a public tax; so that 'twas not for the sake of the argument before the House, but upon the general state of things, that the dust was this day so much raised.

On Wednesday last the enclosed order was directed in Council. My Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer seeming both keener and more in earnest in this matter than ever I had heard before, and there being some hint of the Parliament towards the necessity of having all these matters set right, none but Mr. Speaker put in any kind of softening word. The order as it now stands was yesterday read and approved.

When *te* [The Treasurer] laid such hold as you see on the words of *fg*, it gave him occasion to reply that he did not or

ever should desire any restraint of *wm wy wx xc wm ws wo wx wm wo* in matters of *qf*; so that when the former words were to be noted down as very welcome and surprising *fy bid cm*, be sure then to note down what he spoke in relation to *qf* and so he went out. But the Lords upon this advised rather to lay aside the thought of noting the words, as he himself this day did also think most desirable. So this cools a little the point.

1678, April 13. Spring Garden.—I suppose your Grace will receive from Mr. Secretary Coventry that which is ordered touching my Lord Ranelagh's accounts. I find he is unquiet for what is ordered, and expects my Lord Treasurer should be more concerned for him than he seems to be. The enclosed is copy of his Lordship's petition.

Your Grace will also receive a letter from the Board for the impressing of 1,000 seamen. And that your Grace may have an entire view of what hath here passed upon this subject, I send you copy of the circular letter to the Lords Lieutenants of the maritime counties, copy of the order to the Lords of the Admiralty, a general scheme referring to all the parts of this business, another scheme for the method of listing seamen, and another for conducting them to the ports; which comprehends all the methods for the carrying on this work, which I will adventure to say was never in any method before; and the trouble of doing this hath fallen unto my lot. If your Grace give the papers to somebody to peruse, they may afford some hints for facilitating the business there, and I now write to Sir Richard Rooth, my deputy in Munster, to expect ere long your Grace's orders herein. As to the embargo that is here laid, I observe, by a general rule, all ships are suffered to proceed in their voyages who were cleared in the Custom House before the embargo was laid. Favour also is shown to ships laden with the woollen manufacture and with perishable things.

I believe your Grace has been content with the late recess of our Parliament; for so long I have held my hand from giving you trouble. On Thursday the House met, but without any mace or Speaker. They called to go to prayers, and soon after to adjourn till Tuesday, in hopes the Speaker might be well. And great eulogies were given him even by his adversaries; but the drift was for gaining time, and to have a full house in order to reject Sir Robert Sawyer, who, by appearing there in his gown, now out of term, was generally supposed to be the person intended by the Court. And he was by some very unhand somely reflected on, but yet returned without loss, whatever was said. At length the Secretaries came in, and intimation was made that Mr. Speaker, being in such a state of illness, by reason of a rheumatism, that he could hardly move in his bed, His Majesty left the House to their choice of a new Speaker. Mr. Secretary Coventry just sat down, and then, rising again, named Sir Robert Sawyer, who at first

had an equal cry of the Aye's and the No's. And the dispute renewed again to have the matter adjourned; and then the eulogies of Mr. Seymour grew great, and then whether in case of his recovery he should not be re-established. While this matter was somewhat in the heat of contention, the two Secretaries stepped forth to conduct him to the chair. But there appeared such marks of resistance from the opposite party that they were fain to take much pains, and to argue it amongst them. But at last they were fain to yield that the mace should be brought in, and that the matter should be put to the vote, and the question proposed by the Clerk; upon which the House calmed to that degree, that there did not appear six negatives. So he was conducted to the chair, and made his *nolo episcopari*; and the House adjourned till Monday, at which time His Majesty will give his approbation of their choice.

1678, April 16.—Yesterday our new Speaker attended His Majesty in the House of Lords, where he received approbation of the choice. And forasmuch as His Majesty had not yet advanced his alliance with Holland to that perfection he had hoped, and could not know the minds of the States until they return to their assembly, which will be in a few days; therefore he directed the House to adjourn unto the 29th instant. When the House returned some dissatisfaction was expressed that we were not more fortunate and early in our consultations than to lie now at the mercy of Holland, whether they would join with us in the prohibition of the French trade, and next in an inseparable alliance to lessen the power of France, which are the two great points of consequence now depending. For Holland is tempted with the same prospect of universal trade which we hitherto have enjoyed, which makes them stagger in the first point. And, as to the second, 'tis not to be doubted but that their necessities and poverty makes them almost abhor the thoughts of a longer continuance in war. So that they will very hardly be brought up to that article that seems almost indispensable in an alliance; not to leave the parties at liberty to knock off when they shall please.

But others of the House were as much dissatisfied for not being allowed to sit in order to other matters that were necessary to the kingdom. And thereupon broke out such a flame against Popery, and indignation against any that did but extenuate the jealousies of it, that I have not seen the like. So that, in order to have a conference with the Lords, and to examine farther into the Monmouthshire affair of Popery, a vote passed that the Committee should meet during the recess of the House to ripen that matter, and report it at their first meeting. And there are all sorts of symptoms that this matter will fly high as high can be.

There was one who took notice of the disturbances in our neighbourhood, meaning Scotland, which it was high time to look after. And he did believe that it was as much for the sake of that affair, as for what concerned Holland, that the

House was now adjourned. There are now in town sixty-four of the Scotch nobility and gentry. His Majesty would not as yet admit them to his presence, but assigned some of the Council to receive their complaints. And they are ordered to put all into writing, whereof I hope to send your Grace a copy by the next.

These gentlemen are scandalized at the narrative here published of Mitchell's death, which I send your Grace, because of some undecent reflections upon them, and therefore that a full narrative is likely to come forth of that whole affair, this being only the effect of his Grace's chaplain's good will. 'Tis said this Mitchell gave no other reason for his wicked purpose to murder the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, but because His Majesty, having sent a pardon to those of the Rebellion in 1677, that were unhanged and ten of them yet remaining, the Bishop kept the pardon till they were trussed up. There is one thing these angry gentlemen affirm in this Mitchell's case, which is, that after he would confess nothing by torment, he did, to a select number of the Council, confess all upon promise of pardon, which promise was afterwards flatly denied, though so unfortunately as that from the gallows he threw a copy of the order conceived thereon, given him by the Clerk of the Council; and they say his Grace was troubled that the criminal had so long concealed that plea, and that it looks like an extravagant sort of malice to affect dying for the sake of such a reproach. But it would be endless to tell your Grace the stories that pass, and how much these gentlemen value their loyalties and submission, that while the whole body of that nation cry out against the oppression, no man seeks the remedy thereof but by prayers. But surely His Majesty does not think their complaints well grounded, seeing he hath, since their coming away, writ a letter to the Duke of Lauderdale and the Council there, to approve and applaud every step of their proceeding, which the complainants here seem to be amazed at. The answer to *The Growth of Popery*, called *The Growth of Knavery*, is writ by a good smart pen.

It seems the order concerning my Lord Ranelagh's accounts is not yet passed to Mr. Secretary Coventry, being first to be read in Council, his Lordship hoping that my Lord Treasurer will speak to the mitigation thereof.

1678, April 20.—Your Grace has here inclosed the copy of an order passed the last Wednesday at the Board in my Lord Ranelagh's concerns. It was by order of the preceding day drawn up by the care of my Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Essex and Mr. Secretary Coventry, who all had appeared earnest to have the thing effectually done. But my Lord Treasurer, coming in late, and after the order was read, brought with him a copy thereof, which my Lord Ranelagh had put into his hand, telling His Majesty the very many hardships and reflections that my Lord complained of in that draft, and setting forth the reasons why the place where, etc.; but, after all, to my

thinking, was willing enough, having acquitted himself to his friend, to have suffered the matter to pass. But my Lord Privy Seal and Mr. Secretary Coventry did so justify the wording of it as made his Lordship engage very far into the matter; but when, after all, it was objected how the Lord Ranelagh could so easily get copies of orders before they were approved, and that he might complain more regularly after the order was passed, this was agreed to be reasonable, and the order did pass, but with expectation that yesterday his Lordship would have petitioned against it; and if he had, the Earl of Essex, who now was present, resolved to charge him home and lay at his door the debt of little less than £100,000. But there were so many hearings of other matters that this petition (if any intended) was not read, but I suppose there will be one on Wednesday, for that Mr. Secretary having prepared a letter to your Grace, accordingly Mr. Progers brought him a message this afternoon to stop the same till after Wednesday, at which time 'tis likely matters will be warm, if Mr. Secretary can rise from the gout. But if my Lord Chancellor be there too, who is now also ill of the gout, he will shorten the work, being of late very little satisfied, I know not how, with my Lord Ranelagh's accounts.

There is a narrative printed by Duke Lauderdale in Scotland of all transactions there, whereof some very few copies are sent up hither; but my Lord Maynard says he supposes His Majesty will order it here to be reprinted.

The enclosed are the conditions demanded at Nimeguen by the French king, which have been printed in Holland, but give little satisfaction there; yet are those people not likely either to lead or drive, but incline to do very different from what our interest requires us to expect at their hands.

1678, May 14th. Spring Garden.—The last letter I had the honour to receive from your Grace was of the 7th of March. Nothing, indeed, that I have since written or sent needed any answer, unless what I wrote your Grace a month ago at the desire of Major Huntingdon, whereof he has since enquired if I had any answer, but I told him no.

Of late I have had some sorrow in my family, by the sickness and loss of my eldest son, which has been somewhat sensible to me, so that I have not been well able either to consider or collect anything fit for your Grace's view, though I have passed things of very high shine and much variety. His Majesty did yesterday prorogue the Parliament to the 23rd instant, as resenting the address from the Commons for the displacing of ministers. The most general consequence now drawn from thence is the discourse of a peace, and that the business of the next session will be to repeal the prohibition of trade with France. That which is much to be feared is that this may not only administer excuse to the Hollanders to slide off, but in a sort compel them to take terms from France, when they see how little certainty or dependence there is on us. And the letters of this night from Holland do

speak of a notable change of counsels there, and much better dispositions to the war, if what here we do cause them not once again to recoil. There goes about a letter lately written from the King of France to the States, whereof I enclose your Grace a copy, which seems to imply a better understanding between the King and the Dutch than we are willing to believe.

His Majesty did yesterday make a short speech to the Lords, before the Commons were called up, the word of which your Grace will collect from two divers copies thereof, which are here inclosed. But when the Commons were called up no speech was made, only the bills passed and the prorogation declared. Upon this late address for sweeping away the ministers, there was a gentleman remembered a story of your Grace's concerning a constable, who, coming to ask the justice of peace a question which puzzled him in the law, the justice] ordered a *mittimus* to put the constable in the stocks. So the ministers, having advised His Majesty to ask counsel from his Parliament, what should be done in this difficult state of things, they advise His Majesty in the first place to lay them all by the heels.

1678, May 25th.—Your Grace will herewith receive the speech of His Majesty and the Lord Chancellor, the first of which was only given to Mr. Speaker to read in the House after the delivery, and the other was earnestly called for, being thought by some that heard it an invective against that House from one end to the other. And hereupon a mighty cloud of anger arose, and great impatience to see the speech. But on the perusal of it this day in print, the displeasure was so far lessened that little or no notice at all was taken thereof; but some few of the principal leaders on the angry side began to fall close to the business in hand, proposing that an address might be made to His Majesty to know the state of affairs as they now stood in relation to peace or war, and that if His Majesty thought fit to enter into an actual war against the French king, with the assistance of the Emperor and such other princes and states as would come into the confederacy, that then this House would fully assist and supply His Majesty in such war.

The motives to this proposal were drawn from the dismal prospect of a peace, than which no consequence of affairs, even the disasters of war, could be worse; for that France, so soon as ever it saw the chain of confederacy dissolved could break down the preent barriers given to Holland, and make them tributaries before they knew where they were. That the sense of this in Holland might even revoke the propensity therein to a peace, and bring back Spain, which is also said to be far gone; that here was an army raised, which was now by some called our army, he hoped that care would be taken not to call the peace intended our peace too, for that nothing would be more inconsistent or dishonourable unto that House than to have so contrary a thing imposed on them. That a state of war were much more eligible, though there were no other

confederate but Germany alone. And therefore it was proposed that His Majesty might send an army of 15,000 or 20,000 men, as auxiliaries unto the Duke of Lorraine, a brave prince that fought for his own interest, and not making war his trade; and furnishing him with subsidies and recruiting every winter this body of men, there would lie a way open through this slip of Flanders that is to be left, or otherwise by landing at Embden, to march through Munsterland, etc., into Germany, where the French are not powerful enough on that side to stop the passage. That in this way of fighting His Majesty would be freed from all the censure of ill events, and the House only answerable for the supply of subsidies. That we were still at sea more powerful than the French, having a great superiority in mariners, though not in shipping. That our very coast helps us to make war for us; and, there being no middle way between opposing and submitting to France, they propose therefore as aforesaid.

It was hereunto answered that the Duke of Lorraine was indeed a great man, but there would be little way left to come at him, since if a war went on, France would presently have all Flanders. That it is very hard to suppose that Spain or Holland shall turn back unto us, when they are now actually going, and have been long meditating to go into a peace. And that the Empire hath surely been alarmed thereat, so as 'tis probable they likewise are thinking of the same expedient. So that, in effect, we in the conclusion should come to sustain the whole burthen of the war. On the other side the cause of France's greatness was not thoroughly considered, for it arose from their unity and their money, their revenue not being less than to the value of fourteen millions sterling. That against such a power the charge of bare defence is able to undo us, His Majesty having such vast and dispersed territories to maintain. And if we hope to offend we must support the arms of the Empire, to which Holland contributed before, and also Spain, though these furnished not above one million and a half by the year, and yet seem to be drained by it. Wherefore the proposition being of that importance, and the credit of the House being concerned in the event, 'twas very fit to be cautious and circumspect before any such address were made.

The most which was afterwards said tended to strengthen the difference in the former opinions. That a peace would be as chargeable as a war, and induce the necessity of keeping up a standing army to preserve it, and therefore better to enter with Germany alone than to lie down under the consequences of a peace. Others thought that this declaration would prompt Spain to go out faster and more assuredly than before they intended to their peace, and might serve to enable Germany to enhance their terms upon France, but not prevent their bargain. And if one main scope of our war is for the defence of Flanders, how could we hope to effect it, when Spain has testified so little desire to keep Flanders, or the inhabitants now to defend it.

On the other side it was urged how nothing could bury the jealousies we have at home but a war with France. That herein we should comply with the genius of the whole nation, which did appear in the sudden concourse of so brave an army, but at the sound of France. That should they now be disbanded, they might in distaste refuse to return when they were called. That we had passed a law to declare war, and it would be the greatest reproach to that House if they should now declare peace. That it was our hanging off from the Confederates so long that made them begin to think of peace, and that there was no hopes of supporting that band or any part of it, but by proclaiming that war which we had enacted.

It was opposed that all these matters ought to be left to His Majesty to determine in the best manner he could, for that the uncertainty of things did disable him from giving a clear and satisfactory answer to such an address. For tho' it may be well suspected that when the King of France is at the head of 50,000 men, and the Prince of Orange but with 16,000, there is more in it than a bare cessation; yet this is the only errand pretended and owned by the States in sending their deputies to that King. And if they go to negotiate articles for their allies, without which they will not embrace a peace, however this also is plain, that the Governor of Flanders has sent also to the Hague, declaring that whatever Holland shall think fit to do in the matter of peace, they also will do the like. And 'tis not likely that the two branches of the House of Austria should be so different in their determination. But all this while His Majesty is uncertain of things abroad, which should rule his measures at home, and enable him to return an answer. But certainly as to his own inclinations, they are visible enough from the importunity used by His Majesty to summon the Dutch to a performance of the late treaty. And therefore, till a little more time did enable His Majesty to see clearer into these matters, 'twas most proper to think of some small proportion of supply to enable the Army to live, though it were but from hand to mouth. And 'tis only the want of money has hindered all that are here from being transported with the rest.

Another sort of opinion arose from several that were formerly high for the war, to leave all to His Majesty, and not to press him on to do things that he might see grounds to vary from, and therefore prayed that instead of the latter words of the question proposed, these words might be added: That if His Majesty did not think fit to enter into such war this House would consider of what was fit touching the disbanding of the new raised forces. But about this time, there arising a question of adjournment, and this taking place by nineteen votes, out of hopes in many to see clearer by every post, 'tis taken for granted that on Monday they will further proceed on the debate of the first question with relation to war.

1678, May 28.—The late tidings from abroad about parties, cessations, and peace, have left matters in the House of

Commons under great uncertainty of resolution what to advise or what to speak for these days past. But very many have united in declaring their deep resentments, not only on the insuccess of all their addresses, but the reproof and severities (as they term it) wherewith they have been answered. So as they have seemed impatient to explain themselves, and have appointed Saturday for the reading of my Lord Chancellor's speech, which they pressed for from the occasion this day given them by His Majesty's message requiring a supply of money. Nor does it avail to divert them herein that the thing was spoken in His Majesty's presence, and twice expressed in the speech that it was said by His Majesty's command. For they will not bear or endure that any of the ministers shall say that anything was done by His Majesty's command, if they think amiss of it; for they say the King can do no wrong, and therefore his ministers must answer for what is done.

The vote which concluded yesterday's long debate is here enclosed, as also the answer returned this day by His Majesty thereunto—which was not, in truth, received by many with that respect that such a message deserved. There was a great deal of affected silence and sullenness in token of their discontent, and perhaps the difficulty of the matter did press upon some, as not knowing what sort of advice was best. Some of the wits abroad had lately divided the House into some that would have war without an army, and others an army without war. And certain it is that many within were divided between the fear of disbanding so much on the sudden as might testify they had no mind to the war; and the fear of giving money for the disbanding lest the army should be kept up after the peace. And upon this subject-matter have all the debates of these two days gone. Some would plunge into a war with Germany alone; and that nothing would be so great a blot in His Majesty's reign as to be now the author of a peace. And if that must be, they would not have the shame thereof, and the disbanding so brave an army, to be laid to their charge; urging further how much they had in due time offered advice and money, but how the money was only taken and the advice still rejected; that our ministers had absolutely done the business of France, for by the late alliance made with Holland, the Dutch cancelled thereby all their obligations to their confederates, and so far interpreted that treaty as a foundation for peace, by the terms therein offered to France; that their being now almost ready to shake hands together has only sprung from thence. Whereas we, on the other side, interpreting that treaty towards war, prevailed with the House to have an army raised and a fleet put to sea in pursuance thereof, to the great expense of the kingdom, which must now all sink and fall to the ground, because Holland has made its peace. And then some reproaches passed on those as breathing hot and cold who now inclined to peace, but had before argued sharply for the war. There were many things to confute, or

at least mitigate this way of arguing, and it was pressed that we might on Thursday next consider of His Majesty's supply. But this coming so near the point of money, they would not allow of any but a more general question, which was that on Thursday next the House would consider of His Majesty's message.

1678, June 1. Spring Garden.—I had by the last post to my very great contentment, the honour of your Grace's two letters of the 18th and 20th past. In the latter I consulted with Mr. Secretary Coventry how and where to place most usefully those precautions about the excuses and evasions which are framing to put off the evil day in the great account depending.

But by your Grace's to Mr. Secretary of the 25th, you supersede any further motion in this matter lest it might disturb those orders that are sent which appear sufficient to press on the work. I must confess I took the best care I could to go to the utmost lines of my commission in the draft I made, and brought in therefore the whole debate to justify the same. I know not how matters truly stand between my Lord Ranelagh and my Lord Treasurer, but I happened this day to hear that for Sir James Hayes and Sir James Shaen they were two men my Lord Treasurer declared he never would have to deal withal. As to the first of your Grace's letters I have discoursed with Sir John James and Major Huntingdon, and they do most cheerfully receive your Grace's answer in that affair, and will apply themselves to give it effect accordingly.

I must also acknowledge with very deep respect your Grace's concern for the loss of my son, which is the most sensible one that in this world could befall me—and, as he began his dependence on my Lady Duchess as soon as he was born, so I had and should always have trained him to have exceeded me in reverence to your Grace's family, if such a thing could be possible.

Postscript.—The embargo is here taken off, and ordered to be so in Ireland also.

1678, June 8.—The enclosed votes will show what hath lately past in the House of Commons. On Thursday the Committee of Privileges were as numerous as at a full house, the country party labouring to bring in one Sir Wm. Ellis for Grantham, and to put by Sir Robert Markham, the sitting member, who went with the Court; and they took great indignation that His Majesty should himself speak unto all he met, and set his servants to solicit this matter, which in the bottom is a high contest of that country between the Lord Lindsey and Sir Robert Carr, each drawing in all their strength and relations to support it, and so growing up in the House as a case for trial of strength, and to decide the fate of the session. But the Court was so worsted upon several divisions that having sat till one in the morning, it was urged by them to be irregular, and a new day come on which

the House had not appointed. Whereupon all that side went forth and away to bed, hoping thereby to dissolve the assembly as unlawfully met. But the other gentlemen departed not till they had voted all things as they pleased, and Monday next is appointed for the deciding of this great battle.

But although from the uneven members of that Committee 'twas thought all things would succeed accordingly, yet this day was changed the hope by a vote in favour of the repayment of that £200,000 promised His Majesty on the credit of the Excise. There was long opposition given and many warm arguments used from a deduction of the addresses made and answers returned, which were all read, to show that the honour of the House was not engaged to make good this money; for that the promise of it was but conditional, that a tenderness and respect towards His Majesty in the use of modest expressions ought not to be construed less than what is done between party and party would have been put in terms of obligation. And that His Majesty should, according to their expectation, have stepped into a war, or at least engaged in those alliances which would have constrained an honourable peace. Whereas it was manifest by the proclamation which issued subsequent to the promise in question for putting off the Parliament till April, there was no thoughts of a war, nor, indeed, any endeavours for alliance, but about such an alliance as this House has declared ineffectual, and not pursuant to their addresses. There again it was urged that the late prorogation had extinguished all the good bills that were in preparation, and why should it not also extinguish a pretended promise of money, which by this method might as well be expected from a new Parliament, if this had been dissolved. That the dangers of a real war in prospect, and perhaps not far off, did oblige them to manage the purses and preserve the affections of the people. And that, if bare preparations for defence swelled to so great an expense as comes in now on every side, it will grow unsafe to give any advice at all, and frighten the kingdom from thinking of its defence, etc.

It was hereunto answered that part of the address went only to advise alliances, and other succeeding addresses of later date came up to advising a war. That pursuant to the address which promised this £200,000, there was such an alliance made with Holland as to save a kingdom, a dukedom and many other important territories. And had the peace contained in that alliance taken place it had been double the advantage of what is now like to succeed. That if more alliances were expected by the House than His Majesty could possibly attain to, such a condition, if they insisted on it, was perfectly a nullity—none being to answer for more than what is within their power. That if this money was designed for preparations and, by the accounts, ready to be offered, it appears it has been so laid out; and for the public use they might as well refuse to pay off the army, and the extraordinary part of the fleet,

which had been raised by their vote. And that if upon addresses made for supply, and those put into an act giving His Majesty promise and assurances of money, it should happen after the expense is made by the Crown accordingly the House should not yet think their honour engaged but that they were at liberty to interpret themselves out of the obligation; nothing might prove more dangerous or fatal to the kingdom in a day of distress, etc. Upon the division of the House 'twas carried by fifteen votes that the House stood obliged to pay this debt.

A committee is appointed to sit to see the accounts, and then the way of raising the money will be fixed upon. Sir John Knight, in the heat of this debate, had poured out much of his indignation upon the exorbitant accounts of the navy. Unto which Mr. Pepys made reply, and in demonstrating of his gross mistake did also handle him with that severity that he was fain to beg the pardon of the House for his being so far transported.

We have had here very melancholy news of the Prince of Orange's condition, and several steps of his declination in Holland; but there does not appear any justification of particulars that look so rude and so dismal as were mentioned, though it is not to be doubted but that the Louvestein party, supported by France, are very prevalent. There is much talk of a speech made by a Burgomaster of Holland, whereof the enclosed is said to be a translated copy.

1678, June 11.—Yesterday Sir Robert Markham was voted by the House to be well elected for Grantham, contrary to what had been reported from the Committee in favour of Sir Wm. Ellis. The debate lasted very long, and never was any cause so keenly supported by courting and making votes on either side. It seems Sir Robert Carr, engaging for Sir Wm. Ellis, gave all the country party, as they say, assurances that he would rip up all that had passed in order to this election for the overawing it by the Lord Lindsey, as in drawing up the militia, troops and forces, and several such things that would have sounded very ill in the House of Commons. But Sir Robert, taking calmer advice, would not be provoked into it when it came to the push. So that all those gentlemen that engaged in the matter do now wreak all their indignation against him. I mention this matter particularly because it has made a great noise, and very extraordinary cares have been used on either side for victory in this matter.

This day being appointed to consider His Majesty's late message, Mr. Secretary Williamson acquainted the House with a memorial lately presented by the Dutch ministers, at the particular command of the States, beseeching His Majesty not to disband so soon, lest the great portion of Flanders likely to be saved by this peace should yet run danger by the uncertainty of its event. This threw the House into a large and warm debate, as well touching the points of a peace as the

nature of the army. And hereupon the one side desired to know how England was like to be provided for, and by which side like to be comprehended in their general peace. That the forces we had sent over were looked upon with a jealous eye, according to the present temper in Holland. That they had been unwillingly admitted by the Spaniards and might be an occasion of engaging us in new embroils, being sufficient to provoke a powerful prince, but not to secure us against him. That the French overtures at Nimeguen did set forth an engagement on His Majesty to see the Crown of Sweden satisfied in their expectation. And should this be any of the grounds for keeping up an army, it were surely of all things to be the most avoided. That the Dutch who desert us think their terms may not be so secure or advantageous if we should presently disband. So that 'tis not only the expense of keeping up an army, but the mischief of an army that is now to be distrusted. That whereas the time proposed is but to the 27th of July, there then arise new cessations and new adjournments of the peace in hand, if the fear of France be argument to keep up the army; those fears will doubtless every day arise higher, and be strongest of all when the peace is made. So there will be a lasting argument for an army. For the government of France is founded upon an army, but ours on the laws of the land. And that the standing of an army never ought to have any countenance from the vote of that House. That there have been many dark and indirect colours put upon things in raising of this army; that since they could not disband the ministers that had raised it, and been advisers of such an innovation for their own security, it was safest immediately to disband those that were raised, and so to hasten the bill that was in hand for the disbanding of all by the end of this month. And if His Majesty should see any clearer reason why it were fit to hold on those who were now in Flanders until the 27th of July, there might a proviso be added to the bill for that effect. Some said the argument of Holland ought little to prevail upon us, which was the fear of their peace; for it were worth disbanding to be sure of the continuance of the war, and a calling an army together again to partake in it and support the present chain of confederacy abroad. Some expressed the unwillingness they had to give any advice at all since they had met with such reprehensions for so doing, and wishing that the damp and discouragement which is now put on the spirits of all that desired a war may not have fatal consequences in it, by finding those spirits down and that purse closed when hereafter those may be willing who are now averse unto it. Others on the same side are certain, however, of their right of advising, and as a birthright if sent thither by the people, as certain that their advice was better than the Privy Council's, but the King had followed the Council's, and not theirs, and could England now be said to be well? From these several topics they moved not to change the instructions given the committee for enlarging the time of disbanding

beyond the last of this month. There were several replies made to the sharper parts of these discourses, and many arguments used to assuage the jealousies of any design to keep up the army longer than to attend the events of that peace which is now in agitation. And as to the question of which side we should be comprehended, it was answered that since the King had been mediator, doubtless both sides would (as hath in like cases been practised) invite him and include him out of compliment; and it would be an affront to do otherwise, though as to the manner and form hereof it would be adjusted at Nimeguen. That it would be almost an impossible thing to have the thing passed, the money raised, and the army disbanded by the time prescribed, and therefore it was fit to enlarge it, yet so as not to exceed the 27th of the next month. But upon the divisions of the House it was at last voted that the forces of Flanders might stand till then, but those in England no longer than till the end of this month.

1678, June 15.—I have your Grace's of the 4th instant, and am much contented with the honour of it, and the two former I lately had; for on some pause your Grace had made I began to question myself, but still confiding that if I had done anything amiss your Grace would have told me of it. I do not see that anything likely to fall out here can prevent the progress your Grace hath chalked out, for all the thoughts and prayers we have seem to be for peace in our days, and we shall hardly ever meddle with the sword, if our neighbours do not constrain us to the shield. Your Grace's appearance in such a circuit of that kingdom will doubtless have great influence on the choice of good members for the Parliament; and from harmony there every good thing that concerns the welfare and defence of the kingdom may be reasonably expected. I am sure your Grace will vouchsafe to honour my habitation when you are at Kinsale, for my good mother relies upon it.

I hope your Grace will find all just encouragement from hence in prosecuting the great matter of accounts; for on reading here yesterday the letter of the 31st past from that Board, the subject of it was warmly resented, not only as you will see, in the enclosed order, but by words from my Lord Chancellor for seizing the undertakers in custody, which might also have been part of the order if Sir Philip Lloyd had pleased. His Majesty did think those accountants had much to answer for, without any one word of mitigation in their favour, my Lord Treasurer letting all pass with silence, and perusing a paper that lay before him.

Upon Wednesday His Majesty gave order that Sir Robert Carr's name should be struck out of the Council books, which misfortune attends him on account of his contention with the Earl of Lindsey touching the election at Grantham; he gave a mighty disappointment to one side of the House in not exposing some enormities which he had promised to lay open, and doubt-

less thought to merit at Whitehall by his silence therein. But finding now the same event to attend him as if he had spoken out, and so being a loser on all sides, he is in a state of great mortification, and has not been since at the House. There was spread a great rumour, as if Sir John Talbot should have been sworn of the Council, because he appeared so vigorous in the Committee against Sir Robert; but that report is now vanished, and for the Chancellorship of the Duchy, that Sir Robert holds by patent for his life.

In the late debates of the House and Committee there have been more loose expressions, and calling the parties to account for the same, than had happened in many years before. Among others, Mr. Bennett, who was lately discharged from being the Prince's Secretary, has been very rash towards my Lord Treasurer, bringing in a story of a French marquis, said to be dead, by way of allusion; and then at the Committee, about the election of Mr. Bertie, brother to my Lord Norris, he said that the Berties and the Osbornes would get all the places that fell. It seems my Lord Latimer, besides the public reprehension he had, whispered him to another way of accounting, which it seems he was not so fond to meddle withal.

This day there was much time spent about a negative vote against any motion for new supply after Tuesday next, upon a strong jealousy taken that, besides the continuation of the additional duty on wine, there would other demands for money be made when the House should grow more thin, on account of the present season. And upon a division that vote was carried upon the previous question, first by six, and the main question afterwards by eight voices. I suppose that if only the additional duty on wine be aimed at, it will pretty easily pass, and then all endeavours will be united to drive on these money bills together, so as, at the same time, to be ready for the royal assent.

1678, June 18.—I have much more mind to sleep now than to write, having been all this day till seven o'clock fasting and sweating in the House, and returning at last very little satisfied. But my respect to your Grace awakens me to tell you in such a crisis the considerable things that have passed.

His Majesty came this day in his robes and delivered to the Parliament a long speech which took up a full sheet of paper, whereof I have not time to get a copy. It had in it wonderful expressions of kindness and endearment. It mentioned a demand for continuing the additional impost on wine, recompense for the loss by the French prohibition, £40,000 due to the Prince of Orange for the portion; but that which was the great point of all, that in consideration that it would fall to his share to preserve so much of Flanders as was left, which must be done by keeping an army up in those parts, he earnestly desired them to find out some way of settling upon him an additional revenue of £300,000 per annum during his life; in which case he would consent to the

appropriating of £500,000 per annum of the Customs to the Navy and Ordnance.

There was a great pause and silence after the reading of this speech, till Michael Mallet began with commending some gracious expressions that were in it, and moved for thanks to be returned, which being presently seconded by one that will not see how ill he is heard in the House, the motion was closed withal, with condition that the House would order those two gentlemen to carry the thanks. But this way being urged on the other side as a mark of diminution in so great a thing, it was moved that the Privy Councillors should carry the thanks, and by others that it should be done by the whole House. But after much debate it fell to the Privy Councillors.

After this it was urged on behalf of the speech that a new day might be assigned to take the supplies thereof into consideration. But it was hereunto opposed that the demands thereof were very surprising, coming in at the end of a Session, and when more was already assented to than any could give their country a reasonable account of. And that it was unusual to have more taxes demanded than what were in the beginning of a Session represented necessary. Others said that there might be money enough saved by a method of better husbandry, suppressing pensions and private farms; and that such a tribute as this would bring them unto the case of Normans, and to the wearing of wooden shoes. Others that the demand was formidable and advised by such Ministers as never desired to hear of Parliaments more, and that there could be no safety till they were removed from being so near the throne. Another added that as to the portion demanded, it was to be hoped that they should not have the paying of all portions, and that there might be enough saved out of the unnecessary reformation of new lodgings in Whitehall to satisfy this payment (reflecting on the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, which are pulled down to be built up anew). Another entered into the history of the revenue, as he called it, showing how the people by the bill for building of ships, the Poll Bill, the repayment of the £200,000 borrowed on the excise, the additional impost on wine, the portion of the Prince of Orange, the payments for the Army and Navy—how that all these in a little time would come short of two millions; and that if two millions more should at the same time be settled, which he computed £300,000 per annum at, during a life, it would be sufficient to make all crack. Others added that no other reason was given for this last supply than what France gave when it totally dissolved Parliaments, namely, the delay and inconveniency of calling them together upon any emergency and sudden turn of affairs abroad. That there was no way to support this tax, since all others were already overburdened, but by a general excise, which was the way to introduce slavery, as was apparent from the examples of France and Spain. And that this counsel flowing from the same Ministers who had advised those frequent prorogations, and brought things to the pass they are, it must needs be ruinous to the nation and of utter subversion unto Parliaments. Others urged that the

revenue was already superfluous ; that a fourth part of the whole came to the King's Exchequer ; that to urge the plenty of other princes abroad was but to plead for their methods of government ; that in plain terms the being of Parliaments and a change of our Government was now at stake ; that without a mutual necessity between the King and his people our constitution could not stand ; that if £80,000 have been lately passed for secret services it is no great token of scarcity in the King's revenue ; that the present demand can no ways be answered but by a general excise, and that this demand is calculated to the support and expense of an army of 20,000 men, which will serve rather for terror to ourselves than defence abroad. Whereas our condition is not to be compared with that of other princes abroad, for, having the sea for our defence, we need only to regard the support of our fleet, which the customs granted can sufficiently maintain.

Thus far the general scope of the arguments on that side did run, whenas there happened a great turn to the business by what was moved by Mr. Secretary Williamson, who, having stepped out of the House did soon return back, and made a new motion, which I shall not mention till I tell your Grace (as well as I can recollect at this late hour) what was said on the other side in favour of His Majesty's demand. And there were but very few who spoke, since those who use to be consulted on lesser occasions, and are wont to come prepared, were altogether surprised with this. But it was urged that the only thing now desired was, according to the rules of the House, but to appoint a day to have the matter examined to see distinctly all the branches of His Majesty's revenue, and to let them be judges whether the necessary issues did not exceed the incomes ; whether the extraordinary power of our neighbours did not require an increase of power and force on our parts, and that this being designed but for our common defence, would no otherways belong to the King than the highway which is exposed in common to the use and benefit of all ; that His Majesty had upon his hands the war of Angiers, which cost him £100,000, etc. But, as I have said, Mr. Secretary, seeing how the House were inflamed, and likely to run, did propose the waiving of this question and debate for the present, and desired the previous question might be put, by which motion and retreat the other side grew more warm and earnest in the sentiments they had, resolving never to have this thing spring up more ; and so, without dividing, the House carried it both in the previous and the main question that no such supply should be granted.

When this was thus laid asleep a motion was made for continuation of the impost, which, being expected from the beginning of the Session, did pass without any contradiction, to be considered of in a Committee of the whole House that are to sit to-morrow, yet with intimation enough that they mean to clog this new grant with a good part of what they are to raise for the discharge of the fleet and army. Next came the motion of £40,000 for the Prince of Orange, which had also a pretty fair passage.

But the fourth motion, which was for a recompense to what the late prohibition took away, this endured a stiff debate, it being urged in favour of it that the prohibition was absolutely necessary for us ; that a recompense for it would show the French King that it would be permanent, unless he came to an equal balance of trade with us ; and that His Majesty in his customs would fall short £250,000 of what the French trade brought unto him. But it was hereto replied that none of the King's officers could say that hitherto any loss had accrued unto His Majesty, but rather benefit by the great glut of importations, and that it would only be seasonable to talk of a recompense at our next meeting, when any calculation could be made of the loss, and that other countries would supply the like commodities so as not to make that loss very considerable. But the matter coming to a question, and the House dividing, it was carried in the negative by above sixty, for the displeasure of the late business stuck much upon their minds, besides the slow progress observed in the House of Lords about the Bill for disbanding the army, which, putting things much out of tune and showing one side of the House what advantage they had in hand by the late indiscreet dividing on the question, they presently began to move for an account to be brought in of all money for secret service since May, 1677, and that the members of the House should purge themselves by protestation, and a test to be taken against the slander and imputation of bribes and pensions for giving their votes.

This was impugned as illegal for any to accuse themselves ; that it was like the oath *ex officio* ; that it would draw scandal on them from abroad ; that it would weaken the operation of those laws they had made and introduce a way of garbling and purging the House as in former time ; and that it was rather fit to apply such test and protestation to every member there ; that they had no hand in the making or distributing that libel which was printed to the defamation of so many of their members.

This motion was admitted of, but the other also so vehemently pressed, by urging the scandal and crime in any person to contrive any way of attracting and seizing to his pleasure a part of the legislative power, etc., that since this motion could not be resisted there were at least ten other motions pinned on, as namely, that the same committee appointed to draw a test for these two intents of finding out the libellers and the pensioners, should also provide another against all inclined to Popery, all that went to the conventicles all that treated and took rewards from foreign ministers touching business depending in that House, all that solicited for votes, all that kept public dinners, all that were feed to promote business as the chairmen of committees, all that were outlawed, etc.

It did not serve the turn in the progress of these many motions, which were in a sort of tumultuary manner made and admitted, how much dishonour it would draw upon the House to have such things remaining on the books. But all being put to the question, and the House dividing, it was carried by seventy voices that

all these matters should be looked into. After which, it being very late and all tired out, there went away so many from the House, and the Speaker being dexterous, upon a little contention about the naming the committee for all this work, he put it to the question whether a committee should be named or no, and, upon division of the House, it was by a few votes carried in the negative, which seems to dash, by this sidewind, all that had been debating for so many hours together. I have not time to read what is here writ, for the post would be gone, and so your Grace must take it as it is. The additional impost is £140,000 per annum.

1678, June 22.—In this very instant I received the honour of your Grace's letter of the 15th. The Commissioners were then, it seems, intent upon the Earl of Ranelagh's accounts and began to represent things in the colours they find them, which may come as a seasonable counterpoise, which was yesterday appointed, as I conceive, in favour of the said Earl, and the matter lies thus. The late order, whereof I sent your Grace a copy, for process to be issued was, it seems, by his Lordship's dexterity, ordered to be stopped—he alleging to His Majesty (while he was at some meeting in the Treasury) those reasons and motives which your Grace will receive by a copy of his petition that I desired Mr. Thynne to send you. The substance of which sounded to me that his undertaking was of two parts; the one an account to His Majesty, which he had according to duty given in April last, and would abide by the same; that the other part was of his demands from the subject, which, though to obey His Majesty he would declare, yet there lay no obligation on him so to do, and, therefore, he ought to have such time as was necessary for so large a work. These reasons were on Wednesday urged without petition to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer, and seconded by Mr. Speaker, and His Majesty seemed to give in to the same sense. And the Lord Treasurer urged that he could do nothing as to his part of process until the duplicate of accounts came from Ireland, and so the superseding of the late order seemed to be the matter agreed unto. But Mr. Secretary urging some material points, it was agreed that nothing should be done till Friday, when the Earl of Essex should be present and signify his opinion in this matter. Yesterday there was read a petition from his Lordship, upon which the Earl of Essex did urge that by the contract all demands should have been given in in 1675, and within two years all should be collected. It was replied that they being debts to His Majesty all times were free to collect the same. But to this it was said the process then ought not to be in His Majesty's name, but the undertaker to take his venture. Then came other points into consideration as whether His Majesty should allow the full money where it appeared that they compounded the debts; and in proof of composition there was a long letter read, copy of what my Lord of Essex had formerly sent to the Secretary. After this it was said that there did arise several misunderstandings in this matter

by reason the Earl of Ranelagh was not in person at Dublin, and therefore, it might be fit that a committee were appointed here, whom his Lordship should attend to be heard upon the several points that should occur; and of this committee are the Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Bridgewater, Lord of Essex, Mr. Secretary Coventry and Mr. Speaker, and they are to meet on Thursday next. I am apt to think that this committee is what his Lordship hath desired; yet if the representations from that side are clear and intelligent, this committee will not easily consent to overlook the things that may be for His Majesty's advantage.

Mr. Secretary was not yesterday at Council, where it was also ordered that what is doing by the Commissioners at Dublin should still go on, and that if all demands were not given in by a day peremptory to be fixed by your Grace, there should be in the Bill of Subsidies a proviso added for the mortifying all demands of that nature in the future. I suppose this order will go to your Grace this night, but the certainty I know not, for his Lordship is a dexterous man, and much dissatisfied, I hear, when I cast an eye towards any of his concerns. Some do here report as if his Lordship would part with his Vice-Treasurer's place to the Lord O'Brien, and that he is seeking to get into the House of Commons in case Mr. Cofferer's sickness shall make a vacancy.

I do not see anything from hence likely to obstruct your Grace's intended progress first to the north and afterwards to our parts of Kinsale, where, from all hands, I hear the new fort is going on with the utmost vigour, and it would, as your Grace observes, be very unfortunate if the noise of a general peace should beget orders for a general insecurity. But as on the one hand the assurances of peace are somewhat adjourned, so His Majesty does not easily leave off any works of the fortification wherein he is embarked, unless there be strong persuasions to the contrary. But for fear any damp of this kind may hereafter happen, I wish your Grace would make some report to His Majesty on my petition for satisfaction about Rincorran.

1678, June 22.—Herewith I send your Grace His Majesty's late speech to the Parliament, whereof I gave your Grace by the last post the unfortunate event it had, and the discourses and surmises relating thereto have been since very liberal and very loud.

On Wednesday the Lord Treasurer, by His Majesty's command, represented to the Lords what came fresh from Sir Lionel Jenkins, namely, that France would refuse to deliver any of the towns in Flanders until Swede were first restored, and, therefore, that Monsieur Van Beuning was in the utmost anxiety for fear our army here should be disbanded and all things remain insecure. The Lords voted hereupon a present conference with the Commons, which happened not until Thursday, and when the Commons returned to debate upon this point they made no other resolution thereupon but to send up a message to the Lords praying their Lordships to hasten the Bill that lay before them for disbanding the army.

The Commons have been very impatient to see this work effected, and having, though with great struggling and difficulty, agreed to the repaying of the £200,000 borrowed on the Excise Bill, as also to the £40,000 due to the Prince of Orange, they have also agreed to continue the additional impost, to commence from the first of August next, for three years, without applying it to any of the payments in hand. And yesterday, to wrap up all, being very impatient to be gone into the country, they voted the raising of £414,000 towards the extraordinary expenses of the army and navy and for the Prince of Orange, besides the Poll Bill, estimated in the House at £350,000, and the £200,000 settled by Land Tax in the bill for disbanding the army, which makes in all towards a million of money given in this occasion. The House were generally inclined to raise the money which was yesterday voted by a Land Tax, but Colonel Birch prevailed to be heard this day upon other expedients, which, as the House were going into a Grand Committee to hear and consider of, their bill for disbanding was sent down by the Lords with some amendments suitable to a vote yesterday passed in that House, namely that the army in England should be continued till the 27th of July next, and that in Flanders till the 24th of August.

This point received no little debate upon several heads. First, that their Lordships did meddle with the Money Bill, that is, lengthened the time which would increase charge, which, tho' to be paid by His Majesty, yet, in consequence, all His Majesty's wants were to be supplied by them. Next many reflections passed and jealousies urged about the inclinations of keeping up this army contrary to the desire of that House, and that these inclinations had already appeared in divers shapes. However, there appearing (as it was urged on the other side) a moral impossibility to disband by the time assigned, and that there might not such an argument be left for violating the law, besides the declared opinion of the Lords, they did at last unanimously agree to differ from the Lords, but yet to do the thing proposed in their own way, which will be either by proviso or a supplemental bill.

1678, June 25.—What the Committee did yesterday in the House of Commons for the raising £200,000 on all new buildings within ten mile of London the House this day laid it by, and spent much time in debating the raising the whole of the £414,000 by the ancient way of subsidy, which was chiefly affected by those who serve for such counties as are much oppressed with a disproportionable share in all Land Taxes. But the debate being adjourned till to-morrow, 'tis supposed they will, for speed and certainty sake, resort at last unto a Land Tax.

As to foreign matters and the peace which the Dutch were so fondly embracing, there happens an extraordinary jar in that affair—France refusing all things to be done on his part till the Swede be fully restored; and hearing that the Swede was upon some accommodation with the Marquis of Brandenburg, France reproached him of it as dishonourable to his alliance. This puts all into amazement. The expresses come thick from Holland and

Nimeguen. We are sending over five regiments more. Mr. Montagu is expostulating very warmly at Paris, and my Lord Sunderland they say is to be despatched thither. The Commons seem not to take much notice of these changes. They are most of them hasting out of town; and since their advices were not followed they seem not so concerned as they ought to be in what may happen.

1678, July 6.—London.—I have missed the two last posts, having nothing to entertain your Grace withal. The House of Commons having spent above a week in speculative questions with the Lords touching their right of making any amendments to a Money Bill, which but in consequence might draw on money; the point arising on their Lordships adding a month to the time of disbanding the army. In conclusion they both agreed to the thing, but so differed in the manner as that the Bill fell between both Houses, being left in the Painted Chamber, refused by either side, and so taken away at last by a coffee-man. The Commons, by way of expedient, have made the whole matter of that Bill, but as a clause of the other Bill of Money which they had in hand. All which was this day ordered to be engrossed, and will on Monday go up to the Lords, so as by Saturday next both that and the additional Wine Act may be perfected by Saturday next, which will certainly conclude the Session, for His Majesty is grown impatient to be at Windsor. The House also is become very thin and weary of sitting so long; and notwithstanding we are sending forces abroad, and many contradictions appear in other places to stop the expectation and career of a general peace, yet here the most of men think of nothing else, not with delight but rather with despair, as having been disappointed and fallen from their hopes. His Majesty speaks cheerfully of the affairs in Scotland, all things succeeding there in the Convocation as my Lord Lauderdale would have them.

My Lord Sunderland was posting away in quality of ambassador to persuade the King of France to some temperament in the late difficulties about the peace, but his going was stopped by a declaration from the French Ministers here that their master would not receive any persuasions in that matter, and therefore that His Majesty might desist. However, 'tis not unlikely but this Lord may soon be planted as Ambassador in that Court, for Mr. Montagu is in some tribulation and under a cloud. My Lady Cleveland having done his errand for what has passed between him and my Lady Sussex, which makes up a long and dangerous intrigue, sometimes of love and sometimes of jealousy. And who else is concerned and who not I cannot tell; but Mr. Montagu is expected this night, some say to fight a duel with a certain Frenchman, but he comes without leave and had been soon commanded home if he had not.

Postscript.—I acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 22nd past. There have been two meetings of the Committee about my Lord Ranelagh's accounts without much effect. The meeting intended on Thursday last was put off till Tuesday next

because the Earl of Essex was absent. And, indeed, till the Parliament rise, nothing else can be closely thought on. I know not what grounds there are for the reports that my Lord Ranelagh is sometimes selling his place to the Lord O'Brien, then that his ill accounts may endanger the losing of it, in which case 'twill be thought fit for the Earl of Plymouth, who is towards a match with the Lord Treasurer's daughter. But even such rumours as these cannot be pleasing to those that are concerned.

I had lately some serious discourse with Sir John James, who tells me that neither he or his partners are at all satisfied with this noble Lord, but carry it fair and quiet for a little longer, till they get in a considerable sum he has borrowed from them, for which my friend Sir John Champante stands bound. But having cleared that point, they resolve never more to have to do with his Lordship, which, in way of secrecy, he imparted to me, and at the same time enlarged in all the good he could utter concerning your Grace, and that he spoke the sense of all his partners, desiring me to assure your Grace that whenever you should have any need of their service they would give ample demonstrations how much they honour you. And as to the particular promise about your Grace's fees, that should be sacredly observed in the season that is proper.

1678, July 13.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 2nd instant, and now that the Parliament is going to rise, my Lord Ranelagh's committee will have time to sit close to that work, which hitherto they have not done, and perhaps the opinion of your Judges will come timely enough, either for cancelling his Lordship's demands or to estimate his right according to the market-rate his Lordship has sold at. But upon some discourse with Major Huntington I find the purchaser, Sir James Shaen, has taken this in but as another string to his bow, for that if my Lord Ranelagh be judged to have no right, then do the words of the Farmers' contract sweep all in to their advantage, and he hears that Sir James did by his sagacity from the beginning fit and adapt sufficient words for this event.

This afternoon Sir John James, Major Huntington and Mr. Dawson came to my house and read me part of a long letter written them by Mr. Bridges, which enclosed the copy of a late order issued by your Grace to Sir John Champante for paying the Civil and Military List up to the 25th March last, and the Military List, etc., to the 25th June last, and this in preference unto all other payments. They told me that their monthly payments are now in arrear £8,000, which yet did in no degree trouble them to what the sight of this your Grace's order does, because it seems to determine a preference unto other payments, while yet their letters patents both here and there give the preference unto them. And it being for ready money lent to a public service, which your Grace had such approbation of, they think it may weaken the public credit and dishearten others in cases of like nature if their contract, at least in your Grace's judgment, should not be kept inviolable. The conclusion of our discourse

was that they would by the next post write such a letter unto me as I might send unto your Grace, stating the case and praying relief therein. But this much I presume to inform your Grace of by way of advance.

Yesterday His Majesty, in Council, did order Mr. Montagu's name to be struck out of the Council-books, and I think it was the only reason why the Council met, since both Houses were to sit the same afternoon. Thus the badges of honour drop away ; for the Embassy of France is granted to my Lord Sunderland, and the more material things are already in the general rumour disposed of, namely, the Wardrobe to the Earl of Plymouth, and the Mastership of the Horse to the Lord Latimore—some say to the Lord Dunblany. His Majesty did, as it were casually, meet at my Lord Treasurer's with Mr. Montagu, who, beginning to enter on the story of my Lady Cleveland, His Majesty told him he knew already too much of that, and bade him declare what affair of state it was that made him quit France without leave. In which point, having nothing to answer, he was thenceforth forbidden His Majesty's presence and the Court. And he is loaded by the women to have done many heinous things—as not only without order to have proposed a match between the Dauphin and Mademoiselle, the King's niece, but to have spoken treason to the Duchess of Cleveland, and contemptuously to have acted His Majesty in ridicule among the French. But where the women engage there is no bounds to wrath, and, therefore, as he himself tells the story, it is thus : That long time past my Lord Treasurer did, by the King's command, commit to his care and industry the compassing a match between the Lord Northumberland and Lady Percy. That the Lady Cleveland was herein ordered to act her part by more complacency and visiting of his Lady, which at length improved into a sort of friendship. But his Lady being (on a visit to the Duchess) forbid admission because Monsieur Chattillean was with her, she returned in high resentment, so that he, seeing the designed marriage in danger, took on him to expostulate very roundly with the Duchess for her licentious course of life with the said Monsieur, which the whole town and country rung of, and brought disgrace to the children His Majesty had by her. The Duchess not enduring this doctrine, and from such a hand, returned all upon him with rage and contempt, and 'twas his only care to get well home. The war being thus begun, and Mr. Montagu contriving how to get some witnesses to speak for him, did so prevail with a nun who conveyed all the amorous letters between the Monsieur and her Grace that he got six of them into his hands, whereof some abounded with gross and unseemly things in the trade of love ; some with disrespect to His Majesty, and some of a project to marry the Dauphin unto Mademoiselle. By some chink or other the Duke of Orleans had a hint of this project, and to purge himself from any part therein came to remonstrate his innocence to his brother the King, who, it seems, till that time had not heard thereof, and let fall such expressions on the news as coming to Mr. Montagu's ears persuaded him also to a compurgation of

himself. And so he went to assure his Most Christian Majesty that he was not the author of that intrigue, but had discovered it in the letters aforesaid, which His Majesty desiring to see he gave him copies, having (as he said) sent the originals into England. And this, he says is the whole scope of this affair, and that his service was here first approved when he sent over the letters and informed of the industries used by him to reclaim the Duchess from the liberty she took. And as to any foul play between him and the Lady Sussex he says that at her coming to Paris the Duchess imparted to him her condition, which was so bad in point of disease that he found out both the chirurgion and the doctor that took her into cure, and she was so sensible of his respects that she refused to take part in the following war that her mother made against him. And to prevent her mother's severity hereupon she resolved to remove unto another convent, unto which removal he gave his humble assistance and that was all.

Mr. Blathwayt was yesterday sworn one of the Clerks of the Council in extraordinary, as a mark of hopes and encouragement to him for the pains he has taken in the plantation business. His Majesty sent him lately to Paris with a letter to Monsieur, and also to his niece, who was brought extremely low by an ague, which had held her eight months. The King persuaded her to take Dr. Tabor's medicine, whom he also sent over to administer it, who, curing her and others with the very first dose, they have looked on him as a man that works miracles, and His Majesty is not a little pleased with this success.

The House of Lords have heard more causes of appeal this Session than in a long time before, which some begin to mutter at. They awarded my Lord Feversham his full £3,000 annuity; £1,500 at present and the residue after the mother-in-law's death. I suppose on Monday, or at farthest on Tuesday, there will be a recess.

I cannot well reconcile the reports touching such resolutions in Holland to prosecute the war, and yet that they should refuse Sir William Temple the quota of their force in conjunction with us; as also not to forbid commerce with France, that is the consumption of their commodities. And lastly not to engage in a league without liberty to go out when they thought fit, which, 'tis said, were proposed but yet refused by them.

1678, July 16.—Yesterday the Parliament was prorogued to the first of August next, with intimation that the state of peace or war was so uncertain that His Majesty would not have the meeting of this Parliament at too great a distance; but that if war should ensue a proclamation should then give them notice to meet in full assembly.

The discourses of war seem to be more warm and resolute than formerly, and we resent very sensibly the not striking of a French man-of-war to the *Dover* frigate commanded by Captain Kempthorn in the Channel. It seems a French frigate of 40 guns having four merchants in convoy, they all struck, but she, for-

bearing the *Dover*, fired some guns at her. She sent her Lieutenant to acquaint our Captain that they had no orders to strike, but to make all others strike except the English, that they had as much to do in those seas as any whatever, and that they would rather die than strike, etc. Our Captain kept the Lieutenant with two of the boatmen, whose examinations upon oath are solemnly ordered to be taken, and my Lord Sunderland (who yesterday went to Paris) is to be instructed to make warm complaint thereof. Our frigate gave chase and fired fifty guns; the other fired none, but was too nimble for us.

Yesterday His Majesty spoke to the Queen to discharge Mr. Montagu of her service; she made answer that Mr. Montagu having not given her any offence it would be hard for her to punish him, but if he were criminal to His Majesty he had full power to do what he thought fit. This was all which then passed, but everybody concludes that Mr. Montagu will lose that station at least. Mr. Savile is restored to grace, having kissed the King's hand, and is departing in quality of mediator to compose matters between the Duchess of Cleveland and the Countess of Sussex.

I here enclose your Grace a letter given me by the Paymasters of the army here, and there also in some part. I find they are very sensibly concerned about the matter in question, for they have been stoutly called upon here for supplies of money and their credits have been put to the utmost stretch, but they hope to derive all sort of relief from your Grace's own hand, and will remain in earnest expectation of a good answer.

Postscript:—My Lord Chamberlain has written three late letters to your Grace. He could now say that the war looks very much more probable, but because the next post may explain all he reserves himself till then, and in the meantime sends your Grace what he received from my Lord Ossory and his Secretary.

1678, August 10.—I forebore to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 20th past, partly for having been of late somewhat ill, but chiefly in expectation of what your Grace would add upon the business of Mr. Bridges, which I receive in your Grace's of the 3rd instant, and now can tell your Grace what the parties here concerned do say thereupon. Sir John James, upon hearing the case as your Grace did state it, confessed it was just so. And upon hearing your Grace's opinion on the adjustment you have been pleased to labour between Mr. Bridges and the Farmers, he thinks they shall have reason to acquiesce therein, and promised to send me by the next post such a letter as may contain their full sense upon what they hear from their agent and what I tell them as from your Grace.

I read unto my Lord Chancellor the decision of the Judges against the Earl of Ranelagh, to which his answer was: That whatever the Judges' opinions had been, yet so wild a pretension as that ought to have been extinguished by Act of Parliament.

Mr. Cooper brought the Bills last night to Mr. Secretary, and this morning he gave me a large packet for the Lords of the Council, which he said did relate to my Lord Ranelagh's accounts. But

what will be resolved for the despatch of these weighty matters, now that the Council is broken up and dispersed until the end of this month, I cannot yet say; but I shall take notice of what your Grace was pleased to enclose me, and improve the contents thereof with the best address I have. It is a great honour that your Grace wishes that my nephew, Percival and I were at the first of the next session; but he, being now in Italy, will not compass what he has proposed—to be here sooner than in the spring—at which time I have long since promised to accompany him into Ireland, that we may first wait upon your Grace and then go to the settlement of his affairs. Besides your Grace, as to me, knows that since we are here to have a winter session, and are often put to the telling of noses, it may be expected that one should rather come from afar than at such a time go from hence.

This morning Justin MacCarty arrived with news that the Prince of Orange and Monsieur Luxemburgh had fought, so it seems the Governor of Calais told him without enlarging upon any of the particulars. And tho' this were here received as very improbable, where we only abounded with the story of the peace, yet by noon the French Ambassador came to my Lord Treasurer with letters he had received of a cruel fight lasting from 12 to 8 on Saturday last, owning that the French had lost 4,000 men, with a great slaughter of officers, and had retired to their line, but that the Dutch had lost 6,000; that the Prince's guards and the English were all destroyed; that an English Lord was taken prisoner, which we all concluded to be my Lord Ossory, because there is some hint as if it were a Lord of the Order. 'Tis also said that the Prince kept the field and was likely to renew the business the next day. This is the sum of what I collect. The French Ambassador's letter was either from intelligence of that night the battle was fought or else the next morning before it was renewed; so that how they could conjecture the loss of their own and much less of their enemy's side I cannot tell. But we already descant upon the time of this action, which began on Saturday noon, whereas the Prince could not but know of the peace signed at Nimeguen on the Wednesday before (though I suppose not authentically by orders from the States); so that if he should end this matter victoriously it may interrupt the ratification of that treaty and put a quite new face upon things. I just now hear that letters are arrived from Flanders, but it is late and I cannot come by my share of the news they bring. I wish your Grace a most prosperous journey to Kinsale.

1678, August 13.—I must refer your Grace for the fighting part unto the enclosed, after which, by capitulation, the Duke of Luxemburgh was fain to allow the Prince of Orange to march freely to Mons, and a cessation was afterwards agreed to for five weeks. The Prince is by this time at the Hague, where his action has received approbation and applause. He made the onset in a very critical hour, contrary to all advice of his Council of War, but only the Earl of Ossory. And considering how

advantageously the French were posted the Prince has highly advanced his honour by the courage and success of this action.

After the Dutch and French had signed the Treaty the French began to elucidate and retrench two towns near Maestricht which the Treaty had given; hereupon the Spaniards flatly refused to sign. The Allies protested against the whole, and the States murmured at this new trick of the French, and while these things were thus in agitation the Prince gives battle. The States cannot ratify the Treaty signed with France unless the Spaniards accept it, who are chiefly concerned in those restitutions which the States propose for their barrier; so that, in effect, the States have made no peace unless Spain agrees. And in this uncertainty and confusion of things they have ratified the Treaty made lately by Sir William Temple, which was a confederation with us, in case France came not up to the terms by such a day. And thus matters stand at present in a most uncertain estate and might doubtless be improved into a war if all on this side were well disposed unto it. My Lord Ambassador Hyde was this day speeded to the Hague with all manner of haste. The Duke of Monmouth expected all our forces on that side to be on Saturday last in the Prince's camp, where he meant to see them posted in their proper place, and then to hasten to this Court.

The three letters which I yesterday received under cover from my Lord Lanesborough for the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Lady Mary Cavendish have been safely delivered.

1678, August 27.—I have been this good while plunged in a long and difficult task of unravelling all the business of New England from the beginning, in order to bring that unruly place into some better tune and a more apparent dependence on the Crown, and much of my task is still behind. But in the meantime I have been lately distempered myself, and my wife has brought me a daughter before the time with sickness and alarms attending. So that of late my domestic matters have been out of tune and I have consequently flagged in my letters and respects to your Grace, but I shall hope to mend.

Upon receipt of the Bills they were all ordered to be copied out and sent to the King's Counsel for their examination and report—only the Bill of Confirmation that was to be sent to my Lord Chancellor, and he was to consult therein with Sir Edward Dering or whom he should think fit; and this resulted from a discourse I had with his Lordship and persuading him to make his son Heneage acquainted with the business of Ireland as to those Acts especially of the Settlement, wherein his Lordship had so great a hand; and tho' it might hinder him from some of his other practice, which is grown very eminent, I would use means to make his labour and industry known to your Grace, and doubted not but since money was to be raised he would find his reward; besides that it would give him the occasion of appearing before His Majesty to shew how inconsistent it would be to the scope of the Bill to admit many new things that are likely to be ordered. And as these motives took place on the one side, so was I willing

to have the matter in such hands as where I might have some influence to preserve that sense that your Grace thinks fittest to stand for the public convenience, whoever in particular may happen to be displeased. So, if your Grace would appoint Sir John Temple there, that he or whoever else did most attend to the texture and composing of this work, should extend any of the particular reasons for support of the same in the parts most likely to be shaken (which indeed my Lord Chancellor himself was wishing for), I would act the part I ought to inform them here therein, though your Grace has in the general told Mr. Secretary in very clear terms the drift and scope of the whole. I found my cousin Heneage (who is the Duke's Solicitor) had already gotten an abstract of that Bill from Sir William Talbot, who gave it him as a secret, and in order to the Duke's service. All the Bills are now at Windsor with Mr. Secretary, but by Friday next Sir Edward Dering is to be at Kensington, where my Lord is to have this Bill of Confirmation, and so begin upon examination of the same. What I here tell your Grace for the disposal of those Bills I acquainted Colonel Fitzpatrick with, who was pleased to use much freedom with me in reference to your Grace's concerns. I cannot yet guess when the Council will again meet and fall into the track of business, for Windsor is a charming place, and I suppose that for the month of September there may be one Council a week at Hampton Court, which may serve to keep life in business until the Court return. They do there talk of war, and the preparations for it go on in the transporting of our men, who are now to be all on that side under the command of my Lord Feversham as Lieutenant-General. And if there be no other reason, yet an army will look better at the meeting of the Parliament to be on that side the water than on this. But few doubt of the certainty of a peace, for that the French will submit to their first project and depart from the innovations they made. And in that case Spain having formerly consented nobody doubts but all will be agreed. However your Grace will see that Mr. Hyde went over with a pretty round message, which the Dutch have put in print as by the enclosed.

There has been great descanting here upon the Duke of Buckingham's being at Paris, whether it were to search for the Philosopher's Stone or to learn popularity from Sir Ellis Leighton, who was said to be turned abbot there some time before. But after all the noise and conjectures about his voyage, his lady says he is not there, nor has anybody writ thence that they saw him, but this riddle must ere long break out.

My Lord Treasurer seeks earnestly to get Sir William Temple into the House of Commons, which is taken as a certain prognostic to his being Secretary. There has been a high contention in Berkshire about making a Knight of the Shire to succeed Sir Richard Powell. The King wished well to my Lord Sterling's cause, and is displeased to hear how much my Lord Clarendon did oppose it, and so did Michael Mallet also, and with such giddy treasonable words against His Majesty that 'tis said he is marching to the Tower. The Lord John Berkley died yesterday morning.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 14th from Kilkenny, and am extremely troubled to find my Lord James not in the good hands he ought to be. My nephew, Sir Philip Percival, was for some months in the hands of a sanctified Frenchman, but such a shark that of six crowns presented to the Minister at Angiers for the use of the poor he robbed four, and yet in my lifetime did I never see bills so minutely drawn and sent over even to five sous as from that hand. I am apt to think if my Lord James his expenses came at Orange in so little time to a £1,000 it was a greater sight than ever that town saw before. I have been beating my brains to find out a man fitted for this work, and can think of none that comes up to my satisfaction unless it were possible to prevail with Mr. Henshaw, who, taking him in all respects, is the fittest man I know to be governor to a Prince. I will soon make a journey to my Lord Chamberlain to discourse this important point that is of so much moment to your Grace, and who knows but that Mr. Henshaw may be induced to do that in compliment that he need not or would refuse upon recompense. I know my Lord Chamberlain has a mighty value for him, being old acquaintance and travelling together abroad, and since your Grace cannot but know him I shall long to hear whether your Grace considers him as I do. There was a time as your Grace remembers that I named Mr. Blathwayt, and I only name him now to tell your Grace that he succeeds very well in the Plantation business, and being taken notice of by His Majesty as one that was suddenly cured by Dr. Tabor (whom the King admires, and very justly, for his certain cure of an ague) he lately sent Mr. Blathwayt over with letters of compliment to his niece, who had lain ten months without remedy, and this doctor also in his company, who immediately cured her to the amazement of that Court; and Mr. Blathwayt, on his return, stood so fair with His Majesty, who seems to have kindness for him, that he presently admitted him to be sworn clerk of the Council Extraordinary, which was the point your Grace knows we have been long aiming at and is now thus accomplished.

I long to hear that your Grace hath been at Kinsale, where I am sure you had warm welcome from my good mother, though but cold entertainment. But I shall be most glad to hear if the fort of Rincorran do answer your Grace's expectation. And so I wish your Grace a happy conclusion to your progress.

1678, September 3.—I would now say something to three of your Grace's of the 3rd, 14th and 19th instant. The first relates to the Bill of Confirmation, whereof my Lord Chancellor (who has that and the rest of the Bills now with him) has drawn out an extract with his own hand, and on Friday I was there with Sir Edward Dering and my cousin Heneage, where they went over the whole in general discourse, and his Lordship seemed to approve of it indifferent well, though he said my Lord Anglesey had writ him a letter from Bletchington crying out against the Bill by intelligence he had, and hoping that tho' the Irish carried it in Ireland, yet the English would carry it here. But the last

night (when I came from Windsor) I found my Lord Chancellor at my house visiting my wife; he took an occasion to tell me that he had been thinking again and making his observations upon the Bill, and did find several matters to be objected against, which yet before he shewed unto the King he would write and send them to your Grace in hopes of satisfaction therein.

Your Grace's other two letters concern chiefly my Lord James, which was a matter that I took extremely to heart, and therefore found an occasion of being with Mr. Henshaw to sound the state of his thoughts in case such a proposition should offer. He told me that he was just marrying of his only daughter and child, after which he should not have many incumbrances upon him; but that he thought himself now too old to meddle with an enterprise of that nature, and that he did not think others had him in that degree of estimation which I mentioned, supposing, I think, that your Grace knew little of him. This was the scope of what occurred on his part, whereas on mine it was so to esteem his abilities, with his quality and good condition in the world, as to make it only a pure mark of friendship and personal respect to your Grace's family to touch upon such an understanding in case this Lord should fall under necessity of changing the hand he was in. And so we broke off the discourse with my telling him that indeed the answer about his daughter was a just bar against the touching upon any other care whatsoever, for he has met with a gentleman to his liking and is to make his daughter worth £10,000. But I am verily of opinion that when that work is over he might be courted in this other, if your Grace thought it as fit and valuable as I do.

On Saturday I went directly to my Lord Chamberlain at Windsor with this proposition as it is concerning Mr. Henshaw. My Lord told me that he knew him in France, Italy and Spain, and did value him equally at the rate I did, but could hardly hope to attain him, since it was with difficulty that he was persuaded to be Minister in Denmark. Next he thought that my Lord of Ossory did purpose to put his son into an academy, where the governors are somewhat irreverently treated by the conspiracy of the young men, and that he thought Mr. Henshaw too far advanced in years to bear that with patience. I told his Lordship that if it were resolved to put my Lord James into the way of chivalry I had no more to say, though I thought the family had enough of that at present to serve turn for one age. Nor did I think my Lord James yet capable or likely to be rough enough in two or three years for the work of an academy. But my calculation was chiefly made to find out a man of a sweet "gentile" humour, and so adorned with all manner of knowledge as to be able to infuse into every chink of his soul that which might make him a man of high consideration in the world. My Lord replied unto this that there would be time to reflect upon what I represented, for as your Grace had told him that you had ordered my Lord James to come from Orange to Paris, so his Lordship had advised your Grace, by consent of his mother and all other parties concerned, to send for my Lord directly over hither, here

to remain at least till the next spring, with hopes of like success as hath happened to his nephew, Bennett, who, since his coming from France, is wonderfully mended and improved in good behaviour and many things else, by only the conversation that he meets withal in that family. After this his Lordship shewed me Mr. Barrington's letter of the 6th of August, and my Lady Ossory shewed me a letter by the last post from Monsieur de Lange, where 'tis said that he and my Lord James, being together in bed, by accident the bed took fire and was all burnt in half an hour; that he, to save my Lord James harmless as he was, had his own hands and feet all burnt and they were now bound up, but that he was made to hope he might in three weeks be able to write himself. This was the scope of that letter, only at the foot thereof there was two lines from my Lord James signifying his escape, and magnifying the care of Monsieur de Lange. Upon all which particulars having made some descant as being either necessary or artificial arguments to stay in that uncouth and desolate place, and perceiving among all other the notorious practices so lively represented by Mr. Barrington that the debts there contracted up and down are never likely to be satisfied if the money light in his hand, I therefore told his Lordship and the ladies that were present, that I was so far from advising that Monsieur de Lange should bring my Lord to Paris, and from thence hither to become at least an incumbrance when he were turned off, that I thought your Grace could not fix a more just mortification upon him or acquit yourself better, in the opinion of the good people there, than to discharge him in that very place, now that your Grace comes to know what he is. And that therefore it would be most proper to direct what money should be necessary unto Mr. Barrington to pay off all scores and to give the governor his writ of ease, and that I thought Mr. Barrington was well enough acquainted with travel to conduct my Lord James in safety hither. With this proposal my Lord and my Lady Ossory did fully agree, and his Lordship wished me to write it unto you as his interference. Now I have been since thinking that if your Grace should not think Mr. Barrington altogether sufficient for this trust you might direct Mr. Mulys to hasten over and to be of the party and so to conduct his Lordship over to stay here until the next spring, either about the Court, as my Lord Arlington says, or in Oxford, as my Lady Ossory says, or where else your Grace shall think fit.

1678, September 14.—There is nothing sounds so cheerful in this melancholy place as the arrival of my Lord of Ossory, which is confirmation enough that there is nothing of danger stirring on the other side. Mr. Hyde is come also with him, having put an end to his embassy by seeing the Spaniards sign what was expected, and the Dutch thereupon to pass the ratification on their parts. The last scene of this affair is a little remarkable in some points, namely, that France should so far neglect His Majesty, as after all this progress to fix the arbitration of what lay in dispute between him and Spain in the hands of the Dutch. No sooner were they valuing themselves on the caress of this dignity, and

labouring to persuade Spain to own and submit to what they should pronounce therein, but France sends directly to Spain a concession of all the new points in dispute, either for fear that Holland might have been partial to its ally, or that he affected the glory of obliging Europe hereby with a peace, and so preferred this and the thanks from Spain beyond the decency that should have been preserved towards Holland. But it seems that neither we nor Holland are in consideration when he thinks fit to resolve on a new point. 'Tis said the Spaniards do entertain many of the late disbanded Dutch, not only as rather choosing to fill their garrisons with them than with English, but very desirous that the English were quite departed, which, if persisted in, will help to enforce the arguments of those who are likely to press in the next session to have them called home and disbanded.

The Duke of Buckingham seems to stand so fair with the King as is sufficient to disquiet some, but not to amount to anything in the opinion of others. 'Tis thought that the Earl of Plymouth will at last be Vice-Treasurer on that side, and that a principal article of this affair must be the solemn acquittal of the Lord Ranelagh before that Parliament sits, as also protection if need require when it does. On Wednesday last the Lord Chancellor had not quite finished his observations on the Bill, but was near an end. 'Tis not probable that your Parliament will sit before the spring because the business of the session here may last till towards Christmas and will leave no room for anything else, so that it may be January before the Bills are here approved, not reckoning upon the inconvenience of the two Parliaments sitting together, or what my Lord Ranelagh's case for putting off the evil day may help to bring to pass.

1678, September 17.—I have your Grace's of the 30th past from Kinsale, and though everyone will give much allowance on the score of that indulgence which your Grace has ever vouchsafed to me and my family, yet this letter shall lie among my best memorials, not only to witness towards my honour but to magnify your Grace's, who can with favour accept the good will and respects of an ancient dependant, how improper soever the expressions thereof may appear.*

The enclosed packet is from my Lord Chancellor to your Grace, but put under cover to my Lord Lanesborough in the same manner as your Grace's came to him. But for fear my Lord Lanesborough might be out of the way I direct all to your Grace, because it concerns the Bill of Confirmation, touching which I know your Grace would on your part have no time lost. I perceive my Lord Chancellor had not only a particular paper of objections given him after he had made his own, but some intimations, more than he had before, that by instigation from some of the English on that side there would great attempts here be made [to] vilify the Bill, taking that perhaps as a handle to reflect also upon your Grace. Who that other paper was writ by my Lord knows

* See Ormond's letter to Sir R. Southwell of Aug. 30, 1678, written from Kinsale. Fourteenth Report, App. VII., Vol. II., p. 275.

not. It was, it seems, given to him by his son, but I will endeavour to find it out, and by what my Lord Chancellor says as well as writes I have reason to believe that his Lordship will improve all that your Grace shall send to the best advantage. I am sure it is Sir Edward Dering's resolution so to do. And now I name him to your Grace I beg leave to acquaint you that some months since there was one Mr. Stanley, who appeared very busy to get a reversion behind him upon that expectance he has by your Grace's favour of the Auditor's place in Ireland, upon which he hath been wishing that your Grace would give him leave to renew his patent, and that it might run to himself and his son or the longest liver of them, which would not only discourage future attempts in others, but make some amends for the long expectation he hath had and is still like to have in that affair. If your Grace say anything to me of encouragement herein he will then make his address to your Grace, but if not he will desist.

Our Parliament will certainly meet at the time appointed, for 'tis with all difficulty imaginable that the public charge is so long supported; and I perceive there will not only be occasion for money to pay off scores, but an increase of the standing revenue is likely to be insisted on, it being impossible to hold out without it, since our fleet now, in a reduced condition, cannot with the office of Ordnance be maintained for less than seven hundred thousand pounds a year. And as for the condition of the army 'tis thought His Majesty will lay that matter before the Parliament, with arguments to keep up some force, but upon the whole to leave it unto their determination. There was lately a warm report as if my Lord Sunderland had made some false step at Paris and was to be recalled; but whatever were the ground of that report it seems now to be vanished. As soon as my Lord Longford comes to town he shall see what your Grace is pleased to say of Rincorran.

1678, September 24.—I have the honor of your Grace's of the 11th instant, and did read so much thereof to my Lord Chancellor as concerned your Grace's opinion of Limerick, and the compliment to his Lordship on the Bill of Confirmation being lodged in so good a hand. I wish we had already back your Grace's answers to his Lordship's observations, not knowing whether there do not now fall in three weeks of unexpected time that may not partly be employed that way. For His Majesty has now resolved that the Parliament shall not sit until the 21st of October, in order, I suppose, to see what Spain will do upon the ratification, which implies as if it were our business to disturb it, and consequently to leap into the war, towards which the Duke's appearing so much more zealous than others has not a little abated much of that public displeasure that was not long since entertained in point of his religious persuasion. But since His Majesty will be absent at Newmarket, whither he will go (as they say) this day sennight, and so Councils, as hitherto in his absence, to cease, or whether they may in his absence continue, as there is one appointed for to-morrow, I cannot tell. Perhaps

they may entertain the business of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts in this interim, which therefore shall not fail to-morrow in the form they came by Mr. Cooper to be presented to the Board.

On Thursday last the Earl of Plymouth was married, and the only delay of his being Vice-Treasurer of Ireland is the want of £15,000 for my Lord Ranelagh's compensation. But I am now certainly told by one who has reason to know it that there is an undoubted expedient in view for the raising of this money, and so your Grace may reckon upon it that thus it will be; and this young Earl must needs grow up into the expectation of any other great employment, when by his years he may be qualified thereunto, for his father-in-law shapes him and spurs him on to thoughts of business, and so everybody applauds the admirable endowments wherewith he is disposed thereunto.

I do sometimes hear, but 'tis with more scorn than concern, of your Grace's removal. But having gone all round the points of the compass to try who can be able to effect it, and for whose sake, and what you have done to deserve it so much as in the opinion of any one party, I cannot find any foundation for it, and do not think we are at leisure to make ducks and drakes, or for any single man's gratification to displease so many, and I therefore let all that pass for talk. Duke Hamilton is now at Court and has free access to His Majesty, though I cannot say how this comes about. The Duke of Buckingham is said also to advance in favour, but I do not hear that it ends in any other advance than that of conversation and merriment.

I am glad to observe that your Grace has appointed the coming of my Lord James to Paris, and since I find that your Grace gives approbation to what I have said touching Mr. Henshaw, I will use all the skill I can devise to gain his goodwill, and shall give your Grace an account how I proceed therein.

'Tis a long time that I have said nothing to your Grace concerning Mr. Hill and his progress in that little history that I put him upon, but I can now tell your Grace that he is advanced as far as the year 1648, and resolves to stick at the mark. I have now those sheets copying fair over which he hath done, and hope to send your Grace an entertainment therein by the next post or soon after. He and P. W. [Peter Walsh], dined yesterday with me in order to drive out some points that are obscure in the first narrative, and it was wished that he could come at a sight of a little treatise put forth by the General Assembly called "*The Model of Government*," as also the first "*Oath of Association*," or that which was taken or prescribed by the first General Assembly of the Confederates.

The Earl of Anglesey is not yet come to town, and till he does nobody, I believe, will say anything to the Bills that are come over.

1678, September 28.—'Tis now after 11 at night, and till now almost the Council have been sitting, and I despatching away six warrants to seize so many Jesuits for a design to take away the life of the King, beginning rebellion in Scotland and the

like in Ireland, which was to begin with the death of the Duke of Ormond, contrived by the Archbishop Talbot and four Jesuits employed therein. All this information, when the Council sat on it in the morning, looked ridiculous, when one Dr. Tonge gave in the informations he had got from one Oates, who from Protestant had turned Jesuit, and now lately repented and flew off to discover these things. But when he himself came this afternoon to tell his tale with all the particulars of it, the Lords stood amazed and could do no less than send for those he upon oath accused, as Conyers, Pickering, Ireland, etc., and Dr. Fogarty; and Sir George Wakeman is also warned to attend the Board to-morrow, for the Council will sit, tho' on Sunday. By the next post I may have time and better foundation perhaps to enlarge on this subject to your Grace.

1678, October 1.—On Saturday morning an extraordinary Council was appointed and the Lord Treasurer presented a bundle of papers importing a conspiracy of the Jesuits to take away the life of His Majesty and to bring in confusion into his kingdoms. There attended without one Dr. Tonge, a divine, but of very crazy reputation, who had been instrumental in the framing of these papers. And whatever they said was at first measured according to his credit and altogether smiled at. He had taken the pains to put the substance of all the bundle of papers into one sheet, and thereof I have taken the boldness, under the rose, to send your Grace a copy. But the Doctor explaining himself that he was neither the author or prover of those matters, but one Mr. T. Oates, whom he could produce, the Lords appointed to meet in the afternoon, not judging it fit to undervalue or discountenance any information of that nature for example's sake. I should here inform your Grace that the father of this Oates was formerly chaplain to Colonel Pride, and of high renown that way; but has since conformed and bustled about sometimes at sea, and is at present fixed at Hastings. This, his son, is now but thirty years old, bred to learning, sometimes a parson on shore, and sometimes a chaplain at sea in the Dutch fights, and returned in that quality with Sir Richard Rooth in his last voyage from the Straits. After which, being out of play, he had a mind to a dangerous experiment of knowing the intrigues of the Jesuits, of whom he had heard so much discourse, so yields up himself as a convert about two years and a half ago, and was to perform the discipline of his novitiate in agency and journeying, for which he seemed by craft under bluntness and an outward simplicity to be well disposed. He was hereupon to embark for Spain about bringing over the body of my Lord Cottington that lies at Valladolid. This was all that he knew of his message, but had a large packet confided to him for the Jesuits at Madrid. Being advanced to Burgos he had great curiosity to know the contents of this packet, which having opened and thoroughly conned over he closed again, excusing some disorders of the wafer by the wearing in his pocket; and appearing at his arrival master of the secret he brought, those at Madrid judged him a confiding brother and made him a

free partaker of their counsels in hand. He was in six months sent back to St. Omer's, where he grew more acquainted with the conspiracy he has now revealed, so that being impatient to find means to discover it he noted among them great indignation against Dr. Tonge here, who had published a book, translated by him from French, called *The Jesuits' Morals*. Whereupon he informed them of some acquaintance he had with this Doctor, and would undertake to poison him. Upon which errand he was sent over with promise of £50 for his success. But the Doctor, being his relation, he did not only fail his employers in that point, but opened to him the whole series relating to conspiracy long since meditated and from time to time carried on, and now shortly to be executed upon the person of the King. Dr. Tonge brings the knowledge of this matter to His Majesty about the middle of the last month as he was going to Windsor. The King refers him to my Lord Treasurer, who after much reading of his papers and discourse upon the matter, desired to see or be directed how to intercept some letters of these criminals, whereby he might have proof and evidence out of their own proceedings. Hereupon his Lordship is advised to intercept, being at Windsor, such letters as should come thither for Mr. Bedingfield, that was, as he said, confessor to the Duke. But so it happened, by a journey my Lord Treasurer took into Oxfordshire for a week, no letters were there intercepted; so that Mr. Bedingfield, sending to the posthouse to see for letters, found three or four that spoke mystically and related to the matter in question. Upon which he brought them to the Duke, saying that he neither knew the handwriting nor the matter they contained and judged there was some contrivance in hand against him. Whereupon the Duke brought the letters to the King, and these letters also were by Mr. Secretary Williamson presented to the Board; and no man did imagine but the scene of all this was laid so thin, and that nothing but some malice and a trick was intended.

But after all this long preamble, for your Grace's information, in came Mr. Oates, who did not desire to refer himself to his papers, but to be sworn to the truth of what he should say. And there did he make such a narrative of the conspiracy, the parties concerned, their meetings, consultations, contrivances and ways of proceeding, that their Lordships were strangely perplexed, and generally fell into the belief that there was something formidable in this matter. Whereupon warrants are presently drawn for the seizing of six that were named and all their papers. Dr. Tonge and Mr. Oates were to be lodged in the Court and the Council to meet on Sunday in the afternoon. Five were taken that night and conveyed to Newgate. One Conyers, who was to have stabbed the King with a dagger, was fled; whereupon orders were immediately sent to the ports. His Majesty came to the Council in the afternoon and heard Mr. Oates repeat his evidence, and notwithstanding the little opinion His Majesty brought of any danger in the thing, yet 'twas visible that he was convinced the Jesuits were not the quiet men that he thought, and instead of twenty-six only in the kingdom, according to his belief, there were five hundred.

Sir George Wakeman was ordered to give his attendance as one whom report made, though no proof appeared, the undertaker to poison the King for £15,000. The conclusion of that Council was to issue warrants for half a dozen more, and among the rest for Mr. Coleman and his papers. On Monday the Council sat again morning and afternoon. The prisoners were examined, but denied all things, and even that which was trivial and apparently otherwise; so that now their papers that are seized are under examination, which is a tiresome work. Mr. Coleman is not in Newgate but in the messenger's hands. What share your Grace has in this matter and what part to act you will hear from Mr. Secretary Coventry, and how all the Lieutenants here are ordered to disarm the Papists.

His Majesty is thought by some to undervalue all this business and think it but contrivance; others think that possibly he calls it so in point of courage, but likes not all the complexion of the matter, and so will let those inquiries that, on such information, is proper for his Ministers to make to have their course. And surely what should herein be omitted at the Council Board will infallibly be taken up at the House of Commons. For it was impossible to be a secret, since Dr. Tonge not knowing, after he had engaged in this matter, whether Oates would stand to it or might not possibly be made away, he therefore carried him to Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, as a justice of peace, and swore the whole matter, leaving also a copy of the writing behind him.

There are many that slight the thing as improbable, and others who call it but a trick to get money from the Parliament, which, I am sure, is no part of my belief. For if no conspiracy be proved, yet there will certainly appear such a growth and increase of Popery as will beget a more vigorous proceeding than hath hitherto ever appeared. And this is all I shall tire your Grace with at present, being myself most heartily tired with labouring for these four days past.

1678, October 5.—I endeavoured in my last, as the shortness of time would allow me, to give your Grace a prospect of the great agitation now among us, on account of a Jesuitical plot against the life of His Majesty. All this week hath been spent in examining the papers of those who have been seized, wherein little or nothing hitherto appears in verification of that point. But 'tis as true that if anybody had papers of that nature they were early enough upon the guard to put such things out of harm's way, for they were not ignorant of the storm that was coming. The last night the private Committee met to peruse such papers as the Clerks had selected. There was the Prince, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Bishop of London, Mr. Secretary Coventry, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. There has seldom been known a private Committee of that Board before to the exclusion of others. My Lord Privy Seal was not well enough to be present. They entered upon the papers of Mr. Coleman, among which there appeared a universal correspondence in all countries unless from Ireland; but their Lordships fixed upon

those in particular which he maintained with France, where his preposterous zeal or madness led him into the transaction of such things as concerned not only religion but the essentials of the Government, that the Lords were all amazed, and the thing surely is become too big either for that Board or the Judges, and will unavoidably devolve into the cognizance of the Parliament, and then God Almighty knows where the matter will stop. For this imprudent man has by his natural madness taken upon him to involve a person of high consideration as a party in his chimeras and the dangerous correspondence maintained between him and the confessor of the French King.

I should not presume to step thus far but that I know to whom I write, and His Majesty having confided to your Grace the peace of that his kingdom there is nothing in this that you ought to be ignorant of. Yet I dare not go farther in unravelling these papers than to tell your Grace that whereas Mr. Coleman was now in custody only of a messenger, and that the first warrant for conveying him to Newgate was thus far mitigated by a second, yet now they immediately command a new warrant to be drawn there in their presence to commit him to Newgate for treasonable correspondence, tending to the destruction of His Majesty and the subversion of the Government; and one of the Clerks, Sir R[obert] S[outhwell] was immediately commanded to take a guard with him and another messenger, that so he might bring them tidings of Mr. Coleman's being in their custody, and in the coach for Newgate, which was accordingly performed. And now that the City see things are in earnest going on, informations come thick in from all quarters, so that 'tis impossible, in all appearance, that this inquiry will end without such demonstrations as are likely to put a very different face upon things.

Your Grace, it seems, has a part to act on that side, by order sent you the last post from Mr. Secretary Coventry, and therefore I need say no more. Your Grace, in such a conjuncture, has wisdom to direct you how to proceed. Perhaps this paper is proper for the fire.

1678, October 15.—The two last posts have given me the honour of your Grace's of the 27th past, and the 5th instant. I showed my Lord Chancellor what your Grace said upon receipt of his, which he took in very good part. And your Grace's packet I gave him this day, as he was busy at the Committee concerning the Plot.

To-morrow His Majesty will be here, and their Lordships have ordered some report which will contain the objections and the answers upon this whole matter, and so leave it to His Majesty to direct such further method for trying and examining the matters as he thinks fit, saying only that they judge them worthy of a legal proceeding; and so I presume there will be a Commission of Oyer and Terminer appointed at least before the Parliament sit. The truth is, after searching over every man's sack of papers (to a degree that we are all harassed) there is but little found to corroborate Mr. Oates's assertion as to the point of killing. But

Mr. Coleman's papers, though all were secured by him of fresh transaction for these two years past, yet many of those that precede that time, being taken, do notoriously explain his contrivances with France and Rome to extirpate heresy, rout all Parliaments, and establish the Catholic cause. And he has dared, in many things, to vouch that authority for his commerce which doubtless he never had. How the law may treat him is doubtfully said, but I presume in Parliament he will pass his time but ill, if once the matter as is believed fall into their notice. And many conjectures there are that this will occasion the breach of some friendships, and not a little change the figure of things. My Lord Arlington appears in all these letters to have been judged the capital enemy of France for being the champion of Parliaments. 'Tis said His Majesty is really incensed against Coleman.

There is an accident happened of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's being lost for these three or four days, which, being imputed to revenge, upon his having as a justice taken all these depositions from Oates before they came to the Council Board, there was an order this day passed for public inquiry after him, but the printing of it is stopped till to-morrow, upon some jealousy that he may be absented upon the score of debt. I am so tired that I cannot go on.

1678, October 19.—On Wednesday morning there was, by order of the Committee, a report drawn up to present His Majesty with what they found in the case of the Jesuits and of Coleman, with an advice to consult the judges and an opinion that the matter was worthy of a legal trial. But because a report should properly be signed, there were some who I presume thought the matter too nice, and so argued against any other report than a verbal one, lest any opinion given by them might hereafter affect the jury. So when His Majesty arrived from Newmarket and came to the Council in the afternoon, the nature of the evidence against the Jesuits was set off to its utmost advantage. But His Majesty, who had heard the greater part of it himself before his going, and has judgment to penetrate, did appear very little satisfied either with the sincerity of the witness or the five letters of concurrent evidence, which in my conscience I think are all forged—those I mean that were sent to one Bedingfield at Windsor. For I have taken no little pains to make the best of this matter, and find too many proofs of disparagement upon those letters, which is all the evidence that comes anything near the business of assassination. His Majesty was not willing to have these men hurried off, or their blood taken in a case so improbable, and because, if without more circumstance they were left to the mercy of a jury, he foresaw what must happen. He was therefore resolved to hear and have the opinion of the judges himself upon the nature of this evidence. And so it was resolved that Mr Attorney should state the whole case as it did appear; but as to the other part touching Coleman His Majesty was incensed against him to the last degree upon hearing some of his letters read.

Yesterday seven of the judges who were in town came to the Board and heard Mr. Attorney's report read, which contains little more but much less than what your Grace hath already heard, and it concludes with these two questions. First, whether the evidence of one witness be sufficient either to indict or convict a man of high treason of this nature. Secondly, if it be not, whether here be any evidence against these particular persons besides the single testimony of Mr. Oates. The judges are to report their opinions on Wednesday next, and of what proceedings they think fit to be had thereupon. They are at the same time also to declare their opinions whether it be not treason to endeavour to extirpate the religion established in this kingdom, and to introduce the Pope's authority by combination and with the assistance of foreign powers, and if it be not treason, what crime is it? This part of the work relates to Mr. Coleman, and my Lord Chief Justice North did, on the spot, declare it treason, and some reasons and precedents for it. His Majesty did express much displeasure against the sect of the Jesuits, of whom there being a list of near three hundred in England. incorporated and working by steady rules to disquiet the peace and religion of others, they are no longer to be suffered in the land. Wherefore Wednesday next is appointed to think seriously of what remedies may be fit to dissolve this troublesome society, so far, I suppose, as to send them packing.

Thus your Grace has the prospect of things as they sound at Whitehall. Some do indiscreetly deride everything, notwithstanding this horrid accident just now happened of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey's murder. Others make more account of the whole, and of this thing in particular, imputing it to the Papists, and as a pattern of their way of proceeding. But seeing the Parliament will meet on Monday, 'tis not how the wind blows in harbour, but how it will prove at sea. There each ship is under sail and must declare the course it means to steer, and must yield either to the wind or to the tide if they oppose each other.

Yesterday my Lord Ailesbury was sworn of the Council, introduced, I suppose, by favour of the Lord Treasurer. I hope I may to-morrow learn what is thought of your Grace's answer to the objections concerning the Act.

1678, October 22.—I could learn nothing on Sunday last touching the Irish Bill, for my Lord Chancellor was thoughtful, having yesterday the enclosed speech to deliver in Parliament. The votes that have since passed in the Commons I also enclose. The House was but thin; and as it fills (which it will do) so is the heat like to increase. Both Houses fell upon the matter of the conspiracy, and both addressed to be possessed of the informations and papers, and His Majesty hath yielded that the Lords shall have them all, and to-morrow they are to be delivered, and the Commons will soon find way to have their share in that examination; and by this means it will appear that nothing has for these many years been spoken within those walls that sounded like malice and mutiny that Mr. Coleman, by the letters he wrote

and the correspondences he maintained, does not give the utmost provocation for, and this, I fear, to the irreparable damage of his master; so that what I wrote your Grace on the first instant I might now, in my own apprehensions, say over again. But I have said enough, and by this time I hope my Lord Arran is safely with you.

Upon the stirring of the matter of this conspiracy in the House many of the country gentlemen were much scandalized to see none of the other side speak a word, but all the agitation of this matter left to them, though it concerned the King's security. One of them, a principal man, pressing to have the cognizance of this affair brought before them, enlarged into the rumour of other resolutions intended, and said these could not be the doings of a little Secretary, but persons of other note that must be inquired after.

Upon return of the Court from Newmarket there seemed to be a damp given to that zeal wherewith the Committee had appeared to enquire into the matter, and though this horrid accident of Sir Edmund[bury] Godfrey's murder fell in, yet the whole seemed to be but of little account, and I saw evidently that nothing could so naturally drive it into the Parliament as to handle it with neglect, and especially (if any did so) with derision. But the indignation of this murder was so great abroad that 'twas found necessary to repair the neglect of doing nothing concerning it at the Council on Friday by making a proclamation at the Committee of Foreign Affairs on Sunday night, where such things have rarely pass. 'Tis believed that when both Houses appear engaged in a zealous prosecution touching this conspiracy, and all that relates to the actors in it, there may those informations appear there which were shy to come to Whitehall. This is but conjecture, and chiefly said to possess your Grace with a true notion of what is like to fall out; for I do not yet perceive but the Parliament are in all likelihood on the windward-gage, and will bear down with great power and effect. 'Tis no mean circumstance for your Grace's information to know that *fi* [the Duke of York], is in the utmost malice and indignation of *gg* [France], which is very certain, though a new and extraordinary point.

By this time your Grace (if you had leisure) will have seen what my Lord Arran carried over of Mr. Hill's work. What I read of it in so busy a time as it came to my hand seemed to have its commendation in point of writing from the ease and plainness of the style; but there is a large margin left for your Grace's amendment in all things.

1678, October 26.—I see nothing this day that I had not some loose vision of upon the first instant when I writ unto your Grace, which, in me, being rather cowardice than skill, has yet proved of infinite use unto myself and others, for I took so minute an account of everything that passed, and did so put in view everything that ought to pass, that yesterday the House falling upon inquiry how this dangerous matter has been managed since the first discovery, Mr. Oates gave testimony which there passed for

gospel, that from the 28th of September that it was managed at the Council-Board no possible care or vigilance had been wanting. And particularly the Clerks in revolving the multitude of papers before them had scarce given themselves time to eat. But the House are not yet satisfied why the matter slept from the 11th of August unto that time, and seemed to lean very hard on my Lord Treasurer, to whose care the King referred it in the beginning, telling Dr. Tonge, that brought the discovery, that in his Lordship's hands he would trust his life and his crown. But the inquiry after this delay was passed over for the present as a thing more proper for another time.

I cannot in the present hurry tell how to spread before your Grace a distinct view of what we are about. You will find by the enclosed papers five Lords clapped up, who should have been commissioned in supreme authority in this Papal expedition, as also several others that have been named, and are, upon the testimony of Oates, secured. It was upon Thursday night that the House sent for the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs who, taking in the Speaker's Chamber the same deposition that had been made to the House, issued forth his warrants with so much frankness and expedition that he received the public thanks. This day Dr. Tonge gave in an additional evidence to Mr. Oates' touching the great fire of London, and the share that your Grace's friend Blood had in that enterprise, and that it was a Popish French Louvestein plot, Blood being the agent for the latter. And there are some particular instances now revived in this forgotten thing which are very surprising, and all referred to the former Committee for further examination. There were also taken in the Speaker's Chamber by some justices of the peace Mr. Oates his deposition that Colonel Richard Talbot was to be General in Ireland, the Lord Mountgarret Lieut.-General, but to be officiated by his son, and one Piper [Peppard] to be a Colonel and Peter Talbot to be Chancellor, which I think were all he could name; and whether there be order taken for your Grace's proceeding hereupon I cannot certainly tell.

Your Grace will here enclosed see the address presented His Majesty by both Houses this afternoon, which His Majesty has promised shall the next Council-day be turned into a proclamation. By all which your Grace may collect that the Papists are like to feel the weight of public indignation against them, which is a thing could never arise out of the industry or evidence of one single man, and especially a man under the disadvantage of many known failures in his life and conversation, if it were not for other considerations. The first of which I take to be the manifest indulgence which for so many years has been extended to the people, and wherein some of them have so imprudently triumphed, that it became the grief and scandal of many, and turned itself into so much combustible matter against the day of wrath. So that being thus disposed and prepared, and finding (at the same time that Mr. Oates erects this loose and tottering fabric which would easily tumble if it stood alone) a verification of as strange things as he mentions in the letters and correspondence of Mr.

Coleman, driving wholly at the extirpation of our religion, subverting the form of government, and other wild and preposterous changes, which look like concurrent testimonies in several parts, and leave suspicion of absolute partnership in the Plot, by Coleman's removing all the fresh correspondence for these two years past, and leaving these as the most innocent part; and to all this taking in the impudent murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, done as it were in terror to any that should be active in these inquiries (for so the construction is made).—these, I say, are the causes and aggravations that bring credit to what Mr. Oates has pronounced, and would do so, were it ten times wilder and more extravagant than it is. Your Grace may then judge how seasonable it here sounds that you have committed Peter Talbot, and done those other things which express a lively sense on your part of the danger which is now so universally believed by most, and talked of by all in this place. And here I must acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 10th, 13th and 15th past, all in the same sheet, from which and two that I have perused from your Grace in the hands of my Lord Longford, I shall not cease to do all things that I can devise to be for your Grace's service.

It seems on Thursday my Lord Strafford had in the House wofully lamented the overspreading condition of Popery in Ireland, and that if some care were not taken in that all other cares were in vain. Upon which my Lord Privy Seal acquainted the House that effectual orders had been given and that my Lord Strafford had been present at the giving of them. Which was so much doubted as that the Lords appointed to have that order brought to them on Friday morning, as it was. And then your Grace's letter and proceedings about Peter Talbot coming so luckily as to be read on Friday at Council in the afternoon, it was there ordered that my Lord Chancellor should this morning make report of the same in the House of Lords. I might here tell your Grace that if somebody had not made it his particular care and contrivance to have those orders sent, and that in the form they were, perhaps my Lord Strafford's motion had been very new.

I have only seen Peter Talbot's first examination where he pretends to be drawn in by invitation of Colonel Fitzpatrick, but he being just now with me is ready to deny that as much as what Netterville denied there. And forasmuch as your Grace appears to have had knowledge of his arrival and residence in the country which some may endeavour to interpret amiss, your Grace must send over as many fresh testimonials as may be that since 'tis safe to be in earnest, you can much more willingly act that part, and show with what effect your proclamation is prosecuted, by returning the lists of such as are compelled to embark, in the several ports, and dissolving such and such convents, etc., as have been most remarkably taken notice of, and doing all things else that may consist with the public peace.

His Royal Highness is at present surrounded with infinite perplexities, which all good men must lament. He has been always present at the Committee of the Lords while the papers

of Coleman and Sir William Throgmorton have been read. Each of them have dared to name and interest His Highness in their dangerous contrivances, which he hears with indignation, and appeals to the improbability of his confiding either to the folly of the one or the madness of the other. And yet this does not satisfy the warm spirits of that House, and much less is it likely to do that of the Commons. Part of these letters were this day by His Majesty sent down to the Commons, having been read and finished by the Lords, and a Committee of the Lords are to examine Mr. Coleman at the prison, and some think that if Mr. Coleman finds himself in extremities and has quite abandoned all hopes of protection from the Duke, that he may then run into much liberty of discourse, in order to save his life, for your Grace will find his crime is, by the opinion of the judges, made capital. I send you the case of the Jesuits stated by Mr. Attorney, and the opinions of the judges upon all, and I think I have by this time sufficiently tired your Grace.

Postscript.—Sir Edward Dering hath perused your Graces animadversions on a letter writ by that Lord who is picking quarrels with the Bill in order to be thought a champion of the cause, and I doubt not but he will undeceive many as to the vanity of those objections.

Sir Ellis Leighton is seized at Dover in his return from France, not only as a man named by Mr. Oates, but upon account of other iniquity and some transaction in France. Mr. Oates did not acquaint the Council with this business of commissions, and the great men concerned therein, nor did he discover it in his depositions before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, which, it seems, were taken on the 6th of September, and it appears now by evidence before the Lords that there was so much friendship between Mr. Coleman and Sir Edmund that they were close together in a tavern, and these papers shewed unto Mr. Coleman.

The Act is almost in readiness to go up to the Lords for purging from thence the Popish Peerage, and permitting none to remain in the Queen's service of that religion but her Portuguese servants. I perceive by one that is near unto her that some jealousies are growing up in that family of a particular event not impossible, whereof your Grace knows there has been some former whispers and tampering, when the weather was not so cloudy as now it is.

1678, October 29.—On Saturday I sent your Grace the posture of things here unto that time. Yesterday morning Mr. Oates appeared at the Bar and gave information that he had presented a commission to Sir John Cage and another to Sir William Goring, both of them gentlemen of consideration in Sussex, and that the latter was entrusted with eight hundred thousand crowns, which were to be applied to the disturbances of Ireland. Also that the Duchess of Mazarin was here a spy for the King of France. Upon all which points he was examined before justices of the peace, and, I suppose, warrants are gone to secure the two knights. There was an idle information about blowing up the two Houses, which presently vanished.

There were eighteen letters of Mr. Coleman's, seventeen of which were by Sir R[obert] S[outhwell] deciphered without a key, and being translated by a committee to whom they were referred, they were this morning read in the House to their no small astonishment. And that your Grace may not want part of that entertainment I here presume to enclose you fourteen sheets, which will give your Grace a prospect of so much and something more; for there are also fifteen answers from the Internuncio, and tho' the contents of these letters at large are now become the discourse of all, that there was great machinations in the world and much revolution intended, yet nobody has hitherto taken any copies, and therefore it will not yet be proper to own that your Grace has any such. When these and other papers were given in to the House of Lords 'twas observed that two letters were wanting which had been at the Committee of the Council—one to Father Oliva, General of the Jesuits, and another to Father La Chaise, Confessor to the King of France, both of them in Mr. Coleman's writing, but as if sent by the Duke, and upon the want of these two papers the Lords, some of them, were very inquisitive, and the Commons, having a hint thereof, did this day press very hard upon the Clerks of the Council, who as well vindicated themselves and the care they had taken, at least some of them. But Sir Philip Lloyd, who is in waiting, is to give in a list of all that fell to his care; and even those two papers are by him at last given in to the Lords, and the Duke has thereupon declared that Mr. Coleman did prepare some such kind of letters for his signing, but that he had rejected them, and had commanded Mr. Coleman not to intermeddle in things of that nature, which if he had done upon his own head he must answer for it.

But now on the other side, Mr. Coleman having been twice examined at Newgate by a Committee of the Lords, he hath (as they say) acknowledged that he went over, with the Duke's allowance, to the Internuncio at Brussels, and that my Lord Arundel had also been twice there, upon report of which in the House 'tis said the Duke made answer that poor Father Patrick, bringing over some broken story or message from the said Internuncio, he had let Coleman go over to know what it meant. It seems there was a debate among the Lords this day for communicating what Mr. Coleman had said to the Commons, but upon a division there were but twenty for it and near as many more against it; of which, intimation being presently had, the Commons voted a committee to go and examine Coleman on their own account.

There seems a general consternation here upon all sorts; the Protestants fearing the effect of what is not yet discovered and the Papists to be thoroughly mortified for so much as is. The first sort talk of reviving such a kind of association as passed in the Queen's time for the preservation of her person and the Government, with other hints that relate to the succession, so that your Grace may imagine whether the poor Duke be not surrounded with difficulties almost inextricable. 'Tis said

proposals are secretly made him by this and that combination of men for his deliverance, but that he knows not whom to trust, or what to choose. And for the great and effectual remedy, which is reconciliation to the Church of England, most men doubt that he has in his natural temper too much irresolution to think of striking sail.

I find, as to the Irish Bill, that nothing must be thought of in a long time. However, on Sunday last Sir Edward Dering and myself took notice to the Lord Chancellor how the Earl of Orrery was employing his skill and arguments against the confirmation. Upon which his Lordship told us he had a good while since heard read unto him part of eight sheets, being copy of a letter writ to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, sent hither to the Lady Ranelagh, and by her sent unto him in order to be edified, but that he looked on most of it as chimera and had not patience to hear it out. Upon which we promised his Lordship your Grace's observations on that letter, which upon the first leisure he will be ready to see ; but in the meantime perceives that 'tis not so much a quarrel against the Bill as against your Grace, and so the matter must be provided for accordingly.

1678, November 2.—It is somewhat too late for me to write much, so that I must refer your Grace to the enclosed votes, which show a great progress made in the business depending since the last post ; and this night hath added to it in the House of Lords by a high debate there begun for removing the Duke from all His Majesty's Councils.

I have but a very imperfect account of what there passed and therefore will not meddle with it, but it seems the debate is adjourned till Monday morning, and surely 'twill not be long before the same question will be started among the Commons, it seeming to be the whole scope and purport of all this agitation ; so as all is lost if that point be not gained, and if it be everything else is gotten. There are many of the most considerable members among the Commons who hath hitherto been reserved and almost silent, being, as they confess, distracted with the prospect of infelicity wherewith their minds are afflicted. The talk now is become free and does not require a cipher. They think the Duke's zeal in his way of religion would push things on to a universal change if he could choose. To prevent which they would willingly labour so far as were requisite ; but seem to apprehend, for want of temper on either side, that the thing may be overdone, and so lay a foundation for great disquiets. And the Queen's friends seem no less to be affrighted, as judging her concern to be involved in any extremity that shall fall in this.

I send your Grace the proclamation which last issued for removal of the Papists ; but it was this morning explained in Council, and will again be so to-morrow at an extraordinary Council, that all merchants strangers are exempted, and all other strangers, but they are to send lists of their names in to the Secretaries. Also the Queen's and Duchess's servants are to be listed and, by six hands of the Board, to have exemption.

Mr. Secretary Coventry took notice this evening in the House that several days ago Mr. Oates had informed, and depositions were consequently taken touching the matter of Ireland, but that no order had been given thereupon, and consequently nothing had been done. Upon which Sir Thomas Lee took advantage to expose the neglect, and as if no care could be taken or was yet taken of Ireland, unless it were ordered by the House of Commons. Upon this Sir R[obert] S[outhwell] set forth the orders that had been given, the two proclamations that by your Grace had been issued thereupon, the frequent meetings of the Council, and the seizing of Peter Talbot, which information was not unseasonable. Your Grace's last was read at the Board on Wednesday, touching Peter Talbot's prevarication, and it was ordered to be sent to the Lords where the rest of the papers lie.

I have spoken to my Lord Longford, and would willingly erect a club if I could find a third fit man to meet regularly once or twice a week to consider in this storm what may concern your Grace, especially seeing the proclamation strikes off one who was not guilty of doing too little.

1678, November 9.—The House hath twice sat this day and will sit again to-morrow, being Sunday, at 4 o'clock, and I can hardly well turn in this hurry to a representation of all the variety of matters which is now depending. The great question about the Duke's withdrawing did not yesterday, according to appointment, come into debate, because of an intimation by the Secretary that His Majesty would this day speak to both Houses, and it was also hoped that there was a material discovery of the contrivers of the late murder. Upon which the said debate was adjourned till Thursday next, not only in order to hear what the King would say but to observe whether in that time (which would be sufficient) the Bill for displacing the Popish Lords would pass.

What His Majesty's speech was your Grace will see by the enclosed paper, and from thence conclude how high the intended debate is like to rise ; for surely had His Majesty not been manifestly convinced that the point of succession would have been driven at, he had not interposed with this declaration of his pleasure thereupon in hopes to obviate the same. And yet after all these gracious expressions of His Majesty there wanted not those that desired a day for the serious debate of this great matter, that the nation who had intrusted them might find a full substantial and entire security in the provision that should be made to that effect, and that they might not too late find, instead thereof, nothing but snares and delusions to their own destruction ; and how such a middle way of temperament could be found out seemed altogether impossible, for what method could there be laid down for the conviction of the successor if a Papist, and the execution intended thereupon. It was replied by the Secretary that His Majesty was very frank in this matter, and would allow of a law to pass that should put a test upon his successor, to deprive him of several important privileges in case he should

refuse the same. It was asked the Secretary whether such Act should make it lawful for the subjects to defend themselves in case the intended conditions of such Act were violated? And thus the debate itself was going to begin, while the first proposal was only for a day, and a speedy day was so much insisted on that even to-morrow was thought fit to be assigned for a work of this importance. And as for the thanks which some press might be returned for so gracious a speech, some agreed that it might be for the expressions that were gracious, but not for that part which touched upon the restriction, adding that there appeared little hopes to have any law in the future performed, when as notwithstanding the Act for a Test, whose effect was so much magnified by my Lord Chancellor, there were twenty-three companies of the present army whose officers were all Papists, and a whole army yet in arms, notwithstanding so late a law for the paying off and disbanding the same. But at last it was agreed that Monday should be the day for this great debate, and that everyone might in the interim think on the ways and methods fit to be considered at that time. And this is enough to show your Grace what the contention is like to prove.

As to the other point hinted by Mr. Secretary, it seems there was brought to His Majesty on Thursday night one whom His Majesty presented to the House of Lords yesterday morning, and upon which a clear and mighty discovery seemed to be made of all things, not only in the business of the murder but in concurrence with much of Mr. Oates his information. The man is one Bedloe, who, being a mercer at Chepstow, broke about seven years since, and going for Ireland there changed his religion; and having travelled into foreign parts, fell into trust and confidence among the Jesuits, and was spoken to to take part in the late murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who, he says, was trepanned into Somerset house, and being first demanded for Oates his depositions was afterwards strangled; and having lain there two nights Bedloe says he was called on to assist to his removal, for which he was to have had 2,000 guineas to be paid him by the Lord Bellasis, who contrived this work; one of whose servants, with two Jesuits, a chapel keeper of the Queen's, and a clerk of Mr. Pepys being instrumental in the fact; and that he was on Monday night carried out in a sedan, and so by degrees unto Primrose Hill. Upon this information the Lords ordered that the Earl of Ossory, Lord Clarendon, and Lord Gerard should presently go with an hundred soldiers to surround Somerset House, and to seize persons and papers and to break open all doors whatsoever. Bedloe went with these Lords and showed them the place where he saw the dead body lie, which it seems is a lobby or a place for servants to attend in. And this being done while the Queen was there at Somerset House for many days during the King's absence at Newmarket, the Queen's servants deride the whole story as a falsehood and impossible thing, and accuse this man for a notorious robber and highway-man; which is so far from stopping or suppressing the further inquiry into his evidence that it plainly creates more zeal and

impatience in the House of Commons to hear him at their Bar ; and therefore it is that they have appointed to-morrow for that work, urging also that it will be fit to hear him before they come upon Monday's great debate. For he has also sworn to the Lords that the Lord Bellasis had the care committed to him of murdering the King ; that he was also to be General of the North ; the Lord Powis for Wales ; the Lord Arundel for another part, and also to be Chancellor, and by the Pope's authority to give orders and commissions ; and that from his counsel chiefly all things were to depend, with many other particulars which I have hitherto but a very imperfect account of. But it seems he does not speak very clear and close in his evidence, and says he feared to have been murdered by the party for his shrinking from the work he was called to ; and so hastening to Chepstow he there found himself so tormented in conscience that he came and made discovery unto the Mayor of Bristol, and by some of his officers was conducted to this place, and is now protected in Whitehall.

The Queen and those that are about Her Majesty are so extremely alarmed at the present state of things in seeing such an effectual prosecution against Popery, such questions started in Parliament, and such ransacking of her palace as they call it, that they think all the mutation they have ever feared is now at hand. It is certain that never was there a greater probability of striking Popery to the very root than at this time. The Houses make address for a more effectual disarming all Papists over the kingdom, and the Commons having heard that at the Council Board there was a long list of persons to be exempted from their withdrawing on account of their lawsuits, etc., the complaint thereof began to sound, and it was told that the Court of Requests was full of Papists, as Colonel MacCarty, Mr. Loftus, etc. Whereupon Justin was by the Serjeant brought to the bar, where he behaved himself so discreetly as to appease the House ; yet, for example sake, they ordered him to give obedience to the proclamation that night, so that all the warriors despairing to come off so well are by his example withdrawn.

There is another instance which took up the time this afternoon. Complaint was made that the commissions which my Lord Chancellor should have issued yesterday morning to empower the justices to give the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to all suspected Papists in and about ten miles of London were not yet under the seal, but notwithstanding that it was alleged that those commissions could not be of use until the constables had made and given the lists of those they suspected, and that his Lordship did attend to know from the House of Lords whether those in the first part of the proclamation, being traders and inhabitants for a year, should not be exempted from the Oaths, as in Council it was proposed he should do. Yet notwithstanding these reasons and the constant attendance of late in Parliament they passed a vote for a conference with the Lords to enquire what was the reason of this stop, which could not be done with the heat that was out of jealousy or animosity against his Lordship. But to show that they expect a literal obedience to that pro-

clamation, and also how roundly they intend to proceed with others for greater omissions, such as the concealing of this horrid Plot for six weeks, which they often reflect on in their discourses, intending thereby to wound my Lord Treasurer, another instance is about the prayers issued by the Bishops for the Fast on Wednesday next, wherein there are no prayers that come up to the zeal of those votes which have lately passed concerning this hellish Plot; which, though it were excused as being proportionable to the address of the Lords, so long since made, wherein the expressions were but faint and general, yet now they have addressed unto His Majesty, and thereupon it is ordered that additional prayers to the effect desired shall be immediately printed. *Ar. kp.* [Bishop of London] is struck into close counsels with *re* [Earl of Shaftesbury], who is like to be at the top, and already courted by all accordingly. The case of *te* [Lord Treasurer] is by all thought desperate, but not inquired into till *fg* [The Duke] be spoken withal.

1678, November 12.—I could not by the last post tell your Grace anything of what happened in London about the time of my writing, but it seems all the city was in bells and bonfires, the Aldermen attending with wine and reporting the glad tidings of His Majesty's speech that day; some reporting it to be a resolution declared of choosing a Protestant successor, and in other places that the Duke of Monmouth was to succeed the King. How this notorious mistake came about I cannot tell, but 'tis a dangerous thing for a body of people to plunge themselves into a mistake, and 'tis thought this very accident may do the Duke as much hurt as anything else. The speech is now printed, and it is well if that may undeceive them.

Yesterday the Duke spoke with the most advantage imaginable against the printing of Coleman's letters, and though nothing was resolved, yet it is very unlikely that a vote for their printing may there pass. But the Commons are very intent upon the passing of the Bill against the Popish Lords, which now appearing to stick in that House, they have in a manner set their whole stress upon the passing of it, declaring that they must expect nothing if they cannot drive that through. Wherefore they send frequent messengers up to the Lords, and some of them numerous attended to show their impatience for that Bill, not sparing in their discourses to reflect on the Duke in plain terms, even to wish that never such a curse may befall the nation as to have a Popish prince. And whereas the discovery of things touching the Plot does not at all times answer expectation, this is imputed to the coldness of the Ministers who are afraid to be secured, but that things will never be well till they become all as resolute and zealous in their employments as any man in that assembly appears now to be. And nothing is more reviled than the impudence and disloyalty of those that would make this Plot a flame, and certainly there never went out so many addresses and proclamations to pursue the Popish recusants as at this time, and there has been a strange coincidence of things to raise the present indignation

to the height it is, some of which I have already named to your Grace ; as the long stream of discontent touching the many years indulgence they enjoyed ; then Oates his declaring the danger of the King's life ; then the evidence appearing in Coleman's letters ; then a dissatisfied Parliament just meeting as the cry was up—I mean the cry superadded by the murder of Justice Godfrey ; then the celebration of the 5th of November, applying the present horror of things feared throughout the whole kingdom in one day to the evidence of what had formerly passed. Then comes in Bedloe declaring the murder to have been in Somerset House, and confirming the conspiracy against the life of the King, and to-morrow the solemnization of a General Fast upon this single account. All these things, I say, show as if the four winds had broke loose together upon them, so that in all probability they are like to be sunk beyond the power of doing mischief hereafter. And this day the Commons have voted an address for the Oaths to be given to all the Queen's and Duke's servants, excepting such as are Portuguese. And all tradesmen that are subjects must either take the Oaths or leave the town, and there are very many already come in to our Ministers desiring to be informed and reconciled to the Church of England.

On Sunday, in the evening, Mr. Bedloe came before the House of Commons and there read two papers, being copies of the general information which he gave unto the Lords, the one relating to the murder and the other to the Plot, both which I heard so ill as that I cannot charge myself with giving any fit account thereof. He has named Sir William Godolphin to be deep in these matters, which Oates also did ; upon which the House voted an address for his recalling from Madrid to answer the treason laid to his charge. And although many of the members are dissatisfied to hear (as they pretend) that His Majesty in his discourses does not believe as they believe concerning this Plot, yet they have hitherto addressed for nothing that they have not succeeded in ; both sides perhaps agreeing in this that there has been too much reason on other accounts to press for some redress without relying upon the exact sufficiency or insufficiency of the present evidence. And the House did forbear to ask Mr. Bedloe many questions, that his information might not be exposed to the cavil of the criminals, and that which he gave in hath been sealed up.

It was thought yesterday would have been taken up with that high debate touching the succession, but the time did spend in other things, as in placing the measure of all their hopes upon the passing of that Bill which is now before the Lords. Part of the time was also taken up by a conference from the Lords, wherein the Lord Chancellor's delay about the Commissions was vindicated to their satisfaction. And then another part of the time was employed in examining at the bar the irregularity of returning Sir William Temple burgess for Northampton, for which the High Sheriff was laid by the heels, and Mr. Montagu presently voted in with so united a cry as made it very legible what inclinations they bear to the patron of the first, whom they reckon the adversary of the latter.

On the 5th of November there were several very chargeable and costly Popes that went to wrack, and I hear that there will be great solemnities in the city on the birthday of Queen Elizabeth, which is about the 18th of this month; and it is certain that a constable brought one lately before a justice of Peace for speaking treason against Queen Elizabeth. I hope your Grace will pardon these minute informations, by which I only aim to give your Grace such a prospect of affairs here as may best dictate to you what measures are fit for you to take in that place, which no man has more zeal or concern that they should be successful and for your Grace's advantage than myself.

I hear my Lord James is coming over. My long silence touching Mr. Henshaw has been the consequence of my perpetual toil of late betimes, which has hardly suffered me to breathe, but I will now very soon be at the end of that matter.

1678, November 16.—I am now to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's letter of the 6th instant, together with the proclamation for disarming the Papists, the method of which gives here satisfaction to those I meet with, as making the execution altogether as effectual as the persons complaining would have it. But 'tis a hard game you have to play when more care is required to obviate the imaginary dangers that malice does create than those real ones which are more apparent, and which a little unanimity and honesty would easily suppress. But your Grace's method is most seasonable to all events; for as you publish such effectual rules and orders as may bear execution and without incurring the danger of the other extreme, so your sending over the examinations from time to time of such persons as are apprehended, and giving frequent accounts of doing something on that side, will very furnish your friends wherewithal to answer impertinent informations hither, which are to have the effect of complaints. And truly when it were discovered who were the fomentors of such things, they should not want commissions and orders to exercise their zeal and inquiries upon, and then it would soon appear how much less active they were in reformation than in complaint. And as to that great point of the inhabitants in Corporations it must certainly be a work of time and gradation. And whether to begin in the first survey with such a quota of the most dangerous and suspected, or reduce it to a qualification of allowing only ancient natives and their descendants, will best be thought on by your Grace on that side. But whatever regulation is judged fit were best to be modelled there, and the form of the letter sent over here for His Majesty's signature.

As to the malicious informations that may now come here from that side we are too busy to mind them in any part, every man's thoughts and discourses being employed about danger and reformation. The passing of the Bill with the Lords is made the great touchstone for success, and remedy to several evils impending; so as without that pass all other things are hopeless and the case desperate; but if that take place then many other

things will probably follow for establishing the public safety. On Thursday the Bill was thought as good as passed when it was by so many voices carried that all should take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. But yesterday it was carried against the Test and the penalty annexed thereunto, which has looked like such a recoiling of the business as that the House of Commons this day voted that no less a man than Mr. Secretary Coventry shall carry up their messages to the House of Lords for expediting that Bill. And it was in deliberation that the Speaker himself should have been employed therein. This Test has, it seems, some new clause about idolatry or adoration, which did so far stumble the Archbishop, Bishop of Rochester, and Bishop of Ely that they voted against the Test. And some of the other Lords stumbled at the penalty of a perpetual disherison, and extinguishing the right of a peer. All these passages and the particular voters are rewarded and descanted on by the city, who seem so intent upon matters of state as if they were not concerned in the business of trade, which many affirm is accordingly at a perfect stand. There is every night one of the six city regiments, consisting of 2,500 men, upon the watch. The Colonel himself goes the round, and there is not a man wanting from his duty. Every inhabitant has bought in a store of arms for the hands in his family, and some have even listed porters to come in and to help them at their need, and provided arms accordingly. There is lately one Powell, a merchant, that is missing, whom they think murdered by the Papists. And this they add to the former indignation about Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, whom they all conclude to have been murdered in Somerset House, and take a strange liberty to reflect upon the Queen, which was never heard of before. And even in the House of Commons the debate ran like a torrent upon Thursday, when His Majesty sent a message or answer to their first address that his own and the Duke's servants should all take the oath, only he thought it reasonable to have the Queen's and Duchess's servants exempted; so that they have reiterated their address with a paper of reasons for the necessity of comprehending all but the Queen's Portuguese servants, and upon that occasion the infelicity of matching with Popish ladies abroad was sufficiently exposed and decried.

But to return again unto the city; I can assure your Grace that no less a man than Sir Nathaniel Herne, now Governor of the East India Company, wrote seriously to me to know if he should not send his wife and children out of town, for that the massacres of Paris and Ireland were enough talked of beforehand, but believed by none, by which you may guess in what a pickle the Papists are, and are like to be, who are computed to be hardly one to two hundred Protestants all over England. They do most of them in the city take the oaths as soon as tendered, which make them nevertheless hated, or at least their religion, which is said on this occasion to allow them as much latitude as they please. I already told your Grace of the bonfires last Saturday night at which, with shooting and outcries, there were drank healths to the King, the Duke of Monmouth, and Earl of Shaftesbury, as the only

three pillars of all safety. And upon Sunday night, there being spread in the city a malicious rumour as if the Earl of Shaftesbury were to be sent to the Tower, and the Lords therein confined to be let out, there was that strange agitation among them that if it had been true the whole city had doubtless been in an uproar. And so tuned and so united is this great engine at the present that I do more than fear, if addresses from the Commons will not move the Lords to the expediting of the Bill, they will hear of addresses from another place. The check which the Bill received as to the Test was only at a Committee, and 'tis not doubted but in the House it will otherwise pass.

The pardons of Oates and Bedloe are now in passing, the Lords having addressed for the former and the Commons for the latter; for on Thursday morning, Bedloe coming at his own desire to the bar, he began to acquaint the House that he had been a very great rogue, but that unless he had been so he should not have been able to serve the public as well as now he does; that he is sensible he has offended many by what he has informed touching the murder of Justice Godfrey, yet for that he has pardon by His Majesty's proclamation, but he knows not whether his pardon might be not obstructed if he should inform of some who have His Majesty's ear, and therefore he desired the intercession of the House for the obtaining a general pardon. And the House being curious and desirous to have the handling of some of those jewels that hang so near His Majesty's ear, they have made an address, and are promised the fruits thereof. Mr. Coleman will come now to a speedy trial. Mr. Attorney-General has order to attach the £1,000. which by the examination sent over by your Grace is said to be in the hands of Daniel Arthur.

1678, November 19. London.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 11th instant together with a proclamation for embarking the ecclesiastics. I have also from a noble hand in Munster tidings of the former proclamations, saying they would exasperate both Popish ecclesiastics and laics, and therefore wishing some other proclamations might soon issue for setting up the militia and purging garrisons and securing dangerous discontented persons who head herds of bad people in Kerry, Clare, and the West of Cork, until it were seen what these present clouds would produce. Here your Grace sees what the observer thinks wanting. I received some other observations, neither so seasonable or material, and therefore suit my answers accordingly, for if I should quarrel down right I might hear no more. I shall most heartily shake hands with Sir Cyril Wyche, my request for it and your Grace's allowance meeting, as it seems, each other at the same time upon the way.

Yesterday morning Mr. Bedloe came by his own desire to the bar of the House of Commons, where, declaring the assurance that he now had of his pardon, he desired to speak somewhat which before he could not venture upon, because the parties he should name had many friends in either House: upon which he pulled out a paper whereof I remember this general account.—

That upon the King's death there should suddenly several armies appear; all the Roman Catholics of London and counties adjoining should be headed by the Lord Arundel; Sir Henry Tichborne was to be his Lieutenant-General, one Smith, a Dominican Friar, expert in arms, and bred up under the Count Mounterey, was to assist him. Coleman and Ireland were principal agents, the Lord Stafford to be paymaster, and Sir George Wakeman physician to this army; the Lord Bellasis was to command in the North, to secure Tynemouth Castle and Bridlington, where there were to land 10,000 men from Flanders; also another army to be raised by the Lord Powis in Wales. They were to meet in Radnorshire and then to march towards Milford Haven, where were to land an army of 10,000 from Spain, headed by Sir William Godolphin and some Spanish officers. He named several persons that were listed as undertakers to bring in so many men and so much money, as Sir Francis Ratcliffe, Mr. Thimbleby, Lord Carrington, Lord Brudenel, Sir Thomas Beaumont, Mr. Tyrrell 100 men and £1,000, Mr. Ratcliffe, Lieutenant General to the Lord Bellasis, Dr. Moore, Ralph Sheldon, Mr. Griffin, Charles Winter, Sir Humfrey Munnoek and two sons, with his son-in-law, Daniel Arthur of London, who was to furnish £20,000, Mr. Vaughan and his son, Counsellor James of Wales, to be Secretary to that army, Mr. Milborn, Quartermaster, Mr. Spalding, Mustermaster, Dr. Williams. Sir Harry Tichborne was to have with him an expert French captain who spoke English. Bedloe, the informant, was, in the nature of Adjutant-General, to carry orders from army to army as being versed in all the roads of England and Wales, and the armies were to meet in places agreed upon. And lastly that no Roman Catholic in England that was either of quality or credit, but had taken the sacrament upon the alarm of the King's death, to contribute their aid for the alteration of the Government. Chepstow Castle and some other places named by him were to be secured for the Pope.

Upon this information the Lord Chief Justice was sent for from the Bench, who came readily to the House, and upon a general information of these things withdrew to the Speaker's Chamber, where, taking the depositions in form, he presently issued his warrants accordingly. The House, upon complaint of several numbers of men and horses observed in several parts of the kingdom to travel up and down at unseasonable hours in the night, were debating a good while about seizing all the horses of Roman Catholics in every place, but at last fell into the warm debate of the use and sufficiency of the militia, and touching which they intend many things to restore it to its primitive institution, as being that legal force upon which we might rely for the defence of all. And to begin there are a third part of the militia all over England to be in arms for six weeks, and upon occasion the High Sheriff and *Posse Comitatus* to be in a state of preparation, and an address to this effect is prepared unto His Majesty.

After this there came in an angry information from Chester of certain Irish officers there seized, some of whose commissions bore date the 27th of October last. It seems they were going for

Ireland to raise men, and it also appeared that some warrants had been sent to the Mustermasters for excusing some of the officers coming from France from taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, notwithstanding the Act of the Test. These commissions and warrants being countersigned by Mr. Secretary Williamson, many fell very heavily upon him, and the first motion was that he should withdraw. It was long before he could resign himself thereunto. But to prevent the question which was putting he did first make his apology—that all these Orders of War were transacted by the Lord General, the Duke of Monmouth, by whom the King's hand was first obtained unto them; that they were prepared by the Secretary of War, and entered in his office, and then sent to him of course to be countersigned, without any profit or concern of his in the matter, or so much as reading what the papers contained; that this had therefore fallen to his share, being younger Secretary, as a matter of no profit; yet being sensible of the inconvenience and offence that might arise he had expostulated with the said Duke and told him plainly that if he should be thereupon questioned in the House he must lay the thing at his Grace's door, and that his Grace had as plainly told him that he would answer for it. But notwithstanding the matter was thus extenuated, yet there has appeared against this gentleman a long grudge in the House, as if he had used arts to help on the raising of this army, and that in a time so long after the notice of a dangerous conspiracy had broken forth to furnish commissions to Irish Papists going into that kingdom, where a great part of this matter was to be transacted, was too big an offence to be now passed by. That it was a thing of wonder that commissions should be given for the raising of twenty-one companies in that kingdom, whenas the Law of Corporations had made it rebellion to withstand any commission from His Majesty; and if formerly it was the art of the Irish to reproach the late King with deriving authority from him, how plausibly might they insist upon these real commissions to require obedience to any of their ill designs. That since counter-signing was necessary for every warrant, it implied His Majesty referring to his Minister the examination of what was fit or not fit, and, tho' he did not advise the signing, yet the obligation was to advise the unsigning, and ignorance or inadvertence of the matter was no plea, since by that rule the new invisible army discovered unto us might by such a way be commissioned by His Majesty, and nobody in the fault. That this Act of the Test was the great bulwark of all their security, which had cost them very dear and which they must not suffer to be violated by a member of their own, who had been party thereunto, and could not be ignorant of the importance of it. So that after many aggravations some were for expelling him the House, others for the Tower, as more moderate, and so the vote in conclusion passed. Upon tidings hereof brought to His Majesty the Cabinet Council met soon after the last night, and by order from thence the Privy Council met very early this morning, where this matter was with much solemnity agitated, and with injunction of secrecy upon the opinion which every one in their

turns gave. But the result, being made public, was this—that the Commons should presently be sent for as they were, and His Majesty opened to them the nature of that business for which they were offended against his Secretary, showing how that the commissions which were countersigned bore date at the time of their delivery, which happened through his omission of not ordering the matter some months before, as was intended at the time that he had signed them ; for that they had lain so long by reason of the poverty of the officers, who had been very scurvily used in France, and his omitting till then to command the Secretary to deliver them without any fee. That these poor men had merited very well from him in leaving their employment in France, and that he could not see them starve, and therefore it was necessary in order to their pay that there should be some dispensation upon them. That he would be more kind to the Commons in advertising them that he intended to release the Secretary than they had been to him in not first advertising of his commitment.

The House, returning, fell into the debate of this matter, which hath lasted all this day long till past six at night. They would not allow merit in these gentlemen for having for many years together resisted and disobeyed His Majesty's proclamations for their coming home. Some were for entering into the jurisdiction of the matter as to the power of the House in confining their member and His Majesty's prerogative in releasing him ; and being pressed with the objection that they had no power to punish for offences without doors, many urged that the confinement was but in order to the further impeachment of him to the Lords, and so pressed hard that they might impeach him accordingly. But there were some who more prudentially dissuaded all questions that might endanger any contention with His Majesty, considering how many other works they had in hand, and, therefore, if the matter could not be fitly warred, they proposed a soft address to be made to His Majesty to signify the reasons of such their proceedings, and to advise all such commissions to be recalled. At length it ended in this :—That such an address should be prepared ; but with this prayer that His Majesty would not set Sir Joseph Williamson at liberty, and that he would recall all commissions given to Papists or suspected Papists in England, Ireland, or any other part of His Majesty's dominions ; this latter part being added to obstruct Colonel Dongan going to Tangier, and Sir Charles Wheeler's pecking at Colonel Stapleton that is in the Leeward Islands.

The House continued to sit while this address was prepared, and being brought in according to this order (notwithstanding that they knew that His Majesty had sent a warrant, and that the Secretary was now out, it was much pressed by some to have an addition to the address, namely that His Majesty would remove all such from his presence who had either advised him to the signing of those commissions or dispensations, or who had now advised him to remove the Secretary out of the Tower ; but some of the same party did allay this motion as unseasonable

for the present, considering the other great works they had in hand, which must precede and ought to make way for these. And that now it was late and the House grown very thin, and would involve the question of jurisdiction, which had been hitherto avoided, and 'twas not proper that a matter which might, with relation to ill instruments, endure a public and solemn disquisition, should creep in under the objection of a late hour, and so thin a House. Thus your Grace has the business of these two days, and I presume you are sufficiently tired as well as I am now myself.

1678, 23 November.—It must go into a part of the present calamity that, having undertaken to tell your Grace what here I observe, I never know when to leave off. In the other papers I say nothing of what yesterday passed, which was appointed for consideration of His Majesty's last speech. But it appeared that the great champions on the other side were very slow in their proposals for securing of the Protestant religion and therein disclosing a deep resentment in the vote which was lost the day before concerning the Duke's proviso; so that it must be expected to see some effects of this displeasure, but in what certain particulars it will appear, or in what it will not, is hard to say; for already they have reassumed the discharge of Mr. Secretary Williamson as a matter of high provocation. They will, on Monday, consider the business of the army, having had scarce patience to call it an army, after an act passed for payment and disbanding. On Tuesday they will hunt for Papists in the fleet. They mean to press the Lords about the printing of Coleman's letters, and begin to examine more narrowly some letters from the Cardinal of Norfolk to Coleman discovering the correspondence between the Pope and the Duke. And there are some letters found of the Earl of Berkshire's to Coleman, which may produce that Lord no little disquiet.

On Wednesday Mr. Coleman is to come to his trial. But as to the business of the House some of the displeased members did rather shew how impossible it was according to the conditions and limitations of His Majesty's last speech to provide any laws for security of religion in case of a Popish prince. But Mr. Seymour (the House being in a Grand Committee) did propose some points with that vigour as drew many of them to attention and concurrence to the work. He showed how much it would contribute to the present safety to drive the Popish lords out of the Legislature and turn all Papists out of the Court; to address also to His Majesty to change the pernicious intimacy, solicitation, and private address of foreign Ministers as if they were in their own Courts; to bring down severe justice to the present conspirators, and in order to deter others, to pass a law for the validity of a single witness. That for an effectual method for convicting recusants hereafter he proposed that the knights, citizens and burgesses should give in the names of them all, to remain guilty by Act of Parliament, if in a time limited they did not take a Test; the forfeitures to go to the buying out im-

propiations to poor curates, vicars, etc. As to the future prospect he would not impeach the succession or right line, nor make the heir apparent desperate, which would endanger the time present and entail war on our posterity ; nor would he furnish those with our arguments who have already prevailed on him so much, but he would have it enacted that no Popish successor should command the militia, the revenue, or the offices in Church or State. That the Parliament in being, or the last Parliament, to meet and continue for a time after such succession. That these points, if well digested, may free us from a Smithfield purgatory. These were his points. There was another which was not mentioned but in private discourse, which was for passing a short law to make all things in the time of a Popish successor to be administered as in the time of a minor.

There was at first some despair thrown out of ever being able, to patch up things, without all were found at the bottom ; but what Mr. Seymour said seemed to surprise many with the hopes of obtaining things of considerable magnitude. And they fell warmly to embrace his expeditious method for conviction, and presently threw in many consonant particulars, which are accordingly ordered to be drawn up.

My Lord Privy Seal was saying that he must this night write to your Grace to advertise you of some dangers in Dublin. Some of the great Lords wondered your Grace would not seize the papers of Peter Talbot, such as could be found, when you secured his person. There being a cipher of Colonel Fitzpatrick's found with Coleman's papers, gives frequent occasion to discourse of him which doubtless he will take as advice to retire to his home, and there pass his time with exemplary quiet and silence among his neighbours. The squabble there between the Irishman and the sentinel about pulling down the proclamation is made matter of news from thence, while we are here disquieted sufficiently with the assaults, batteries and murders which every day happen to some common people, which makes some very good men almost stark mad. I send your Grace the proclamations that issue, and am sure that your Grace, like an old pilot, has your hand fast on the helm and your eye upon the compass, which is all that can be done for as to the weather, that will fly as it pleases, and is out of any mortal reach.

1678, November 26.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 19th instant, which gave my Lord Chamberlain great satisfaction, and so it did me till I read what your Grace writ to Cyril Wyche on the same subject, which gave me much more, for the case is there perfectly stated and thoroughly extended, and I know not what to wish added or left undone that has either lain upon your Grace or concerned the safety of that kingdom. The many shrugs and wishes sent and tossed over from thence have been mostly in vain from the numerous perplexities which have here grown up and crowded in, that leave not any room for distant things. And 'tis my belief that we are now accounting for the particulars of many years past. All the instances of resignation

to the pleasure of France, our contempt of Spain and spurning at Holland, together with all the ill steps made in the politics at home, are the ingredients of this bitter cup, and make everything break out into harsher resentments than the nature of many things would deserve.

But I should rather confine myself to the fact of what is now doing and leave reflections to your Grace ; and truly my time is not much, having sat up till one this morning about Mr. Oates his papers, given me by the King to examine, and at the same task again before six, then twice to-day at Council, and twice at the House of Commons, from whence I now return at nine o'clock.

Mr. Oates did, on Sunday, acquaint His Majesty, in private, that in June last, on St. James's day, one, who by description must be Sir Richard Belling,* was sent by the Queen to call John Fenwick, William Ireland, Basil Langworth, and John Cane (four Jesuits) to attend here at Somerset House ; with whom, being in an antechamber and Oates in the room without, he heard in a woman's voice (as he listened at the door, which was not quite shut) these words—That she would no longer bear those affronts she had, but be revenged for the violation of her bed, and would assist in poisoning of the King and propagating of the Catholic Faith ; that when the door was open he desired one of those Fathers to present him to the Queen, which accordingly he did, and then he saw the Queen and no other woman alone with them, and she seemed to smile upon him, and so they all went unto High Mass. He farther said that he saw a letter in the chamber of Richard Ashby of Thimbleby, late Rector of St. Omer's, wherein Sir George Wakeman writ unto him that he would accept the proposal for poisoning the King if well rewarded, and that the Queen would assist therein. This and some further evidence of circumstantialia he gave the King in writing, which the King carried to the Cabinet Council, where it seems, by His Majesty's example, it was received with great indignation, so that a guard was clapped on him and all his papers seized and the whole Court in amazement at this news.

The Council was called very early the next morning. Oates appeared and was examined more at large. He stood firm to his tackling, and, being withdrawn, the questions that arose in debate filled all with perplexity. Everyone published the Queen's innocence and the high reparation she ought to have, for the fact could procure her no advantage in this world nor in the next. But, on the other side, the whole kingdom was now inflamed with the terror of a Plot, and many sacrifices for atonement were expected, and to suppress the man who is chief for the support of this work is not what could now be borne ; so the matter was for deliberation thereon adjourned till this morning, His Majesty passing from the Council Board to the House of Lords, where he delivered to both Houses the enclosed speech about the army.

This morning, at the Council, the resolutions were somewhat suited to the public impression of this matter abroad and ended

* Secretary to Queen Catherine.

thus—That it could not be for the service of the Queen to have this man presently punished, for if that must arise on the statute against him for concealing of treason, such punishment would justify his accusation; and then if the punishment should be for a false accusation the Queen must be first acquitted by a trial. Wherefore all that could be done at present was to hasten on the trials depending, wherein he was to be an evidence, which being once over there might more room be left to consider of him. In the meantime some principal Lords were deputed to acquaint the Queen hereof and to express the concern of the Board. But Mr. Oates had his papers returned to him, and some show of liberty, but a Clerk of the Council to be by when any strangers come unto him. For His Majesty strongly believes that he is tampered withal, and that Mr. Oates believes he does a thing herein that would be grateful to the King. Nor did the King discourage him at all when he first revealed the matter.

This morning Mr. Bedloe intimated to the House of Commons that he had some important matter to impart if he were assured of his pardon. Upon which the House sent presently to His Majesty to entreat his consent. He presently answered that he would consider it. This troubled the House, and they adjourned till three o'clock in hopes by that time of a better answer. His Majesty commanded the Privy Council to meet precisely at that hour, expressing there his resentment of these proceedings—that Bedloe was tampered withal, and might accuse the Queen or he knew not whom without any grounds. So the enclosed answer was at length prepared, which the Commons sat long in expectation of; and finding it to come short of their expectations, they were so perfectly incensed as to debate almost an hour whether they should not presently adjourn without admitting the messengers which attended from the Lords, saying that if this Plot must be smothered it was to no purpose to do anything else. But with much ado the storm was so far assuaged that the messengers were called in; and there followed a present conference with the Lords in relation to some amendments in the new Bill. The result of all which is this—that the Queen will be allowed nine Portuguese servants and nine Catholic women, but no men, but to the Duchess neither one or the other.

It was ordered, this afternoon in Council, that your Grace should disband the Irish regiment there, but they will first consider to-morrow about money. I have not time to read what here I have writ.

1678, November 30.—My last gave your Grace some account of things unto Tuesday night. Upon Wednesday the House of Commons voted the disbanding of the army. But Westminster Hall was all that day thronged about Coleman's trial. His behaviour in it was in all points very temperate, and he omitted not to take all the advantages that fairly offered, and was nothing disordered in the whole proceeding. He first prayed the Judges to be of counsel for him, since the law had bereaved him of all other aid and exposed him to the abilities of the most learned

men. Next he lamented the conjuncture of his trial being at a time of so much indignation raised against the Catholics that a man was half condemned that came to the bar by that name. But he did hope that as some of that number were thought innocent, so he should appear to be one of them, how black soever his indictment were made. He then urged that one witness was not sufficient for treason, and for what Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe charged him withal he flatly denied all things they said, affirming that he never saw Bedloe before, nor Oates but once at the Council Board. But he had no evidence for the disproving what they said more than some contrariety he pretended to shew between what Oates had said at that time and what he alleged now. But as to his letters and papers, whereof many were read in the Court, as also letters to him from the two Confessors of the French King, the Cardinal of Norfolk, Father Sheldon, St. Jermyn, Sir William Throgmorton and the Inter Nuncio of Brussels, he did not deny any of those letters, nor except against the translation or deciphering of any; but did affirm that he could discover nothing more than what he had done to the Committees of Lords and Commons which had been sent unto him. And that this was all the material correspondence he ever held, tho' it were proved by his own servant that he had other books and papers which did not here appear. But the defence he made touching these letters was to this effect—that Mr. Attorney's objection against him for vanity and presumption might be very just, for that it appeared he did concern himself in very great things, but he hoped it would not be judged that he could of himself stir matters of that weight without the knowledge and allowance and assistance of others. That he did not conceive he was doing ill while he laboured for the Duke's reassuming his title of Admiral or introducing the Catholic religion, which so many were inclined unto; nor could he conceive anything to be treason that he attempted, seeing it was all to be subjected to the approbation and good liking of the King, or to the Duke, which was all one, considering his greatness and nearness and obedience to the King, and this was the repeated plea he insisted on. And when the Judge asked him how he could think the nation was inclined to Popery, the only answer he had was this—that it appeared sufficiently by the constant complaints of every session against the growth of Popery. The evidence against him took up many hours, but what he said for himself was not long; nor did the jury stay a quarter of an hour before they brought him in guilty of High Treason. Upon which verdict he seemed little surprised, but desiring the liberty of a few words he said—that one of the Bench had but just now advised the jury to consider whether his bare affirmation ought to outweigh the oaths of two witnesses. I have now, said he, something more to oppose to that evidence than bare affirmation, which are the words of a dying man, for in this world I expect no relief, but depend on Heaven alone; but by the salvation I expect, all that is objected against me by those two witnesses is false.

Mr. Coleman was the son of a minister in Suffolk, who left him £140 per annum, and he got a wife with £150, besides £3,000 in

money. All which 'tis said he has wasted in the ways he took, and in hopes of reprisal if he could have turned the world upside down according to his hopes. To which end he has many years driven furiously, and nothing has seemed so temperate in him as this last scene of his trial. It were to be wished that it had only determined in himself without those reflections and aspersions which it occasioned elsewhere. Staley's quarters, being granted on the importunate request of his two sisters, were buried with such impudent solemnity that order is given for the digging them up and hanging them on the gates.

On Wednesday night the Council sat very late, the principal matter being the examination of Mr. Bedloe, who, it seems, laid in a heavy charge against the Queen. But His Majesty was persuaded to gratify the Commons in their importunity for his additional pardon; and this being accordingly signified to the House on Thursday morning, they presently sent for him, and being come he presented in writing an accusation against Her Majesty to the effect following.—That about the beginning of May, 1677, there was a consultation held in the Chapel Gallery at Somerset House, where he saw present the Lord Bellasis and he thinks the Lord Powis, also Father Sheldon, Father Latham, two French Abbots, Father Prichard, Mr. Coleman, and two persons of superior quality whom he could not very well distinguish, but that there was with them the Queen. That the deponent and Charles Walsh, being in the Chapel below to attend, Coleman and Prichard after some time came down and told them that they had made the Queen to weep, and that the two French Fathers had at length brought her to consent—meaning to the death of the King. That a month after this Bedloe was sent with letters to some Fathers at Douai, who being gone towards Paris he overtook them at Cambray, where Father Stapleton, opening and deciphering a letter he brought, declared with great joy that all things went well in England; that their business grew stronger and stronger, and that at length they had brought her unto it. Bedloe thereupon asked Latham (who was also there) what her they meant. He said she that was in the Chapel Gallery, being the Queen. That, said Bedloe, I knew before. He farther informed that he was sent with a letter to La Chaise signifying how all things stood, and how that in the year 1678 everything would be ripe for execution, and praying his advices and opinion on the whole. This accusation seemed much to afflict and amaze the House; and knowing that Mr. Oates had touched on the same string before the Council and had received some mortification for the impudence and improbability of his charge, they sent out also for him, who being come to the bar, began with ripping up all the hard treatment he had suffered at Whitehall, taunting and reviling the hardship thereof and the danger he thought himself in, and all this for telling of truth. So that unless he might be assured of better usage he would be silent and give evidence no more, even though the House should command it. How this was resented by the House, and the particulars that he complained of, your Grace will see by the

address which was presently voted thereupon, and which with other votes is herewith sent.

Mr. Oates being again called in and acquainted how far the House had concerned themselves for him, he then ripped up all the evidence which he had given at the Council Board the Monday before. Upon which the House grew stricter in the orders of shutting the door, and they sent a message to the Lords entreating them to sit in the afternoon that they might have opportunity to inform them about matters of a high nature touching the safety of His Majesty's person, etc. And accordingly, after some debate, they voted an address—that the Queen and all her family and all Papists and suspected Papists be removed from His Majesty's Court at Whitehall, and the Lords were desired to give their concurrence therein.

Yesterday, being Friday, the said witnesses appeared before the Lords, and this address of the Commons entertained them the whole day, but with so much success for Her Majesty as that there were not above five of the Lords who stayed to vote that were for consenting to the address. But it was finally voted that reasons should be prepared to satisfy the Commons for their Lordship's not agreeing. I should have told your Grace that Mr. Bedloe did inform the House that, to the best of his conjecture, the two persons of quality at the consultation at Somerset House were the Duke of York and the Duke of Norfolk; so that upon the debate of the matter the Men of the Long Robe did shew how that there might be treason in a Queen as well as in the meanest subject; and that the general method for a thing of this nature was to proceed by impeachment. But because the forms thereof were tedious, and some remedy forthwith necessary, the first step was to have His Majesty's person stand clear, and so the Queen to withdraw, some said to Hampton Court, but most spoke of Somerset House, and that the Duke should also withdraw to St. James's. That which pushed the Commons on with rounder heat in this great affair was, first, the assurance and vigour of the witnesses, as if they would live and die on the truth of what they said; next the opinion (doubted of by none) that the doctrine of Rome authorises all evil to come by their ends, and makes most bold with those that are most resigned unto it; and lastly that the slender thread of the King's single life is, under God, the only bulwark of their present safety; and so where there is but possibility of danger it is fit to doubt and examine.

But the Lords in their deliberation went upon the virtues of the Queen, and though the witnesses were ever so good, yet this evidence is short and defective. And, therefore, considering the dignity of the person, it was not fit to proceed but upon plain and palpable demonstration. What farther may arise upon this subject matter when the Lords come to the conference intended no man can say. Perhaps the Lords having been so unanimous, and the King declared so much concern in the matter, the question may die; but 'tis an ill omen towards any one against whom the Commons have once bent their bow. And these witnesses may possibly inflame the reckoning with somewhat that is new. So

that for my own part I do with grief and melancholy consider the face of things.

This day, being Saturday, His Majesty passed the Act for excluding the Popish Lords, declaring that he did it for gratification of his people in this conjuncture, though the precedent might prove of very evil consequence. But for the other Act to put a third part of the militia in arms for forty-two days, this was by His Majesty rejected, declaring that there were some expressions that might be interpreted to the taking of the militia out of the Crown, which, tho' it were but for one half hour, he would by no means permit; but if they would enable him with money he would give order that the militia should be raised for his own and the public security.

The Commons expressed much trouble and concern for the disappointment of this Bill, which had passed both Houses without the intention or suspicion of any guilt of intrenching on the Crown. And to the very much which was urged to this effect there was nothing plainly answered, but that the words of the Bill seemed to make it necessary to have above 50,000 men in arms for forty-two days, without leaving it in His Majesty's power to free the country from this trouble or dispose it otherwise in case no danger appeared. To remedy the disappointment of having the militia up in a time of public apprehension, when almost from every county letters are written touching parties of horse moving up and down in the night, and while an army is on foot against which they are so highly distasted, and have voted its disbanding by Commissioners to be named in the Act, and by money to be paid in and issued forth from the Chamber of London; these considerations, I say, and the impediment of proposing the same Bill or anything like it in the same session is matter of perplexity unto them. But they have agreed upon this expedient—that they will earnestly press His Majesty by an address to raise the militia, and they will pass a short act for so much money as may serve the turn, to be applied unto such uses as His Majesty shall command, which they hope to obtain in virtue of their address. But upon this they could not proceed, since the Act that was passed this day required an immediate taking of the Oaths and subscribing the declaration therein prescribed, which has also some scruples and niceties in it; but seeing no man can sit and vote after the first of December without incurring the penalties the House will sit to-morrow to make an advance in this work.

1678, December 3.—This day Mr. Coleman has made his last atonement at Tyburn, where, what his long speech was on the ladder I suppose the shorthand men will therewith ere long furnish the press, and then your Grace shall partake thereof. In the meantime I will no longer omit to acknowledge to your Grace, what I have already done to many others, that by your advice I broke off my acquaintance with him as soon as ever it begun and upon the first receiving of his news letter, which, when I showed your Grace and some daring particulars that were in it,

you advised me (considering the station I was in) to knock off, for that he was a man would certainly run himself into the briars. The House of Commons did on Saturday, Sunday and Monday morning take the oaths prescribed by the new bill, which is here enclosed. The Lords made some scruple, so that those of them who took the oaths on Saturday took them over again yesterday morning. My Lord Castlehaven did on Saturday make such a valedictory oration to the Lords that they have recommended him to His Majesty's bounty. And all men agree that never man spoke in any case with more eloquence or more art against this Bill than he did when it was first in debate.

The Commons were yesterday much out of humour touching the loss of the Militia Bill, which was the only public Bill His Majesty ever refused. They had got it among them as if my Lord Treasurer had given this advice, and so instead of retrieving the effect thereof by expedients which His Majesty would certainly have admitted of, they run into heats and reflection upon Ministers, which some, well enough disposed to such an inquiry, would have wholly postponed till the army were down and the militia up, and some of the bills for the fettering of Popery better advanced. But for the same reasons those of another mind, as is whispered, thought it best to pick a quarrel with that Militia Bill, that so the forward progress of things intended might receive some allay by the disappointment of one sort of force and the subsisting of another. But the event was this—which after some debate took place—that an address should be made His Majesty containing the present state and danger of the nation, which was to be branched, first, into the misrepresentations which have been made to His Majesty of the proceedings of the House, next the dangers arising from private advices contrary to the counsels of Parliament, thirdly the dangers the nation lies under by the growth of Popery, and the last head is the danger to His Majesty and the whole nation by the violation of the laws made for the peace and safety of the kingdom (this having more particular reference to the not disbanding of the army according to the late Act). These things are to be worded and shaped into an address, and how they will sound and swell when they are improved by the men of skill will to-morrow appear. But I am apt to think there will more contention and opposition be made about approving the address than was seen upon voting the heads, for the matter came more speedily on to a conclusion than usually happens where great friends are concerned, and the danger was not at first expected or well apprehended. 'Twas observable in the debate of one of the preceding heads that some took notice how His Majesty had no manner of belief of the Plot, but (as reports went) spoke much to the contrary; and how that he feared much more the fanatics and Fifth Monarchy men, which some made him believe were those (and only such) who were heard of from all parts of the kingdom to be riding up and down in small parties in the night. In the evening Mr. Oates, at his desire, was called to the bar. He gave in the copies of such evidence as before he had delivered at Council, and made

some complaint that he was not yet so much at ease as he desired to be; but His Majesty's answer to a late address in his favour seemed very well to satisfy the House, so that Mr. Oates his reception was not so cheerful there as formerly it has been; and seeing that so many of the Lords were favourably inclined towards the Queen it is very possible that matter may sink and vanish.

This day the Commons agreed on the method for disbanding the army, which they propose to be done by three Commissioners, to be nominated by the House, the Chamberlain of London to receive and pay out the money, and a Clause of Indemnity to such officers as since the late Act of Disbanding filled up any vacancies that have happened. The debenture to the army is computed at £200,000, some say more; but the certainty is not yet brought in, nor the method of raising agreed unto, but no diligence will be shared that can accelerate so wished for a business.

Preparation is making for the trial of the Lords, amongst whom the Lord Arundel and Lord Bellasis seem to be in all the danger that the evidence of Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe (who mean to charge them home) can bring to pass.

1678, December 7.—It is one of the unfortunate duties of public office to be deaf unto domestic cares, otherwise I would present your Grace with my share of concern for the present sickness of my Lord James, which touches me even to the heart; but the physician that is with him from Canterbury (one Dr. Jacob) is, by Sir Edward Dering and others of that country, reputed a man of skill and very good fortune, and so I leave him to God's protection, and will give your Grace some account of what concerns the public.

In my last your Grace had the votes touching an address about the state of the kingdom, which, as it sprang up somewhat casually and unexpected, has not hitherto been fitted or brought unto any perfection; also the debate touching Mr. Secretary Williamson's release from the Tower, that has lain silent, and Mr. Secretary thinks fit to forbear coming to the House. Nor have the Committee as yet (who were to find some expedient for retrieving the effect of the Militia Bill) done any great matter thereupon, being now satisfied in part that His Majesty would not have refused it had he been rightly informed. And things began to be looked upon by some in a state of moderation, by others as very much flatted. But upon Thursday last the wind sprang up afresh, for the members observing how on a sudden the scaffold for trial of the Peers was starting up, and by comparing of notes how that Whitehall spoke very slightly of the Plot, as if there were no such thing, and that the witnesses were under discouragement and so no new ones likely to come in, but rather that these should be exposed for the presumption they have taken, therefore some of the keen Members would not endure to have this prosecution left to the management of the Court; so that a long debate was begun, and it was urged how far they were

already possessed of the cause, they having heard so long since the evidence at their own bar, and had several papers in their custody by His Majesty's allowance. That a proclamation being out for inviting of farther evidence until the 25th of December, it seemed strange (before that time) to bring on any trial. That where the House had engaged themselves by such solemn votes of a hellish plot and other public manifestations, it would be a great shame to have this whole matter sink (as it might do) by a common and ordinary way of trial, as that of the indictment by the Attorney-General appeared to be. That the importance of the danger deserved the concern of the House, and that the method for trial of the imprisoned Peers ought rather to be by impeachment, being not only as ancient, but altogether as frequent as that of indictment, when the crimes fell out in time of Parliament. That this way also was the more preferable, because offenders might suffer more or less with proportion to their crimes, whereas if the indictment, which is levelled to a capital crime, be not proved, all other inferior degrees of guilt are swallowed up and escape unpunished. And lastly, that when the cause was owned by the House, then other testimony would more freely come in, and that already there was expectation of some.

In this debate there were sharp reflections and aggravations against those who (behind the curtains) divert the public counsels from any good issue, and particularly hinting at the misprision of those who had concealed the treason of this Plot for six weeks, which in due time ought to fall into their care and inquiry, for that the justice of the nation did expect it at their hands. So votes passed for the Houses proceeding by way of impeachment, and five Members were sent up with five impeachments accordingly.

The tidings of this resolution was not only formidable to the parties concerned, but gave infinite distraction and disquiet elsewhere, as if we were perfectly at 1641 with the case of the Lord Strafford in view and all the train of consequences that attended. And as this was deemed on the one side a high violation of the prerogative never to be suffered, to take a trial out of His Majesty's hands, the Grand Jury having already begun and found the indictments, so it was as evidently foreseen that to strive for the diverting of the trial out of that solemn way intended, would be subject to calumny and a suppression of crimes, and bring a public clamour where it was neither safe or fit it should lie, especially at a time when the whole nation is incensed against Popery, and has got arms ready for any exploit wherein the safety of His Majesty's person or but the declaration of it might be concerned; so that there was not in view any expedient which the most offended could suggest that was able to counter-balance the danger on the other side. But during this agony and while the late vote for an address about the state of the nation entered in, to complete the perplexity, tis said Mr. Attorney General did, by the reasons he gave or which (for want of other help) were willingly admitted, allay all exterior demonstrations of this sorrow, for he told them that the proceeding by impeachment was as ancient and as frequent as the other way; that the

Judges were the same in either case; that the Grand Jury of England were more considerable than the Grand Jury of Middlesex; that although these had first found the indictments, yet the others were before them in having presented their impeachments already to the Lords, and that whatever the event should now be, one way or the other, His Majesty would not be accountable for the same. And so, without any public opposition or contention in this point, the Commons intend to proceed; and that all might be encouraged they made another address to His Majesty in favour of Mr. Oates, as your Grace will observe by the paper enclosed.

Yesterday and this day some progress was made in the House in those two points wherein all agree for the disbanding of the army, and for Bills that may secure the Protestant religion whatever happens. In this provision there arose a long debate to have either a distinct Bill or a clause in this to enable Protestants to withstand and defend themselves against any Papists whatsoever that should come with commission and bear arms in any military employment, and to dispense with those laws that at present made it rebellion so to do. The danger of this motion of arming the multitude and leaving every particular man at his liberty to be a council of war was sufficiently exposed. But on the other side it was replied that remedies must be proportioned to the dangers expected; that if Ministers in Government did not give provocations the displeasures of the people would not break forth; that they must not be silenced or overawed with the examples of 1641, which also were (for the most part) mistaken, since it appeared that most of those who first complained about redress of grievances, when they saw that some unjust men pressed in farther, they engaged freely with the Crown, and took share with His Majesty in the succeeding wars. At length the debate ended (as your Grace will see by the enclosed votes) of making all such commissions void and the parties that took them felons, and not to be pardoned but by Act of Parliament. It were heartily to be wished that the Court thought as the Parliament or the Parliament as the Court, for till there be a better understanding I do not see but that I am like to trouble your Grace with very long letters.

A vessel was lately driven into Milford Haven by stress of weather, wherein were four Austin friars from Dublin, in their way to France; they, coming ashore, were clapped in gaol till orders go from hence, and the orders which go this night are for examining the seamen as well as the friars to be fully possessed of the truth.

1678, December 17.—There hath nothing happened yesterday or to-day considerable in the House. Only the Bill for disbanding was yesterday carried up to the Lords, and there arose great expectation of more discovery into the Plot whenas, upon intimation from my Lord Shaftesbury of some hopes he had from a certain prisoner, his Lordship the Earl of Essex and Lord Halifax were sent and did, as it seems, examine Mr. Langhorne, but I do

not hear that it turned to any account, but that they may in probability return to him again.

There was some complaint this day in the House that certain five letters directed to Mr. Bedingfield were not ready at the Old Bailey to be brought in evidence against the Jesuits who were there on trial. And though intimations were given that these letters might do more hurt than good, yet they would needs have them sent. But Mr. Attorney (in whose proceedings the House had great reliance) refused to have any use made of them, and it fell so out on the other side, as that one of the prisoners, Ireland, called for those letters as evidence for him. The event of the proceedings at the Old Bailey is this, that John Grove, Pickering, a lay brother, and William Ireland, a Jesuit and Treasurer of his Order, are found guilty on the concurring evidence of Oates and Bedloe. But Thomas White, the Provincial and John Fenwick, the Procurator, having only against them the single testimony of Oates, were not sat on by the Jury, but were sent back to prison to see if farther evidence might not come in against them. And these were all who were this day under trial.

There went last night a rumour about as if this day there would break forth in the House something like an impeachment against my Lord Treasurer. Others spoke as if he meant frankly to throw up his staff, which, I suppose, was a great mistake; and so many other tales that are whispered as great secrets. One of which is that Mr. Montagu, who is become a declared enemy to his Lordship, has exposed to the view of several members (who lifted him by a very summary proceeding into the House) some letters received by him while at Paris from his Lordship, which contain great matters in them—I know not what, but such as the learned in the law do think contain in them matters for an impeachment of a great strain. Whether there be any foundation of truth herein time will show.

1678, December 24.—It is now grown a very unreasonable hour, so that I know not what to tell your Grace or what to omit of the several things that have come, for I was all this day fasting till near ten at night, on occasion of an extraordinary Council called in the morning to hear various examinations, some concerning the frights and reports of people in the country touching invasion, some concerning the Plot, but particularly touching the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, about which and a new discovery thereof the Committees of the Lords and Commons and Council-Board seem to be at the catch, and contending which shall rise earliest and overdo each other. Your Grace will see by the enclosed report what my Lord of Ossory had a share in relating hereunto, and wherein an humble servant of his had the honour to hold the pen. The same examinant, Miles Prance, hath declared as to the Plot in general that Ireland and Fenwick told him of 50,000 men to be in arms, and the Lords Arundel, Powis, Bellasis and Peters to have commissions, together with some other straggling things in the general, which confirms what

hath formerly been said. But as to the murder he only says that he was induced thereunto by one Gerald, an Irish priest, with promises of great reward, which should be made good to them by the Lord Bellasis. There was another Irish priest, one Kelly, concerned therein, which hath this night appeared—at least he was the Irishman that lodged at Green's—but Green, Hall and Berry (who are all taken and have been this night examined at the Board) do deny all very stoutly, though they all seem persons fitted for the work and not so credible in their tempers or way of speaking as Prance seems to be, who is also upon his oath, and did at first with furious imprecations before the Lords deny the fact. In the throng of examinations this night there was read the Plot of Jephson against your Grace, but the matter required no particular order. However, something hereof shall be noted in the *Gazette*.

I send your Grace the articles against my Lord Treasurer, upon presenting of which there arose the last night a long and warm debate, but so much in my Lord Treasurer's favour that it was ordered that he should not withdraw during the debates. The rest was adjourned until Tuesday, so as there seems little disposition to comply with the Commons in the imprisonment desired, and how they will resent it will prove a question. The King puts all his faculties at work and everything at stake and risk to serve that great Lord.

Mr. Montagu was this morning writ unto to attend, or else somebody from him, the opening his papers at a Council to meet again this afternoon; but he wrote to the Clerk of the Council that for fear the House should deem it a consenting to the breach of privilege he would first ask their permission; with which answer His Majesty was so little satisfied that he opened one of the four cabinets and examined several papers, but being very late he went no farther.

At my return home I find two packets from your Grace but cannot look into them it is so late, for which I do most humbly beg your Grace's pardon. My Lord Longford is upon his way for Dublin, and my Lord James has more understanding than his age requires.

1678, December 28.—What between the obligations to business and some to Christmas (having a throng of friends which I now leave) I cannot be very large. But, in the first place, I most humbly acknowledge your Grace's of the 17th and 18th instant, which I read to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and then left with him all the enclosed copies for his perusal, he being kept at home by the gout. And so it is that I have not myself as yet had time for the perusal of those copies, but perceive your Grace thought it but necessary to come to open dealing, and what use the observer may make thereof will much depend on the event of a great question here. In the meantime an unequal enemy that begets a little care and vigilance is none of the greatest misfortunes, either in troubled or quiet times.

On Thursday the Lords spent their time in arguments for their disagreement about the disbanding Bill. The Commons were entertained with a report of Prance's examination touching that wicked murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, touching which, having sent your Grace by the last post the report made by the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Ossory, I herewith send your Grace such other papers as complete the evidence taken from this Prance at the Council-Board; having only this to add that the Commons, being somewhat more particular in asking him whether he saw Bedloe in that room where the body lay next the garden, he said that besides the two of his acquaintance he found there were two or three which he knew not, whereof one was a slender man, as Bedloe is, and they both agree that it was with a dark lantern that they there saw the body. And 'tis Bedloe, that meeting accidentally with Prance, charges him with having been there. The King is now persuaded of the truth of this discovery, so that the Commons addressing to him for a present Commission to have Hall, Green and Berry tried, he presently sent answer that he would order it.

But it seems His Majesty is of a different mind in the matter of Ireland, Grove and Pickering, who are condemned. On Thursday night His Majesty was long attended by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer and Duke of Lauderdale. What the occasion was I do not hear. But as the Lord Chancellor came home and ill of the gout, so I am told in secret he had some other symptoms of discomposure in his mind, and returned yesterday morning to the same meeting carrying with him the Seal as well as the purse, and resolving to leave it there rather than apply it. Whether a pardon to the condemned were proposed I cannot say, but 'tis certain they were all in a manner on their knees for the execution, but it seems altogether in vain. Yesterday morning the Commons had the Recorder of London before them, and would have passed a vote that he had failed of in his duty in the non-execution of these men; but in hopes that His Majesty would answer the high and earnest expectation that is put on this matter, and take off the verbal inhibition that is given, they adjourned the debate until Monday, and the Recorder being impatient to be at ease in this matter 'tis said there is a reprieve given, which is likely to beget some discontent.

The Lords were yesterday till four of the clock upon the Lord Treasurer's cause, but concluded with a great majority that he should not be imprisoned, having the opinion of the Judges that not only for misprision but for treason itself bail may be taken as the Judge shall think fit. My Lord Strafford was very zealous for imprisonment. The last night His Majesty sent forth orders about ten of the clock that the Lords should this day meet in their robes, but 'tis said before two of the clock His Majesty did of himself change that resolution, so that a countermand was sent. The real occasion hereof was the great subject of discourse this morning, most thinking it a prorogation intended in favour of my Lord Treasurer, especially if the report be true that the condemned have an actual reprieve.

The Commons broke into a debate of what the Lords had yesterday so favourably determined for my Lord Treasurer, where it was only ordered that his Lordship should in a week's time return answer to the impeachment. Some would have had them desist until the Lords had given them some notice of their proceedings, but others said there needed no formal notice, since all their entries were of record as in other public courts, and, therefore, it behoved them to consider that by this precedent they might never come to reach any offender if the Judges shall determine of an accusation without having the proofs. And, therefore, being warm and much inclined to say something in this matter, they sent up Mr. Bennett to desire the Lords to sit in the afternoon, and in the meantime appointed a Committee to search precedents, and another Committee were to prepare themselves for a free conference with the Lords touching the Disbanding Bill, about which this afternoon there was a conference had, and, in appearance, so disadvantageous to the Lords that all things were almost yielded upon the place. And I suppose that Bill will at last stand as the Commons desire it. After this they would have returned to debate my Lord Treasurer's case, but the wiser of that party proposed adjourning, as well to let the Disbanding Bill go on, as because it was late, but on Monday morning they will resume that matter, and, in appearance, never leave it off.

There is a new witness come from Warwickshire to whom the King hath granted a pardon. I know not what he hath in particular confessed, but 'tis said something material concerning an army and a revolution of the Catholic cause. There is also one Dugdale secured in Warwickshire that has made an important confession to the prejudice of the Lord Stafford touching dangerous matters discoursed of. He was steward to the Lord Ashton, and, imparting the said discourse to one Evers, a Jesuit in that house, he, after an oath of secrecy given, did acquaint Dugdale how it was that the King must be taken off, with many damnable motives for doing the same. There are at the same time strange hints also from several parts abroad touching His Majesty's death, and a great design in hand which does infinitely perplex the minds of the wisest. But after all this nothing more than that His Majesty will not believe anything that relates to himself. He only believes that the Papists, as is natural to them, had some design in favour of their religion, and that Justice Godfrey was murdered in Somerset House. There went some Lords to the Tower to examine the Lord Stafford on the deposition of this Dugdale, who also says the Duke of Monmouth was to be murdered. And his Grace will be easy enough in the belief thereof, for he has appeared all that possibly he could fairly do to give His Majesty the same impressions which the bulk of his subjects have; he is also dissatisfied with my Lord Treasurer, and appears of late to be more a man of business than was expected he would prove.

I send your Grace copies of those two letters of my Lord Treasurer's given in the House by Mr. Montagu. I know not

if they are right. I return your Grace humble thanks for my report, which must, in this state of things, for a time lie by. And, to conclude, your Grace may please to read here enclosed the courtesy of Munster and my answer thereunto.

1678, December 31.—Having continued to tire your Grace every post with the proceedings of Parliament since this last session, I shall now for a time ease your Grace in that particular, the Parliament being yesterday morning prorogued unto the 4th of February next.

The order for the Lords' robes issued on Sunday night an hour after the Cabinet rose, there being nothing there transacted of it, nor anything mentioned thereof on Monday morning, when a Council was early and suddenly called to hear Mr. Prance upon a very extraordinary point, for he had been with His Majesty recanting all the evidence he had before given upon oath concerning the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey as a thing invented by him and a perfect lie. But the Lord Chancellor did so closely admonish him of his villainy and apostasy in this particular, and what was like to befall him thereupon, that by the time he got back to Newgate he confessed to Captain Richardson that his first deposition was true and this last declaration a lie, and that he was induced unto it by one in prison, a servant to a priest, who whispered to him thro' the keyhole that for what he had declared he would not only be hanged but damned too. This second retractation has wonderfully damped some, who were ready to catch at any twig to disbelieve the manner of that villainy. After the Council rose His Majesty went and prorogued the Parliament, using words without paper to the effect enclosed. The thing was very surprising unto all, and, as is usual in such cases and very natural to many melancholy, ill-boding things were heard, and some much more angry and malicious than the thing would bear. Many lies were also presently dispersed, as if the guards were looking out for Mr. Montagu and some other member; that Oates was fled, etc., which were nothing so. I was certainly told the last night that my Lord Treasurer had in view the best part of the materials for disbanding the army, and that he would have the honour of doing even the drudgery of it himself.

This morning the Council sat, and His Majesty first declared that he would have a Committee sit from day to day to inquire into the Plot and into the murder, and did particularly recommend the care of both to the vigilance of the Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Bridgewater, and Earl of Essex, never to fail that Committee which is more numerous. But when it was added also that all the papers should be sent for that lay at either House in order to frame the indictments, and that the Lords should presently be prosecuted, and the Hall made clear against the Term, and that the whole House of Lords should be commissioned for their trial, there arose a very great and weighty debate whether a trial by indictment could proceed which formerly was begun by a jury of Middlesex, whenas the cause was since depending by

impeachment in Parliament, and only hindered by a prorogation. It ended at last in this—that the Judges should on Friday next attend to give their opinion herein.

His Majesty farther acquainted the Board that for the speedier disbanding of the army he was resolved to retrench all his expenses, and rather live as a private man than not compass that work. And, therefore, he did order the Lord Treasurer to stop all manner of particular payments, unless such as by Act of Parliament were enjoined to be made. Then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who by order did attend, were called in, and by His Majesty, in very effectual expressions, told that he had great confidence in their loyalty and peaceable government; that he would preserve them in that peace, and in the Protestant religion and their trade, and would presently pay off the army to show the world he intended not to rule that way. And, therefore, bid them not to be misled by malicious men, who are addicted to interpret all his actions amiss, and to breed confusion if they were able. The Lord Mayor assured His Majesty that all things were in due order, and should so continue, but there was one disquiet which possessed them all, and that was for the safety of his Majesty's person. His Majesty acknowledged their kindness and told them there was fear indeed of that, and perhaps from others more than what they thought. He asked them how they were guarded in the city, and, as if they needed not be at so much trouble and expense, the Lord Mayor replied that a whole regiment watched every night, and part of a regiment by day. His Majesty said nothing to alter that, but bid them go home and comfort all honest men.

His Majesty appearing in this disposition of doing all things that the conjuncture required, Mr. Speaker told him frankly how universal an expectation was fixed upon the execution of Ireland, Grove and Pickering, who are condemned. But His Majesty did, on the other side, manifest wonderful reluctance thereunto—that he had no manner of satisfaction in the truth of the evidence, but rather of its falsehood, and that when they were so busy in revenging the innocent blood of Godfrey it was hard for him to consent to the shedding of more; and that he well remembered what his father suffered for consenting to the Earl of Strafford's death. Most of the Board did labour with His Majesty to show the disparity of the cases, the ill-grounded scruple His Majesty had taken, and that the evidence and trial were much fairer than His Majesty had been told, and that he could not be answerable for any wrong done or innocent blood shed, but it lay upon the witnesses and jury, if such a thing could be thought of in this case. None laboured herein more vigorously than the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chancellor and the Lord Lauderdale, who, it seems, had in private done their uttermost before. At last it was ordered that when the Judges come on Friday so many of them as sat upon that trial are to inform His Majesty how the proofs appeared. And the Bishops that are of the Board are then to be present and to assist His Majesty as to the point of conscience in this matter.

'Tis not likely the Lord Mayor did understand where His Majesty meant that his fear lay, but he has frankly owned on

other occasions that there were substantial fears to be entertained concerning Fifth Monarchy men and the Republicans, and the discourse of those who undervalue the Plot runs all into this—that these heats and prosecutions against Popery are but the struggles of a fanatic party, who, when they have got their will in that, will tread the whole path of their predecessors, and make things end as fatal to the crown as formerly. There is no doubt but there is a malicious fanatic party in the kingdom who hope to thrive by all disquiets; but, to believe that which looks remote to be in a superior degree above other danger, which the whole nation thinks even imminent, is a struggle which can produce no good, and I beseech Almighty God to direct His Majesty in the choice of that which is best and most secure for his person, and most leading to the persuasion of his subjects to be of his mind or the inducing of him to be of theirs, for in this only can consist our happiness.

I am apt to think His Majesty may ere long bring to the Board some discovery of the tampering of fanatics, for *as* Bishop of London] lately told *rp* [Sir Robert Southwell] that there would ere long be made appear at the Board a plain tampering between *bm* [Duke of Bucks] and *gq* [France]. And now, of late, in all things concerning *te* [Lord Treasurer] *as* [Bishop of London] hath forsaken *re* [Shaftesbury].

It was a mistaken, though general report, that Mr. Solicitor and the two Holmes were in the condition of Sir Stephen Fox; but Mr. Solicitor this day attending the Council, was sent to by His Majesty to forbear his attendance there.

My Lord of Ossory, who has this day flown post to give your Grace a visit during the short recess, will let your Grace know how much and how justly we are all here charmed with my Lord James; besides his being a very fine lad in appearance, he has, in my judgment, an understanding far beyond his years. I have told your Grace how the party I sought for to instruct him is at last not to be had. I had my eye on the event of what was necessary to make him a freeman and at liberty, which was the marriage of his daughter, but she fell ill and has continued so all this summer, and is scarce as yet perfectly recovered.

I have just now the honour of your Grace's of the 24th, and therein some copies enclosed, but have only read that of the 20th from Munster, of which very date I have one now to myself, and that in a style quite metamorphosed, for it says that on the 12th instant a hellish Plot was, by God's mercy, discovered at Dublin, where, etc. And, again, that the Protestants have of late been very hearty, the militia in all places being now mustering and setting up, and several very welcome proclamations having been lately issued to animate them and to mortify the Papists. I hope the method your Grace has taken and resolves to take may make a very good reformation. And so I wish to your Grace and my Lady Duchess a most happy new year, this being now almost the last hour of the last.

1678-9, January 11.—I am to acknowledge the honour of your Graces of the 5th instant, which chiefly relates to my Lord James,

concerning whom I here enclose to your Grace all that hath passed between my Lord Bishop and me, save what I have just writ unto his Lordship viz.:—That there might chambers be prepared with all possible haste, for that my Lord James would come to him the next week, and for that purpose that his Lordship would appoint the necessary furniture to be provided there, and that this week there should be a stock of fifty pounds sent down to begin the world withal. I further told his Lordship that as to expenses I had thought five hundred pounds a year would have been a splendid allowance, but that when I entered into a conjecture of particulars I found it swell much higher, and did therefore send his Lordship a paper thereof that it might be retrenched by him. And I here send your Grace a copy of the same paper, which I this day read to my Lord Arlington, whose genius I find does not lie in the point of retrenchment, for he thinks all is well. But truly all ought to come within five hundred pounds, and to cut the coat accordingly, and for a good beginning I should think fifty pounds a year were sufficient for Monsieur Drelincourt, while he continued in England; for if this young spark be not taught some frugality now, it is not like to come by nature unto him. I have writ to the Bishop that he will eat in the Hall, for otherwise he would miss of observing much of the University benefit which teaches men to live by rule.

Everybody expects that my Lord Sunderland will soon have the French business in his management, and become eldest Secretary, and that a successor will speedily be found for Mr. Secretary Coventry, and now Sir Lionel Jenkins is they say thought preferable to Sir William Temple. The first part of this work revived so much talk in reference to France, that the frowardness of some and the apprehensions of others grow boundless, but I have no time to enlarge, for the King this night sent me upon a message that has taken up all my time.

1678-9, January 14. Spring Garden.—I have since this new year began never wrought less than ten hours a day, but I begrudge not the labour that tends to the discovery and punishment of a most hellish design against the life of His Majesty, of which I am convinced as of my creed. And I sometimes see His Majesty so much in the same mind upon this evidence of Dugdale, that is plain and honest, that the execution of the three condemned and meeting of the Parliament seems not to be doubted. How it varies at other times I cannot answer for. The Lords Stafford, Bellasis and Arundel are hereupon made close prisoners. Dugdale knows no particulars of Scotland or Ireland, but that it was a foundation laid by them that both were to be put into troubles and the Pope engaged for assistance to the business of Ireland. I am quite tired and must beg pardon.

1678-9, March 8.—By the last post I gave your Grace a long account how matters stood. Only in relation to the Lady Anne His Majesty takes to himself the stopping of her, and that he told

the Duke if she went she might probably be sent for back, and if that were demanded from him he should not deny it; and that the young lady cried as much as the rest to part company. But some that took very close and accurate notice wondered much to see so little sorrow in *iu* [the King] and *pq* [Queen Catherine.]

Here enclosed you have His Majesty's gracious speech in which you see Popery, Plot, the murderers, and the Army exposed to whatever the Parliament shall think fit. And yet these things have begun with a very untoward rub. For when the Commons returned to choose their Speaker, they had got it among them that Sir Thomas Meres was to be recommended, and imputing this to some friendship from my Lord Great Chamberlain, whose son has got the rich heiress of Wales, Mrs. Wynn, who was left in the disposal of the Bishop of Rochester, who is intimate with Sir Thomas. This remote and ill-grounded fancy served to hold him in jealousy, who heretofore was a leader of the host. So that, before Sir John Ernley could rise up to recommend, Birch proposed Mr. Seymour, using many arguments to show how acceptable a person he must needs be unto His Majesty. So, the House being all in noise, some dragged him to the chair, where he made a very handsome speech, and among other things [said] that he did believe the only thing His Majesty and they were like to differ in would be in the choice they had made. But though nothing he could say could appear or divert the clamour in his favour, it seems he knew very well that some other person was intended; for that the Lord Treasurer had before acquainted him with His Majesty's purpose to put into his care the conduct of matters in that House, wherein he would be of much more use, and he seemed to acquiesce therein. But being thus violently chosen, the House adjourned until the next day at two of the clock; and he came presently to His Majesty, who, hearing how matters went, seemed to acquiesce therein. But others were of a different sentiment, so that yesterday, when he came up to the bar of the House of Lords, to represent the choice which the Commons had made, the Lord Chancellor declared His Majesty's disapproval thereof; ordering them to return to make another choice. And at their return Sir Thomas Meres was named to them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but they were in much heat and fury, which gave occasion for a meeting last night at the Cabinet, and the Council was this morning summoned to meet at 8 of the clock, where this whole argument was in debate; most arguing that the right of approval was so clear in His Majesty, and so great a point as that he was never to recede therefrom, and by no means to vary from his disapproval. But since the right of choosing was as clearly in the Commons, and that they were perhaps distasted with the person recommended, the best expedient was to let them proceed to the choice of a third person, without naming any. And when the matter was just come to this temperament, there came four persons sent with a message from the House, which also it seems met, and finding they could not come to any resolution by the time His Majesty had fixed them, sent to pray for a longer time; which His Majesty

did not only grant, but bid them go to the choice of a third person and to attend him on Tuesday morning. Mr. Seymour absented himself as well from the Board as from the House. But when the message came to them, some began to think this a diverting of their right, and still seemed unsatisfied. But it was moved to adjourn until Monday morning that they might consult the entry in the House of Lords, and in what terms this matter was couched, and so they adjourned accordingly.

'Tis a strange thing to see how little animosity is laid down, notwithstanding the sending away of the Duke, which was doubtless thought sufficient to have wiped away all. But things fall out many times with contrary events, and there is thought to be in this rejection of Mr. Seymour some personal disrespect, which raises him into a great name, and works contrary effects elsewhere.

This morning at Council His Majesty did amend a word or two of what he writ and declared on Monday, touching his never being contracted or married before.

[The remainder of this letter is wanting, and it is consequently unsigned ; but the handwriting is Sir R. Southwell's.]

[Enclosure referred to in the foregoing letter.]

REPRESENTATION OF THE COMMONS TOUCHING THE CHOICE OF A SPEAKER.

1678-9, March 11.—We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do with all obedience return your Majesty most humble thanks for the favourable acceptation and gracious answer your Majesty was pleased to return to our late message : wherein your Majesty was pleased not only to allow of a longer time to deliberate of what was delivered us by the Lord Chancellor relating to the choice of a Speaker, but likewise to express so great a care not to infringe our privileges ; and do desire your Majesty to believe no subjects ever had a more tender regard than ourselves of your Majesty and your royal prerogative, which we shall always acknowledge to be vested in the Crown for the benefit and protection of your Majesty's subjects. And, therefore, for the clearing of all doubts that may arise in your royal mind upon that occasion now before us, we crave leave humbly to represent to your Majesty that it is the undoubted right of the Commons to have the free election of one of their members to be their Speaker to perform the service of the House, and that the Speaker so elected and presented according to custom hath by the constant practice of all former ages been continued Speaker, and executed that employment, unless his person hath been excused upon some corporal disability which hath been alleged by themselves or some others in their behalf in full Parliament. According to this usage Mr. Edward Seymour was unanimously chosen by us upon consideration of his great abilities and sufficiency for the place, of which we had large experience in the last Parliament, and was presented by us to your Majesty as a person we conceived would every way be most acceptable to your royal judgment.

This being the true state of the case we do in all humility lay it before your Majesty's view, hoping that your Majesty, upon due consideration of former precedent, will rest satisfied with our proceedings, and will think fit not to deprive us of so necessary a member by employing him in any other service ; but to give us such a gracious answer as your Majesty and your royal predecessors have always done heretofore upon the like occasion. That so we may without more loss of time proceed to the despatch of those important affairs for which we were convened ; wherein we doubt not but we shall so behave ourselves as to give an ample testimony to the whole world of our duty and affection to your Majesty's service, and our care of the peace and prosperity of all your kingdoms.

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER.

Gentlemen : This is but loss of time. Go back and do as I directed you.

1678-9, March 22.—When your Grace has read the enclosed votes you will see how the Earl of Danby is turned upon fortune's wheel, and how the prosecution of the Earl of Clarendon is come home to him. The Lords seemed to close with what His Majesty would have done towards him in leaving him what he hath, but putting incapacity on him by Act of Parliament. The Commons seem not willing to acquiesce therein, but to invalidate his pardon for being granted after an impeachment, and not passed in the forms. They seem resolved to prosecute him to condemnation, and that if His Majesty will then pardon, that the same contain all the black badges whereof he shall be convicted. The Lord Chancellor did dissuade his taking the present pardon, as being a record of his guilt, and writ expressly against doing of it in the manner it was. For the King commanded him to bring the Seal to Whitehall, where, in private, the Earl of Bath present, a servant was commanded to take out the Seal and apply it to a parchment ready signed Charles R.

Bedloe did the last night accuse my Lord Danby of tampering with him to take a great reward and fly into Switzerland or New England. Bedloe has again, as before, touched upon the Queen, and all the witnesses are heard with great attention. All the mismanagements and evil maxims of government since the Restoration are ripped up and exposed. There is no contradiction given to anything of this nature that is said, and in truth the attempt of it from a few would be fruitless. All agree that there is much to be amended, and being possessed of the authority for doing the same, when they will think fit to lay it down and where to have the reformation stop no man can yet foretell.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 1st and 8th instant, and shall make use of the annexed papers the best I can. My Lord Primate's letter is excellently well done, and I am making several copies thereof,* and so is my Lord of Ossory's secretary ; but 'tis now so late that I can add no more.

* See the letter of Lord Chancellor Boyle to Earl of Orrery at p. 350, *supra*

1679, March 25.—I had yesterday the honour of your Grace's of the 16th and 20th, but, in truth, have not had time yet to read the papers annexed ; for, besides what comes to my share of other concerns, I, who have almost killed myself labouring the discovery of the Plot, have been aspersed for suppression of evidence. But the House of Lords were pleased to give me this day an honourable vote for my vindication, and I hope speedily to have the offender at the bar of the House of Commons. There are some rascals who think we are already come to that pass that 'tis but naming a servant of the King's and he is gone. But although the House of Commons are growing inexorable where faults are apparent, yet they will distinguish between those who do their duty and those who do not—at least such is my hope, and I doubt not but I shall find it so in my own case, and be able to tell your Grace something of it by the next. For the Lords have not only cleared me but put me in trust to methodize the papers before them, and appointed two of their clerks to attend me in it.

The enclosed votes will show your Grace the catastrophe of the Earl of Danby. I see nobody now so likely to have a share of credit with His Majesty as the Earl of Essex, who with some other Lords are like to be in the Treasury, for Sir Edward Dering adheres to the Customs and the Lord Alington goes to be Constable of the Tower, but what the other three do I know not.

There has yet been no division in the House of Commons. All things pass on with a powerful stream, so that opposition is so far from being useful, that it is become dangerous. The Plot will certainly have an entire and thorough prosecution, and Popery be laid fast for one age, and till these things are well over there will be no words of money ; but all think it high time to be in defence against the dangers of France, and to see that persons of entire zeal in the Protestant religion be everywhere fixed in commands and authorities. But it is grown too late to trouble your Grace with more at this time.

1679, April 12.—The enclosed letter from Mr. Drelincourt will show your Grace how he extenuates his affront to Mr. Berkeley ; but he so magnifies Mr. Berkeley's to my Lord James as that I cannot believe my Lord James would bear it either with that patience or that trouble he mentions, but rather give Mr. Berkeley the cause to complain, for he does not outmatch my Lord and, therefore, is unlikely to outdo him, for I understand my Lord James is rather too brisk than too tame. But your Grace will see that all is like to be thoroughly composed by what Mr. Aldrich now writes, and by what the Bishop writes there was a part to be acted here. And my nephew has been already with Mr. Berkeley who came to town in discontent. But he will to-morrow go and wait upon my Lord of Ossory and forget all.

As to the public affairs that concern your Grace, I know some better hand will impart what is stirring from time to time in the House of Lords. The paper which was there presented some friends would have put in print, which is hitherto only restrained by the caution of printing that which may be now called a pro-

ceeding in that House. But this is only a stop till others advise the leaping over it. But our Dutch friend likes very well the other letter written by a dissenter and does propagate it in the city, and I believe we shall have it in print. He cannot tell who wrote the letter of the 5th of February from Dublin, but he will find out who received it. He says they here report that a great stir has been made on that side to find out the author of it. I think the two proclamations issued there on the 26th past are of a strain that ought to satisfy the most incensed opposers, but we did not here think fit to make use of that letter sent over to Mr. Mulys as intercepted, for reasons that were obvious.

I should tire out your Grace if I did mention but half the melancholy conjectures of some that yet seem to wish well to the public—but that your Grace may know how the variety of discourses run—some will lament to observe that my Lady Portsmouth and my Lord Sunderland seem to have greatest credit in the Court; that the inclinations of His Majesty do not run with the stream of expectation, and though everything is at last granted which is desired, yet the thanks are lost for want of some expedition or frankness in the manner of granting. On the other side it is noted that whoever comes voluntarily in to offer his service, or is called out of the crowd to assist, that man seems immediately to lose all the power and virtue that was in him by coming to Whitehall. He is looked upon as a man that has made conditions for himself, and as it were listed to obstruct the reformation. But that this should be the present state of things now that the Duke and Treasurer are departed is of very melancholy consequence, and especially if there should be any reason or foundation for such reflections; for they still imply a jealousy that we are influenced by France, and would endeavour to find supply by other means than by the Parliament, which jealousy has occasioned the vote about the annexing of Tangier, and Jamaica has also fallen into the debate and may have a share in the Bill and perhaps other of the foreign plantations. And as to the other part touching persons, the instance now is very pregnant in that of Mr. Seymour, who, but the other day, was by general acclamation made Speaker; yet now that Serjeant Gregory was designed to succeed Baron Littleton that is dead, and Mr. Seymour to enter the chair, he has found so much aversion from the same men that all his industries cannot avail, so that the present Speaker is likely to continue, and this night a vote has passed that no motion for the change of a Speaker shall at any time be made till after eleven of the clock.

There are some general things which, much like a torrent, run on without stop or mitigation, as the attainder against the Earl of Danby, the prosecution of the Plot, and trial of those impeached, effectual bills against Popery, and in order to the common defence against France the militia must be made formidable. All places of strength will be looked into, and in what hands they are, and great alterations, I presume, as to this particular, as well in relation to things at sea as at land. And until there be a great progress in all or most of these matters there is no imagination of getting

money, although the present wants are so great, and which, when the fleet about midsummer may come home, will be so augmented as that near a million would be necessary to pay off and give ease to these and such like straits that are at hand. The army that is yet undisbanded comes to about £1,100 a day, and though the state of all that matter hath been ready for a week, yet other things take up the time, and the rather because they are not in number sufficient to give any fear. And as there is a disposition in the House to pay them off by some speedy way of raising a sum proportionable, yet in all probability it will be lodged in the Chamber of London.

But among all the great difficulties in view there is that of the Succession, which some do often grate upon as often as they propose effectual remedies against Popery. But others who speak less thereof in public seem yet more perplexed with the difficulties that arise herein, for they argue that Popery will inevitably prevail with the successor. And when they think of such laws as may prevent it they do not only find insuperable difficulties to contend withal in the future, but even in the present; so that they ease their thoughts upon another expedient, and this regards the Queen. And although for the present this point be not in agitation for the sake of others which urge more for despatch, yet it is likely in its time to take place and fill the minds of all. God Almighty send that in the progress of so many great things in prospect there happen no strifes or confusion among us.

1679, April 15.—I have been this afternoon with my Dutch friend and committed to his care the printing that extract which my Lord of Ossory presented, as also the letter in confutation of that libel of the 5th of February, which I find was sent over hither to one Mr. Bonnell, but from whom cannot be learned. There will be a letter to introduce these two papers which shall first have the approbation of the said Lord and my Lord Chamberlain before it go to the press—both their Lordships having voted already for the printing of the other two; but it is privately left to the care of my Dutch friend, who has stood up stiff in the cause, and will deserve the acknowledgment that my Lord of Ossory intends him. I have been the more concerned to promote this method since I was told by William Penn that he heard of a great Lord that intended to come over from Munster loaden with complaints, not against your Grace, but to show the lamentations of the gentlemen of that province as to the nakedness of the land, and to submit all to the election and regulation of the House of Commons. 'Tis said His Majesty will appear to-morrow in his robes to give the royal assent to the attainder against the Earl of Danby.

1679, April 19.—I here acknowledge the exceeding great honour of your Grace's of the 5th instant, with your concern for me therein expressed. And, in addition to what your Grace will elsewhere find, I have this fresh matter to add, as what was told me to-night at Whitehall and not to be doubted of. That the Earl of Shaftes-

bury, the Lord Roberts, the Lord Halifax, and the Lord Holles are just coming into the Council. That a select Committee as well for the foreign as home affairs of greatest importance shall hereafter sit in the Council chamber. That the office of Ordnance shall be in commission as also the Treasury of the Navy. That new Commissioners shall enter into the Commission of the Admiralty, some of them to be practical men and to have salaries. That the Commission of the Treasury will receive some change, and in particular as to Mr. Hyde and Mr. Godolphin. The Duke of Buckingham does all this while disappear, no man knowing where he is. This night has brought in three packets, and among them many papers which I have and shall turn the best I can for your Grace's service, for 'tis the business in the world I am most heartily intent upon. Hitherto my Lord Chamberlain makes no progress, and while he has still enemies in power he is very well contented that they will let him alone with his staff.

Just now, at ten of the clock, my Lord of Ossory called in upon me and found me reading a letter from Sir William Petty, where he says the Parliament zeal about Ireland had set several clubs and meetings at work to draw up advices to be sent for England on that account; that he himself had just finished two sheets in number, weight and measure to that purpose, but knew not what to do with them. I mean the next post to desire him to send them unto me. And whereas he laments to me that your Grace does nothing for him upon the King's letter, but puts him to take a course at law—which he might have taken ten years since—I have formerly desired your Grace to secure that man's friendship, not only because he has married my kinswoman, but for the very same reasons that your Grace has been kind to *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick]; and I am confident, as things go, his friendship may be a valuable thing.

'Tis said my Lord Treasurer will for his vindication lay some blame upon several, among which are named my Lord of St. Albans, my Lord Sunderland, a great Duchess, and Sir Joseph Williamson. I almost forgot to tell your Grace that my Lord of Ossory desires your Grace would not fail to oblige Sir William Petty.

1679, April 22.—By the last post your Grace heard what was the state of our thoughts as to yourself. Whether the enclosed great change adds or diminishes to that point I cannot certainly tell, for there are arguments on both sides, and whether this great example of the dissolution and revival of the Council will be matter of precedent in Ireland I cannot tell. They sat this night and appointed several Committees. In that of Intelligence, which will be for secret affairs, there enters the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Essex, Sir William Temple, and of course the Lord Chancellor, Lord President and two Secretaries, who are of this as well as of all other Committees. For that of Ireland there is the Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Essex, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Halifax, Lord Roberts, and Mr. Seymour. The business of Tangier will be also brought to a Committee.

My Lord Sunderland seems to be in great trust, and Sir William Temple close in with him. The declaration, I am told, was of his drawing. All the world admire how Sir William Coventry could be left out, but tho' for that and other such like reasons many of the House of Commons are enraged, and especially to see all fresh-water men in the Admiralty, yet there were the last night bonfires made in the city on account of this great change.

cc [The Lord Chancellor] told me that he was called in only at the conclusion of this work, and told me he had all the pain in the world in *hn* [Lord. Halifax], so that he is not so near *ks* [Ld. Lieut. of Ireland] as was imagined.

I have spoken seriously this day with *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] and he liked my proposal very well that *fh* [Ormond] should write to *re* [Shaftesbury] and disown the late mistake of *mo* [Ossory], especially since he has professed not only to *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] but others of your friends that he gave not the provocation, and that his aim was at *k/* [Lauderdale], so that a letter is thought very seasonable as things now stand, and *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] will even persuade *mo* [Ossory] himself to present it. And I pray consider well of this point, and do not easily reject it. It may not be amiss if you congratulate *fw* [Sir Wm. Temple] who is a sort of tutor to the *mb* [now] great *qz* [Secretary Sunderland] and may influence that cabal to divert mischief, especially if you desire him to call on *rp* [Sir R. Southwell] to be informed how matters stand, that so *fh* [Ormond] be not run down—at least *fw* [Sir Wm. Temple] may properly be put on this work.

David Walter is dead, and so George Legge succeeds him; but they say the Lord Russell shall be Governor of Portsmouth. The exchange will not be liked so well of Sir John Lanier for Governor of Jersey upon the death of Sir Thomas Morgan. They say Mr. Powle shall be in the place of Sir John Ernley, and that there shall be a great change in the Lieutenancys, Commission of the Peace, and what not? But particularly that the Ordnance and Treasury of the Navy shall be in commission, and many talk also of the Great Seal. If all this will save *pb* [Lady Portsmouth] it is very well; but most think otherwise, though that be a main scope in this matter.

Your letter about the Lord Tyrone was read this night, and, after debate, things left in the legal method they are. The other, with a narrative, are referred to the Committee for Ireland to be considered as they think fit. Unless your Grace lend a helping hand to the money I am there expecting I shall be left in the suds.

1679, April 26.—I doubt not but your Grace will hear as well from my Lord Longford as Mr. Secretary Coventry what they have discoursed with His Majesty in your Grace's concerns, and how that nothing but fair weather can be collected from thence. But as to the mind of others there are some who, having malice, would do anything that they could, and others, without malice, would do anything which they thought popular, even to save themselves, and on the other side avoid it as they think it might

do themselves hurt. And upon these waves of uncertainty we are at the present tossed, and God knows what will be the conclusion. On Monday or Tuesday, at farthest, our Dutch friend will have forth the things that was under his care, which will certainly undeceive a great many.

This day the Lord Lauderdale was sharply assaulted by Mr. Bennett, but only as an earnest of his further intentions for him, and so also another Lord of the Council, who has thirty masses a day said for him in Ireland, which, upon inquiry, I find is the Lord Privy Seal. I suppose this night your Grace will have intimation to present the list of of a new Council from thence, and when you consider the reconciliations that are made in the model here, something of that nature may perhaps be necessary on that side. But instead of two Dukes, two Marquises, etc., it may be thought fit to consider the predominant interest there of adventurer, soldier, '49 man, etc., and whether Sir William Petty may not, as things stand, be fit to be made one I leave to your Grace's consideration.

To-morrow, tho' Sunday, the House will meet, and doubtless break into the whole argument about the succession, wherein all parties concerned, either for the Duke or for the Queen, expect some extraordinary resolution. The Secret Committee declare they are ready for the trial of the Lords, tho' some are warm and concerned to bring on the Lord Danby's business first. He hath pleaded his pardon to that degree that I am afraid my Lord Chancellor may suffer some ill blow in that matter.

1679, April 29.—The House sat on Sunday last upon the proposal of securing the King's person, and the Protestant religion, in his time and in the time of his successor. As to the first part they came to an early vote of addressing for a proclamation to banish all Papists twenty miles from this town. In the debate of the second point all did agree in one desire of finding out a way, if they could, to make it the interest of the Papists to preserve His Majesty's life, and how that it might be worse with them in the time of his successor. Some were for declaring a general destruction of the Papists in case His Majesty should fall by a violent hand. Others were for having the Parliament propose officers to fill up all employments in the Militia, Lieutenancy, Justice, Navy, etc., which might be to the satisfaction of the public in all events. Others, thinking this encroached too much, would have His Majesty name all now and consult his Parliament in their approbation. Others were for making it lawful for the subject to resist any that should pretend to act upon them by commission of any Popish Prince. Others were for allowing the Duke all his right so he would turn Protestant. Others noting the difficulty to obstruct the Duke's right would try if there might not be a way for the King to have a son of his own (if he had not one already), and another named downright that the King could not be safe with *pb* [Duchess of Portsmouth]; nor was it fit as to the succession that the end of marriage being frustrated there

should be that impediment to the public redress that was provided for in a private family. Most seemed to allow of this opinion, that if a Popish successor did enter there was an end of Protestant religion. There was interwoven in this debate much of the Duke's being mentioned in most of the letters as the encourager of the Papists to several of their undertakings. At length it came to these two votes—that the Duke's being a Papist and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown of England have given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present design and conspiracy of the Papists against the King and the Protestant religion; and that the Secret Committee should report on Wednesday all those passages found in the several papers and confessions of Coleman that shew how far the Duke hath been aiding and promoting these matters. And it was voted that the concurrence of the Lords should be desired in the first declaratory vote. And this was the work of that day, saving that the address was ordered about having the condemned priests to be executed.

In these debates Mr. Secretary Coventry spoke freely his mind against the methods proposed for hampering His Majesty's authority and against disturbing the succession. Upon which occasion he was fallen upon with fury, and so reproached of his having cheated the House into a belief of a French war, that it gave perfect scandal, if not terror, to all that serve His Majesty with far different talent either of ability or innocence. Yesterday Mr. Bennett fell very severe upon Mr. Pepys, as if he had favoured one Aylmer, a Lieutenant to Captain Roydon, in the sweepstakes, the Captain complaining at the bar he was only turned out for calling his Lieutenant Papist. But, besides this matter, that was very poorly proved, other angry objections came in about this and that disorder in the fleet, and about the late passes, So that a committee was presently appointed to examine all enormities in general and in particular, and Mr. Pepys, however prepared, must certainly be destroyed. And there passed some reflections also upon Colonel Legge, which he answered very well unto, but little is like to avail him or any other that is looked on as favoured by the Duke. It seems the Lords are to-morrow to debate the vote sent up by the Commons, which gave the occasion of calling this night an Extraordinary Council, and from which the Clerks were ordered to withdraw. It sat about three hours close, and meets to-morrow again at eight of the clock. *pi* [Lord Privy Seal] told me they had had a good night and hoped all might do well, and that is all I hear.

Your Grace will here see in print what some friend thought necessary to be so, and *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] as well as *mo* [Ossory] liked the draft made by *rp* [S. R. Southwell] in the figure of an adventurer reconciled to truth. I was told by a friend that Mr. Bennett, being asked whom he meant in his intended charges, said not only my Lord Privy Seal but */h* [Ormond] also; 'tis certain this he said. But *cc* [Ld. Chancellor] hears that some of the Commons having a hint that his removal is brewing at

Court do begin by a cross eddy to resolve to oppose it, but this good point is yet very young and weak.

Fz [Earl of Essex] has a great eye on the Government, but more on *te* [Lord Treasurer], and *re* [Lord Shaftesbury] most agree has a mind to be *ce* [Chancellor], and if so 'tis not likely he should be long without it. *De* [Mr. Sec. Coventry] is very opposite to *ce* [Lord Chamberlain] in his opinion that */h* [Ormond] should come hither as well for the inconveniency of deserting such a charge in so ticklish a time as to run here into the mouth of an impeachment, if such a thing, as some think, be raking together; whereas distance may afford several advantages by length of time, etc. For my own part I am heart-sick at what I see done and doing, and also about what is left undone in a time of so much danger. I cannot imagine what your Grace should do more than the things you do, and to continue the same steady hand in this time of so much uncertainty and agitation.

1679, May 3.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 23rd past, and surely Mr. Gandy's representation is a mistake, for Mr. Aldrich, the tutor, has done nothing but well, and the fault that was belonged to the Monsieur, and this is my Lord of Ossory's opinion, and I believe that matter is now all quieted.

The enclosed speeches will acquaint your Grace with very new matter, and of what argument will, on Monday next, come into a long and important debate, namely, about the succession. Upon reading these speeches in the House of Commons there was a very great disposition to the giving thanks, but some of the men of note there opposed it, till the matter were *there* thoroughly examined; and between what has been there said and what has been since discoursed the opinions fall under these three heads. Some, because of the difficulties of knowing whether a King be Protestant or Papist, propose that a law be made and calculated in particular for the Duke's reign, taking him for a Papist and irrecoverably to be always such. Others, who have either provoked the Duke or think there can be no safety in any law in case he reign, would, by a law, step over his head and entitle the Princess of Orange and her issue to succeed immediately upon the King's death. Others do mutter that His Majesty is so backward in agreeing to the execution of Pickering and the priests who have been condemned, and seem to express so much jealousy even of this effect of His Majesty's natural clemency, that they are for present laws of defence against Popery, and that the model laid down in the speech should even presently be put in practice, and what this matter finally will settle in God only can tell.

There was great expectation this day of an assault in Parliament upon the Duke of Lauderdale, which may, in this conjuncture, end much to his prejudice, and 'tis not likely to be long deferred, and many talk as if things in Scotland were grown insupportable and at the point of coming to blows. There is also much displeasure conceived in the House against my Lord Chief Justice North, not only on the score of his being one of the Judges who

reversed the opinion of Sir Matthew Hale, who fined the Sheriff of Norfolk £800 for a false return to the prejudice of Sir Samuel Barnardiston to serve in Parliament, but upon other scores, upon which I can give no good account, whether it be in matters relating to the Plot or that they take him for a man of arbitrary principles. There is now also a strong whisper that the Great Seal will be put into Commission, as into the hands of the Lord Roberts, Serjeant Ellis and Sir Robert Atkins. Some add Sir Francis Winnington and another, and that this is brought to pass at Whitehall and will speedily have its effect, and accordingly my Lord Chancellor does prepare his mind not to be surprised at it. And if it so happens many will think he hath deserved better from the Court. Many are doubtful that this constitution of the Admiralty will obstruct the giving of money, and that several of them will quit the preferment. But Sir Harry Capel sets his heart upon it and has got very ample powers to be inserted in the Commission, and desires to have Will. Herbert for Secretary, so that Mr. Pepys is to be pulled in pieces with complaints poured in, and there is a Committee directed, whereof he is the chairman, in order to effect this work. My Lord Halifax is just growing into great approbation with His Majesty, and if he holds his resolution to despise preferment he will be able to govern all that have it. The House of Lords have not lately meddled with Irish business and are growing full of other work, so that your Grace will have a little holiday, and this is what we all begin to hope and think.

1679, May 10.—I acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 30th past. My Lord of Ossory communicated to me what your Grace writ to Mr. Secretary, and this night both he and my Lord Chamberlain did me the honour to call at my house, where, after beating over the troublesome particulars of the enclosed paper, which touch upon the public concerns, we soon all agreed in the same opinion, which I am here to signify for them, that neither Ireland or any man in it can at present be thought of in this crowd of things depending and of nearer concern. So that 'tis thought best not to deliver your Grace's letter to Mr. Secretary at all. But if your Grace please to write the same again, or any other, with the variation you think fit, and leave it without date to be presented in such a conjuncture as may require it, care shall be taken to do therein as shall be found best and fittest for your Grace's service.

I give your Grace many thanks for the remembrance of my money, which will help me to stop one gap when it can come. I must confess I find so little encouragement in my station here and so much trouble in prospect that I often wish I could lay down the cudgels on the same terms I took them up.

1679, May 10.—It is hard in a little time and when great things are so close crowded to give your Grace a distinct account of what is now depending. The Address of the Commons against my Lord Lauderdale has hitherto received no answer. I send your Grace the proclamation issued on the barbarous murder of the

Bishop of St. Andrews, and know not what descant to make as yet on the conjunction of these misfortunes of this great statesman and that prelate—only many do wish that they may not hear of more disorder in Scotland. And 'tis not improbable, as things here stand but the most popular expedient will be taken, and that which may best suppress any further insolences there.

There is at present arisen a great difference between the two Houses, the Lords having refused to mix in a Committee with the Commons for adjusting the method of trying the Lords. This happened more particularly about the case of the Earl of Danby, but the Commons do mix the concern of the Popish Lords and that all in one, that the Lords might have the less to answer in case they persist to refuse accommodation. And because the Bishops have all sided in those votes which have hitherto seemed to favour the Earl of Danby, and so are thought likely to sway the matter in his favour as to the validity of his pardon, there is arisen no small indignation towards them. But how uncertain are all human affairs, when but a while since the people would cry in the streets "make room for a Protestant Bishop!" when my Lord of London was to pass by, and now they asperse even his Lordship with Popery. And this makes some call to mind that about two years since some of this holy and reverend order had so far resigned themselves to the pleasure of the Earl of Danby as to reflect on your Grace with jealousies of that nature, when—as now, for his Lordship's sake, they bear such reflections themselves. The Lords are even now sitting, and whether a way will be found out by them to accommodate with the Commons after a vote this morning in the negative I cannot tell, but it was from this kind of jarring that the Commons yesterday flew into such resentment and jealousies that Popery was favoured where it should not be, that they moved for the raising of the militia thereabouts in order to their safety, tho' afterwards the cause was made to be Harcourt's lurking in the town, as if still to animate the Plot. The Commons also were dissatisfied that the Lords had sent for five priests who were lately condemned in the circuits, supposing it but an expedient to divert their executions. And amidst these public transactions many rumours are flown that the Duke was sent for or were coming himself; that the fires that happen are occasioned by the Papists; that some stores sending to Portsmouth are sent to meet the Duke; and that now the Bill for disbanding is passed that the money shall be otherwise applied, and I know not what. There is a vote passed which concerns the Post Office, and tends to the putting the same into safer hands than [those] influenced by the Duke. Mr. Bertie is committed to the Serjeant at Arms. He was examined at the Bar about a book he kept that was a list of pensioners, but he denied the having of any such book or accounts concerning money for Secret Service. He had, in March last, delivered up all into His Majesty's hands, who had approved of his accounts, and the money being paid into him by Privy Seals for Secret Service, and without account, he thought himself no further charged with it. He was pressed hard in many particulars for

£250,000 which has been raised in his name, but he refused to answer to any of the particulars, saying that he could not discover His Majesty's secrets without permission. This also is an ill point and will bring some untoward consequence with it.

To-morrow, tho' Sunday, the House meet about the former question of the succession, so that I need not set down or enumerate more particulars to leave your Grace to judge of the very troublesome and cloudy conjuncture we are in; some thinking nothing but a prorogation can allay, and others that nothing could at present be so destructive, especially till the trials of the five Lords be over. In this crowd of things your Grace will see how seasonable a petition is presented about the Irish Accounts, but as yet it hath not been read.

Sir William Temple came to me to know, with great kindness, how your Grace's affairs did stand, and says he will on occasion lend his helping hand. A citizen, who is of the House, and whom I engage to hearken what he can, told me yesterday of a letter sent over without a name of the 26th of April, which the party who received it was to shew unto *re* [Lord Shaftesbury], wherein were thanks for the great care taken of Ireland; that Irish resorted still to the Castle; that FitzPatrick was to get a cardinal's cap for the Chancellor; that FitzMorris, related to FitzPatrick, was lately made a Captain of Horse contrary to many votes of the Council; that Sir John Davys was inclined to the Papists; that Sir John Totty had been abused by them, without punishment, and others not rewarded who had taken priests. These are all the points he could remember. I rectified his understanding in what was needful, but he said he should hear no more of it if he took upon him to justify anything, so I am contented to let him only be a gatherer.

1679, May 13.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 3rd and 7th instant. The agitation of things here continues very great. But both Houses sitting upon Sunday the Lords did accommodate the difference by yielding to the Commons the point, and without which accommodation nothing but a rupture must have ensued. And now the Lords and Commons do meet in a Committee to adjust proceedings about the trial of the Lords, and the point now in issue bears hard upon the Bishops and has been this day in that House matter of long debate, the purpose being not only to exclude them from trials of blood immediately, but from sitting upon the validity of my Lord Danby's pardon, which, 'tis said, is remotely a question of blood. This was pushed at formerly in the House of Lords without effect, but it is now revived again at the instance of the Commons, and how it has gone I hear not, but I perceive there is a very evil spirit abroad in reference to the Bishops. But your Grace will see in the votes what was chiefly the business of the Commons in sitting till past ten of the clock at night, for it ended in voting a Bill to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of the Realm. It was three o'clock before this matter was entered upon, and it then began with reading extracts out of all the letters which

brought any reflection upon the Duke; which, opening the way to the debate, gave matter of all sort of reflections upon him, and the question mentioned was presently insisted on, all that side, and the Presbyterians in particular, taking it for undeniable that under a Popish Prince there could be no Protestant religion. But all their arguments of law, history or convenience were vigorously retorted, and the model proposed by His Majesty urged and recommended with very powerful arguments. They were told how that no law was ever made to exclude the right heir, but that it was broken through and overthrown with blood, as was manifest in that succession where neither the valour of Henry IV. nor the fortune of Henry V. nor the piety of Henry VI. could serve to exclude the true line from being restored. They were told how that by the Oath of Allegiance all were sworn to the King and his lawful successors; how we should exasperate the Duke and put him to try experiments upon Ireland; how that nothing we did could oblige Scotland, and that they would be glad when he came to the Crown to call him in as they did at a certain time His present Majesty; that they will not fear Popery, there being so few there of the party, and (if they did) they have a track from ancient practice of hampering and confining their Kings, and will be glad by this expedient to have their monarch among them, the want of which has of late rendered them despicable and without figure in the world; for they neither make treaty, send or receive Ambassadors, and are now scarce heard of, but then they will be fomented by France as in former ages, and being so well supported become a plague to this kingdom. Others urged the little danger of admitting the Duke to his right under the restrictions which was in their power to make. For, first, the great bulk of the revenue expires with the King's life; and then for power, if the militia were but fitly qualified and also that Oath which lies now so penal on those that resist the King's Commission, he might reign over us without capacity of those dangers that were imagined. Some few glanced at the expedient of a divorce, but the torrent ran so high and strong against the Duke that when the House divided, just about candles, which yet influenced the main question, they were about two to one. I am told by those who speak with His Majesty upon this point that he declares absolutely against it, and yet there are some who so contrive the matter as to insinuate privately that the King is well satisfied with what is done. And when it was urged in the House how hard the King would ever consent to a disability and how easy to any limitation, it was said by one that if His Majesty, for the Earl of Danby's sake, could send the Duke to travel he would not refuse the Commons to have him kept there.

Yesterday inquiry was made touching a train of artillery shipping for Portsmouth, which let in an inquiry into the stores in the Tower; where the officers appearing did acknowledge that there were but 600 fixed muskets now in the Tower; that there were indeed 3,000 muskets fixed but they were in the hands of the gunsmiths and could not be brought home for want of money. Colonel Legge, in the progress of his vindication, said

that of £200,000 appointed for the Ordnance they had never received but £20,000, which was afterwards severely compared with Mr. Bertie's having had in two years £250,000 for Secret Service. George Legge spoke very well for himself, but having mixed some expressions of his great respect to the Duke, whose servant he was, there were many who would needs be scandalised at it, and could not brook to hear words of respect towards one who had deserved so ill of the nation, and that there could never any trust or security be thought of while any were kept in authority either by sea or land who were planted by that hand. I must confess I expect to see very great effects of this saying, and that it shall become a sufficient forfeiture to have arrived to any place of trust by the Duke's known favour, and how indeed can it be imagined otherwise after this vote that hath passed, for it naturally creates a care in all that would have it so to prevent the revenge then, and that care will run into jealousy, so that none but confiding persons can be thought truly qualified for the service.

His Majesty is pressing supplies for a fleet, but I know not whether they will give anything without they have this, and whether this shall not be driven on even to precede the trials : for until those trials are over, such is the public expectation from thence, as that there is no danger of prorogation. But if all attempts should find resistance above with the Lords or with His Majesty I am apt to believe it would turn the dream of all upon a divorce. There is a review going to be made at the Council Board of all the Justices in England, who fit to be put in and who to be left out. My Lord Ossory intends now to give your Grace's letter to Mr. Secretary, for it seems my Lord Longford read something to him from the Archbishop which took notice of the subject matter thereof. But I have too much tired your Grace.

1679, May 17.—Your Grace will herewith see the effect of my Lord Ranelagh's petition, whereupon he is commanded by a separate order to hasten over and your Lordship's there to finish his accounts ; and it was understood by many that his Lordship's petition, presented in this busy time, was but to enable him hereafter to impute delay at other men's doors. The direction was given on Wednesday and I prepared the draft for Friday, at which time it had not been signed if my Lord Roberts had not stickled in the matter, and my Lord Ranelagh is much surprised heret at and trying all his endeavours to revoke this matter, which yet he will hardly compass, the letter being so fully signed. This day the Bill against Irish cattle was ordered to be engrossed which has also a clause for prohibiting of Irish butter. Mr. Pepys, finding himself so fiercely pursued, has given up his charge ; but into what hand I know not, nor whether he may escape with that single loss.

On Wednesday, the 14th, the Bill was brought in by Mr. Trenchard for disabling the Duke of York to inherit the Crown ; and tho' it was presented after twelve of the clock, the deferring

of the reading could not be obtained. The model of it, as well as I can remember, runs to this effect:—That whereas the kingdoms of England and Ireland have been happily reclaimed from the dangers of Popish doctrine, and many good laws and statutes made for the preservation of the Protestant religion established, with severe prohibitions against all emissaries of Rome that should endeavour to undermine the same; yet notwithstanding, in contempt thereof, several priests and Jesuits had entered the kingdoms and contrived to subvert the said religion and conspired against the life of His Majesty; and not contented with this they had also, by their arts, seduced James, Duke of York, from the Protestant religion, reconciling him to the Church of Rome, and making him partaker with them in their dangerous designs and attempts aforementioned; and that he had by his correspondences with the Pope, his cardinals, nuncios and foreign princes, and in particular by advancing the power of France, put the safety of the kingdom into extreme danger; and, therefore, seeing Parliaments had in former times, upon extraordinary occasions, exercised a power of disposing the succession; and that no occasion ever presented greater for the preservation of all that could be dear unto a people: Be it therefore enacted, that when His Majesty dies the Crown shall not descend upon the Duke of York, etc. Memo. that I just now receive the enclosed paper, which will better inform your Grace than I could on my memory with the scope and design of the Bill. But the tenor of the Bill is in so harsh and incensed a style against the Duke that many were amazed to hear it; and some complained that it was vastly disproportionate to the vote on Sunday last; but the answer was:—there was no doing such things by halves, and that they must take care to save their heads for the step already made.

There is a numerous club held constantly at the King's Head, over against the Temple Gate, where Sir Robert Paynton does chiefly preside; and to solemnize the vote of Sunday they did on Monday night cause a great bonfire to be made, and when the porter and servants of the Temple, by order of the Benchers, came to put it out, the gentlemen of the club came to justify their fire with their swords.

His Majesty sent on Thursday a message to mind the House of supplies about the Fleet; but the same was most ungratefully received, and the grievances all raked up that ought to precede any such consideration. There was great complaint for want of any alliances abroad, in answer to the motive used that unless the parties saw we were considerable by a fleet they would not, in this time of making a general peace, think of allying with us, but take measures to our disadvantage. It was further said that we had not yet received any answer to the address concerning the Lord Lauderdale; that the priests condemned were not yet executed, nor the Army disbanded, nor all the persons who had been instrumental in contributing to our calamities removed from office; that the Militia and Commission of the Peace was not yet purged from those who were influenced by the

Duke of York, or a sort of arbitrary Protestants; that the pensions were not yet recalled as they ought to be by Act of Parliament, some having 1, 2, 3, £4,000 a year; that there ought to be no member of that House in employment at Court as by a good Bill was intending; that there ought to be almost a total change of hands in all the employments—at sea, in the garrisons, etc.; and that the persons holding them should not take it ill if they were obliged to give public satisfaction in this particular; that there was a considerable sum to be raised by the forfeitures of the guilty and by the two thirds of the Papists estates; that when the Government should be settled on a Protestant foundation, and England be brought to old English maxims, and the King declare himself to become the head of the Protestant religion, then we may hope to have allies either out of love or fear; that when the Lord Danby's pardon were declared invalid, the great impediment of which lay upon the Bishops, when the other Lords were brought to judgment, and Protestant's throats secured by perfecting the security intended about the succession, then would be a time, after the relief of all these public expectations, to think of money; but before all these things money would be but our destruction. All that could at last be obtained was civility to put the message off till Monday sennight, without putting a plain negative upon money, which they thought would have sounded too harsh, and thus stands the general posture of our affairs in Parliament.

How far the two Houses are from being of a mind in relation to the trials the votes will shew your Grace. And, therefore, it is needless upon the whole matter for me to tell your Grace how melancholy my reflections are. I told your Grace formerly that my Lord Chamberlain concurred with me in opinion of the fitness for your Grace to write a letter to my Lord President, and we think so still.

1679, May 20.—The votes will acquaint your Grace with what hath passed since the last post. The accusation against Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane relate to something about a prize, and furnishing a capper out of His Majesty's stores; suspicions of popery against Mr. Pepys, and as if both of them informed the French of the secrets of our naval condition and the weakness of the coast. One Colonel Scott has been promoter of this last information, a great rambler in the world and of very ill fame. But, to be short, they are both thought to have been sharers of the Duke's favour, and how slender soever the proofs be they must taste of the bitter cup. An impeachment is very much talked of, tho' I fear the proofs upon trial will shrink.

Things are not yet ripened in the House of Lords upon the difficulty urged on the Bishops' account, but the stream will at last bring it to what is expected. There is much talk of a letter intended from the Duke to the House of Lords to bespeak their justice against the Bill now going on, and which to-morrow will be read again, whereof I here send your Grace a copy.

The Common Council of London presented an address to the Lord Mayor in acknowledgment of the great care the House of Commons took for the peace of the Government; and because his Lordship did not favour the address it is said they will bring it directly to the House; and it will not be a new thing if by that example something of that nature should come from other places.

I should have enlarged to your Grace the last post in a point that was most manifestly avowed; that how impatient soever the people were for the trial of the five Lords, yet, seeing nothing afterwards could be expected but a prorogation, it was fit that other things should precede their trials, and particularly that of the Earl of Danby, for whom so much heat and contention was expressed, and they are not without some observations that he has still a share in His Majesty's good thoughts. Now, because the trial of the five Lords cannot be superseded without a blow to the public expectation, and such an one as the Government cannot bear, therefore these trials lie as a kind of coercive power upon the Government, and the Government is even in durance to these prisoners. When they urge arguments for the trial of the Earl of Danby the crime of his pardon is rendered as an absolute dissolving the frame of our Government, and better let twenty guilty Lords go than that crime escape. That the Commons have two inseparable powers—the one of granting money, the other of questioning the misdemeanours of great men, and better it were to part with the first than the latter, for that this would always affrighten mismanagers into their duty; and if great men do not despair of pardon when they commit crimes fit for a Parliament to take notice of, the Government cannot be safe.

The last post conveyed your Grace a letter about the Lord Ranelagh's hastening for Ireland. We shall see if to-morrow in Council he attempts to overthrow it. What your Grace and the Council writ touching the Lady O'Neill was read in Council, and it was only said thereupon that you had put that business into the way that was most fit.

I suppose at the arrival of a certain Lord from that side we may hear complaint for the not levying the Lordships money as an indulgence to the Papists; therefore it were not amiss if some account lay here ready with Mr. Secretary upon that subject.

1679, May 24.—Upon the second reading of the Bill against the Duke of York, Sir Thomas Clarges stood up and made so long and so considerate a discourse for laying the Bill aside, that without any other seconding or any material answer made, the House immediately went to the question and to a division thereupon, as by the enclosed votes will appear, there being seventy nine votes difference for the committing of the Bill; and in so important a case the like proceeding hath rarely happened, that after great attention to what was said to the contrary they should immediately go to the question.

The great affair now depending is the vast difference between the two Houses, the Lords having positively voted the trial of

the five Lords upon Tuesday, and the Commons as peremptorily insisting on the prosecution of the Earl of Danby in the first place. So that there are many predictions as if the days of the Parliament were numbered, and that things cannot possibly hold without a rupture. And hence it is said that my Lord of Danby continues still his influence in the Court; that the Earl of Bath and Sir Charles Wheeler are often with His Majesty upon this account, and that Sir William Temple is materially concerned the same way; that hereupon (and what else I know not) my Lord President is become weary of his station and that my Lord Marquis of Worcester (if he goes) will not stay behind him; and so it is said that my Lord Roberts may be President. The Lord Halifax stands in very great credit with His Majesty, speaking his mind in all things to the utmost, and while he keeps off in a state of independence and not closing with any particular advantage he is like to preserve the same credit, tho' perhaps others more complacent are more willingly heard.

Sir Thomas Chicheley should have had two companions, but he has chosen rather to fling up his patent, and so that matter hangs a little in suspense. There is a general inspection now making into the list of Justices of the Peace in order to rectify what is amiss and to put in others.

The Lord Ranelagh hath not made application to the Council for a dispensation to his journey, nor is he likely there to obtain it; and I am told by one of his partners, Major Huntingdon, that he and some others of them are preparing an address against him to present to the Council.

There is in the city an address preparing to the House of Commons to acknowledge their care and zeal, and many names are gathering into it; and tho' the terms of this be modest enough, yet what may afterwards follow of the like nature is matter of consideration. Those concerned in the Treasury are melancholy to find no thoughts in the House of granting money till a bead roll of other things be passed, especially when every hour they expect home Sir John Narbrough's hungry fleet.

Sir Stephen Fox has been so violently attacked in the House of Commons and so menaced with ruin that he hath been constrained to confess which of the late Members of Parliament he paid anything to under the title of Secret Service; and the list of members being read unto him, he did acknowledge that before he was dismissed of his employment he had paid under that title several sums; as to Mr. Seymour £1,500, but that was as Speaker at the end of each Session which had been formerly practised; that he had paid to Sir Job Charlton, for the few days he was Speaker £1,000; that to the following persons in compensation that they had been formerly Farmers of the Excise, and that the same was taken from them and put into other hands, to Sir Philip Howard £500, Sir James Smith £500, Mr. Cornwall £200, Sir Lionel Walden £300, Mr. Collingwood £300, Mr. Knowles £200, Colonel Philips £300, Mr. G. Egerton £400, Sir Thomas Woodcock £200, Sir John Talbot £500, Sir Gilbert Gerard £300, Mr. Robinson £200, Mr. Progers £400, Colonel Whitley £300; all which were yearly

payments on that account. But these which follow yearly payments of bounty; as to Sir Charles Wheeler £400, Sir Jonathan Trelawny £500, Sir Courtney Poole £1,000, Sir Richard Wiseman £400, with three other like sums which he received for unknown persons, Mr. Price £400, Mr. Westphaling £200, Sir John Barnaby £300, Major Clerke £400, to Mr. Roberts, at twice, £500. It was further added from the Secret Committee this morning that Sir John Vowell had, at twice, £500, Sir Joseph Tredenham, at twice, £500, Percy Goring £300 per annum; that Sir Robert Holt, Sir William Glascock and Sir John Bramston had received several sums; that out of the Excise there was only paid before my Lord Danby's time for Secret Service £8,000 per annum; but afterwards a Privy Seal from thence passed to Mr. Bertie of £20,000 per annum, besides what was otherwise paid by Mr. Chiffins, and that of late thirty new names were added by the Earl of Danby; and that they were in further prosecution and discovery of this great sink of iniquity. In the meantime Sir John Talbot and those who received money as compensation for their loss in the Excise made for the present a plausible defence. Sir Joseph Tredenham was nothing so successful in his, nor Sir Richard Wiseman who was called into the bar. On Tuesday this matter will be reassumed and some deep censure fall upon the culpable. Sir Stephen Fox has pretty well appeased His Majesty's displeasure for what he did. His books and papers were sent to be seized, but my Lord Chamberlain came in and forbade the banns, unless they applied by address to His Majesty, and upon this disappointment they constrained him to speak as he did.

As to the great differences between the two Houses (upon the event of which the peace of all depends) we shall see upon Monday morning what to resolve upon to induce the Lords to a compliance, a Committee having now the care of preparing reasons to that effect. And perhaps by conferences the Lords may be persuaded to yield; but hitherto they think their jurisdiction is too much encroached upon, that others should prescribe any method to their proceedings, and whom to bring first or last unto judgement. And if they shall persist herein 'tis already said that either the five Lords may on Tuesday for non-prosecution be dismissed, or at least let out upon bail. But others speak as if the Court will adjourn itself for some longer day, and then in case of failure take their resolution.

Your Grace will be directed from the Board to have an eye upon those Scotch fanatics lately arrived from Scotland, as also some particular direction about arming the Protestants and disarming the Papists.

Just now, at near eleven of the clock, come letters from Plymouth by some of Sir John Narbrough's fleet, so that I suppose the whole may be there arrived.

1679, May 27.—The Parliament was this day prorogued until the 14th of August next, and the distance at which the two Houses seemed to stand for several days past gave a belief of this event

unto several, so as not only to glance frequently at it in the House of Commons, but to get in readiness so long and so large a representation to set forth the right of their demands, and to lay the wrong at the door of the Lords, as might justify them to the people for insisting as they did on trying the Earl of Danby's pardon in the first place ; and to shew if they did not further proceed in other public affairs expected from them, where the true impediment lay. I hope your Grace will receive the five reasons of this paper from some other hand, because many copies of them pass about, which at present I cannot get ; but the preamble which fewer have I here enclose, tho' I know not how true it is writ.

This kind of remonstrance was yesterday carried up to the Lords, who met to debate upon it in the afternoon and being tired at it till ten a clock at night, they adjourned until this morning. And this morning, falling to it again, they resolved to adhere. Soon after which a message came from the Lords to the Commons that His Majesty intended to speak to both Houses in his robes. And because the five Lords from the Tower had been attending all the morning for their trial, according to the former order of the House of Lords, it was generally thought that His Majesty was coming to offer some expedient to reconcile all, and more particularly in relation to the Earl of Danby in submitting his case to a bill of banishment, and with a clause to put out of the Crown a capacity of pardoning in such method as it now stands in the Earl of Danby's case. But that which His Majesty said to the Houses did only express his sorrow that the difference between them should disappoint the great fruits which was hoped for from this Session. And so they were by my Lord Chancellor prorogued without any further words from him. There are many more reflections made upon this matter than I have yet heard ; and I have heard more than I can well express. Some few think that of evils this is the least ; but yet they cannot imagine what we should do for money, even for the particular discharge of Sir John Narbrough's fleet. But the generality murmur out great displeasure that so many things in prosecution should be thus all superseded. Some will needs blame the new Councillors, who, being arrived where they would be, throw off the public concerns. Others will needs lay it more particularly on the advice of my Lord Roberts, *hn* [Lord Halifax] and *kf* [Lauderdale], tho' I cannot say who were chiefly concerned in it ; but this is mentioned by some much to the Duke of Monmouth's advantage—that he did this morning earnestly entreat His Majesty to call his Council before he undertook so weighty a thing ; for that he had in his public declaration so promised and declared that nothing should be done without them. Some talk of a declaration which may probably come forth to justify the necessity of this proceeding, and in that case it is very probable many other papers will fly abroad to impugn what may be said therein, so as to heighten it that easily may be the present displeasure, more than by the interval it is likely to be allayed, tho' many also venture

to conjecture that this Parliament may not meet any more. But if they do it is very likely that something may by that time be ripened to the great prejudice of the Bishops, which they themselves are also very sensible of. The doctrine lately agreed to by the House of Lords that impeachments once begun continued not only from Session to Session, but from Parliament to Parliament, makes the case of the five Lords little mended; and altho' they went from the scaffold more cheerful than they came, as everyone delights in putting off the evil day, yet 'tis said they did also condole their not being proceeded withal this day, when with so much charge they had gotten their witnesses together, besides the spending of further time in the Tower. And whether any judge will now venture to bail *them*, or any person of consideration venture to be bail, is part of the discourse. But most talk as if my Lord of Danby had a great finger in this prorogation; and that much of it hath been steered by his friends and compassed in his behalf. All this I mention to your Grace, because in such a conjuncture you will not be displeased with conjectures, and the town talk. A few Council days will give light into the reason and consequence of things, and perhaps there may be some thoughts of an Irish Parliament in order to put that kingdom into defence, since we got no money to do things here; but I am apt to think on the whole that your Grace may remain for some good season without the alarms and molestations which you have lately had.

I acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 17th instant, and [return my thanks] not only for your Grace's kind remembrance of my nephew, but for thinking of my money, which will be very seasonable for my present condition, and increase my acknowledgments to your Grace.

1679, May 31.—The Lord Mayor and Aldermen have received admonitions at the Council Board to exercise all possible keenness against the Papists, and to be vigilant about the peace of the city. The justices have in like manner been warmed up to their duties. All the priests who were everywhere condemned are to be hanged in their proper counties, and Mr. Attorney is to report in a few days whether, upon examination of the proofs, he will think fit to proceed against all the prisoners who are not impeached. So that several expedients are in hand to pacify the resentments of the prorogation, the reason of which His Majesty declares was the discord of the two Houses, growing just to a degree of protestation against each other, and so rendering both of them useless to the Government; and that if he had called his Council to consult this matter something of it would have taken vent and occasioned some sudden rash votes, which by the secrecy were prevented. *Re* [Shaftesbury] was really throwing up all for not having been consulted. He and *lq* [Duke of Monmouth] are close in their friendship, but do not prevail in their desires. The new *qz* [Secretary] is the man to whom are aggregated *fz* [Essex], *hn* [Halifax], and in some things *ce* [Chancellor], and in others one that was your predecessor. That which is most considerable is that the Lords of the Treasury declared they can pay off Narbrough's

fleet. But here is a new thing of moment coming on which is yet very secret. There are come up from the *dg* [Council] of *qv* [Scotland] three or four principal men, some of them of the gown, intended to resist assaults if *kf* [Lauderdale] had been impeached ; but notwithstanding they are come and that the said fear is over, yet the other strong party that are here arrived (being not able to contain any longer) are resolved to attack him themselves ; and this will appear in a few days, as I am told this night by *cc* [Lord. Chamberlain], who bade me tell it to your Grace. I was with him chiefly to communicate what I had the last night from you of the 25th, which I last night showed to my Lord Longford, who likes the same as I do, and, as I suppose, *cc* [Chancellor] will, and that the same be presented ; but some care must be used to gain Mr. Secretary to be of the same mind, but that shall very speedily be tried, and your Grace shall hear further herein. My Lord Ranelagh has spoken so candidly and so honestly the last day in his own behalf that he is to be heard by the Committee on Tuesday next, upon fourteen of the thirty-four points objected to his account, for the rest he seems not willing to dispute, and so we shall soon see what new game he will now play. I do not believe he will succeed altogether according to his expectations. There is appointed a Committee of the Council for examinations of the Plot, who are to sit with the same assiduity as formerly.

1679, June 3.—This encloses to your Grace a copy of my Lord Ranelagh's last petition together with the order made thereupon. His Lordship appeared this day at the Committee, and it being proposed to know how Ireland might come out of the bondage of that contract, and how a Parliament might be free to give money by being delivered from all the claims of the undertaking, his Lordship did at last agree that commissions should issue into all counties to examine and report what was separate and what was desperate, and that he would only insist upon the former and forgive the latter, whereby perhaps a debt of £300,000 may be reduced to £40,000, only he prayed that among each set of Commissioners there might be one or two of their nomination to have some fairness in the matter. This proposal went on so far as that he was to deliver in such hints of inquiry for the arming out of a Commission as might render the work more easy to the subject, and then the Auditors of the Exchequer here are thereupon to be consulted in order to perfect the model thereof ; and when the debate was ripened thus far, then it was started that this work would not have an end in three years, and so a Parliament must be for so long deferred, and therefore it were much better for the King and kingdom to put all things to a short issue whatever it cost, and not to stand with my Lord Ranelagh for a small sum.

Some assented hereunto, but thought it not so safe and justifiable a method of proceeding as to go the other way. His Lordship was asked how came it about that in eight year there should be any solvent debt which he had not recovered : to this his Lordship said it was their tenderness and compassion to the subject, and

their desire to do all things without clamour as they had done, unless in very few cases, which had occasioned them to be very great losers by their undertaking; and that if any of their under officers had been to blame let them be punished for it. He further declared that they were willing to give in upon oath what they had received, as also to sign under their hands that they would abide by the account made upon that side in May, 1678; and as to this point they are to meet as many as are here, and to sign their approbation accordingly, and they did say it would be binding to the rest of their partners; but when afterwards Mr. Attorney came he said it would only be binding to themselves and not to their partners. Whereupon some declared the necessity of sending the whole matter into Ireland as before was ordered. And upon the whole matter it is hard for me to say on this variety of things what was concluded, but to-morrow or Friday we may see more. This only is apparent that his discourse seems to be so honest and satisfactory as nothing more; but, I suppose, the drift is to gain time and to tire all out; and I suppose by his new station in the bedchamber he has acquired an accession of friends that must still help to keep off the evil day, or for an end sake to have all forgiven him that he desires.

His Majesty will be going on Tuesday to Windsor. Sir Christopher Musgrave and Sir ——— Hickman are to be in the Commission of the Ordnance, and if the master will throw up as is most likely, then Sir Thomas Littleton will make the third man.

1679, June 10.—Yesterday the Council met again on a fresh packet from Scotland intimating the rebels to be more than 8,000 strong, and daily so augmenting from several quarters that the King's forces retired towards Edinburgh, and the Council prayed aid from England and Ireland. Hereupon the Duke of Monmouth is appointed to go with 5,600 men to be forthwith raised, and his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and the Lord Gerard, in three regiments of horse, the Lord Grey and Lord Cavendish, in two of foot, besides a regiment of dragoons. It is also ordered in Council that your Grace shall send as many forces towards the suppressing this insurrection as with the safety of Ireland may be spared. And, I suppose, your Grace will know all that is necessary in this particular from a very good hand. There entered in debate the necessity of sending force immediately to the degree proposed from England into Scotland; and at the same time, that milder expedients might be tried, it was unanimously agreed—that it was proper for His Majesty to speak freely with all the Scotch nobility that are now here to take their opinions in the matter, and that some of the Council should be present on that occasion, which with no little difficulty was agreed unto. Some pressed the calling of a Parliament in Scotland, but more the summoning presently the Parliament here, or at least that by proclamation they should be assured to meet on the 14th of August, but none of these did take place. The great care and plunge will be how to get money for this enterprise now

that Sir John Narbrough is just arrived, and to sweep all the stock that could possibly be raked together.

Iu [The King] will not bear the motions to throw out *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale], much less of *my* [Parliament] in *qw* [Scotland], nor indeed of the same here; but as things grow worse and necessities increase this last point must change, and it seems a riddle how to think of *ue* [war] without *lm* [money] and of this without *my* [Parliament], tho' the humour at present seems stiffly to the contrary. *Iu* seems fond of [hearing] what *fh* [Ormond] may do from *ip* [Sir Robert Southwell], and, bye-the-bye, said he would hasten away *mo* [Ossory].

1679, June 14.—By an express on Thursday night from Carlisle there came news which a Scotch merchant had brought thither from Edinburgh of 18 or 20,000 of the rebels in arms; that many of the Militia had gone in unto them; and the King's forces had thoughts of retiring for safety into Leith. But it seems the last express hither of their being about 8,000 came out the same day with that merchant, and a letter that came yesterday by the ordinary post, writ the Lord Lauderdale from a considerable hand and that same day, says that the number of the rebels did daily increase and decrease, and were under so little discipline that it was hoped a body of 7 or 8,000 of the militia, which in a week would be got ready, might look them in the face and scatter them to their homes.

So that at present the opinion is that this matter may go off upon better terms than was at first apprehended. However, there are many here who make the thing very considerable and of the highest consequence; but say at the same time that if the advice of the Scotch Lords were but taken all might be appeased without hazard or expense, or giving jealousy of raising a new army for an army's sake, which jealousy is now flown up to an extraordinary height. And then some words in the Treaty of the Pacification, about 1640, forbidding any armies to enter into either country without the consent of the Parliaments of the respective kingdoms; these are insisted on in the common discourse to enforce thereby the necessity of calling presently our Parliament, and the danger of proceeding otherwise. And upon this scruple my Lord Grey has laid down his commission, and my Lord Cavendish, they say, is balancing, unless there may be clearer encouragement to proceed. And upon Monday the Council will meet and take the whole question and the parts of it into debate, and that in particular of calling together the Parliament before, or at least assuring their meeting on, the 14th of August by proclamation.

The Scotch Lords have been with the King and assured an absolute extinguishing of this flame if new hands were employed and some grievances amended. But his Majesty being told by others that there are no grievances but Acts of Law, he is very averse from changing hands. The Duke of Monmouth takes post to-morrow morning for Scotland to see and represent impartially how matters stand, but with what further powers

I cannot certainly learn. Some think it an expedient of the Duke of Lauderdale, and others think that his expedient may turn him to ill account. This is clear, that as long as that noble Duke has the honour to guide or influence those affairs or be dear to his master the discontents will increase to a degree that nothing less than the calling together of the Parliament can appease them. It would make one's ears tingle to hear how licentious the discourses of most are grown; so that no man can pray enough in such a time for the preservation of His Majesty and of the Royal Family.

I suppose this post will convey to your Grace the order about my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, his Lordship having procured the order to be stopped. The last post got him little thanks in Council, where Mr. Secretary made complaint thereof.

There are many of the late passages in Parliament come forth in print, there being now no restraint upon the press by the expiration of the Act in that behalf. And somebody has also printed two letters formerly writ by the Earl of Clarendon, to shew, I suppose, that the present misfortune of the Duke had its prediction from so near a friend, telling how natural a doom must follow from the principles of Popery.

1679, June 17.—The letters yesterday from Scotland report the rebels to be about 6,000, gathered at Glasgow, but that about this time there are 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse marched against them; that there were a party of 300 going to the body of the rebels intercepted and defeated, eighty of them remaining prisoners; by which accounts the business of Scotland that gave so hot an alarm is now upon such terms as His Majesty expects soon to be at liberty to go to Windsor, and the Duke of Lauderdale looks gay and cheerful upon this face of things. So that yesterday did not prove so full of debate at Council as was expected, and the matter of calling or ascertaining the Parliament's meeting was let fall, unless future occasions revive it. Yet was there brought the copy of a letter, writ in 1669 by the Duke of Lauderdale to His Majesty, from Scotland, shewing what an Act he had obtained for His Majesty's absolute power of all Ecclesiastics; but this letter, which would raise no little dust in a Parliament, slipped easily off upon the good tidings from Scotland.

One of the Lord Ranelagh's partners told me this day that he uses them more strangely than he does anybody else; that he will not come to any account with his partners. So that they must be forced shortly to petition the Council Board; for unless they will admit him to clap on an article of £24,000, without any reason shown, he will do nothing. He added also that they desired only to come off savers, whereas it is plain that he hath got above £10,000. When my Lord of Essex did expose to the Committee how easy he had been in allowing several particulars to my Lord Ranelagh, who yet thought him his enemy, many of the Lords plainly declared, and those kind enough too, that they should never have been so indulgent to his Lordship. But one thing I forgot before to acquaint your Grace withal,

that upon occasion of that hearing *fz* [Earl of Essex] appeared passionately concerned as touched in point of honour that *fh* [Ormond], had not paid about £13,000, for which a letter was given him from hence, and made the only request at parting; and, therefore, desired an order for treating with the Farmers for the satisfaction thereof, but whether that order be issued or not I cannot tell. From this and some other passages the bystanders observe there is good store of discontent lodged in that breast.

I lately made application to the Earl of Essex that the letter lying at the Treasury, and to be sent your Grace for approbation, of the northern expense, might be despatched, for that I did expect your Grace would, by the directions herein contained, be able to apply something to my satisfaction as well as for carrying on the Fort of Rincorran. To which his Lordship replied that he had not yet had time to consider of those expenses there mentioned, tho' he saw already that he should not allow of some, which might very well have fallen under the head of the Concordatum Money; and that it was his practice when there to send to the Council Board here an account of the disbursement of the Concordatum Money. I told his Lordship that I could not speak to the particulars of the expense more than as they spoke for themselves; but that I should be glad that the letter were hastened and would presume to solicit his Lordship therein, because I was in some distress in my affairs for want of my compensation. I did indeed begin first with Mr. Secretary, urging him to move for a despatch of this letter, seeing your Grace was directed to begin again an expense of the same nature; but his answer was that he had already advertised your Grace where the letter stuck, and that you had since said nothing to him thereof. So that it may not be amiss if your Grace write to Mr. Secretary such a letter as he might send to the Lords of the Treasury to shew your Grace's expectation of this letter in question without taking notice of any objections thereunto. And perhaps your Grace may not think it amiss, seeing the items of that Northern expedition are here under delay, to send over the draft of a particular letter for power to apply the payments of the foot company of guards and the additional pay of four troops of horse, whilst unapplied to the use of the Establishment to such public uses relating to the safety and defence there as your Grace shall judge fit, and in particular for the new Fort at Rincorran, and the necessary expenses belonging thereunto. But this is submitted to your Grace, and I name it as supposing such a letter would be despatched without any delay of consulting the Treasury here.

Your Grace will this night receive an order from Mr. Secretary Coventry arising from the representation enclosed, whereof the party needed not have complained here, if, according to his duty, he had but complained to your Grace; but, I suppose, he has little work to deserve his salary by, and so becomes officious. But the Commissioners of the Admiralty did take occasion hereupon to load him with instructions to sound the harbour and to give an account of all the banks that are therein.

The Duke of Monmouth was to receive his Commission of General on the Borders, where the Council, having sealed the same, were to send it unto him, and then he was to go and take his place of Privy Councillor and so to head the forces there. I suppose he had with him no other instructions but what were drawn by the Duke of Lauderdale and the other Lords of the Scotch Council who are now here.

1679, June 21.—The freshest news spoken of from Scotland is in the paper enclosed. I had yesterday your Grace's of the 13th from Kilkenny descanting upon the nature of this eruption in Scotland and the difference betwixt that and the other plot. The reflections are very just and natural, but the conjuncture such that the generality here turn the scales the other way and will allow no comparison between them, and they that venture on it do it at their perils, which advertisement a very good friend thought it material I should give your Grace, especially seeing what a noise was spread on the reading at the Board your letter to the Secretary on the arrival of the five preachers in the North, tho' the prediction has proved very true.

On a petition yesterday from Colonel Talbot to go to his house upon bail, by reason of his sickness in prison, there was a long debate, and it was finally agreed that he should, upon ten thousand pounds bail, be allowed to come over and live in Yorkshire, where he lived before. Some thought he would rather choose to stay in prison than to come over on this side, and most were against his being free on that, which yet his agent does much struggle for, especially till his health be restored; and how the order will settle at last I know not, but it will not go till Tuesday.

On Monday, in the afternoon, there will be a Council particularly to debate what may concern the trial of Sir George Wakeman; not that His Majesty is concerned for what relates to Sir George, but because in that trial Mr. Bedloe declares he must reflect upon the Queen, and so in effect the Queen shall be tried in the person of another without any defence; for Bedloe ventures to say that he was by when Sir George told Harcoate that the Queen had given him two thousand pounds, and that if she had not pressed him very hard he should not have consented to the poisoning of the King.. How to prevent these reflections without taking a course which might wholly blast their evidence and consequently save the Lords in the Tower is the great point under consideration, and His Majesty seems extremely concerned herein.

I hope your Grace is mindful to give due execution to what the House of Lords addressed for in relation to Ireland, and it were fit before the meeting of the Parliament that your Grace sent a full account to Mr. Secretary of all the steps taken in that behalf. I have been sometimes thinking in relation to the Bill of Ireland, which some are offended at, that your Grace might there prepare those amendments which might be more suitable to the present conjuncture, which would be the only expedient to give the Bill despatch. But, besides that benefit, I am thinking for other respects it were not amiss if they tumbled it here into all the

shapes which they thought fit ; for I see not that your Grace is in your particular more than others concerned in the same.

Sir William Petty does, in frequent letters to me, acknowledge your Grace's favour and concern for him, and many of his friends here are much contented thereat.

1679, June 24th.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 17th, in return to which the enclosed prints speak as much from Scotland as I hear anywhere else ; and 'tis likely the Duke of Monmouth will soon return back here very triumphant.

Mr. Hayes, by a petition yesterday, would needs have been dispensed withal from going for Ireland, alleging that he left all the accounts behind at Dublin, and that Mr. Stepney gave an injurious information, but the former order is to stand and this further addition made to it:—that if the partners appear not your Grace is to proceed *ex parte* and presently levy the balance by process from the Exchequer ; and the whole Board are so aware of all these subterfuges that my Lord Chancellor was vehement for a bill to be presently prepared and sent over for extinguishing all pretence of arrears whatsoever.

The Council hath sat these two days to consider of Sir George Wakeman's trial, His Majesty being wonderfully concerned lest upon that occasion the Queen should be injuriously reflected on and without any defence of her innocence, as was plainly and openly threatened by some of the witnesses. So that it has filled the whole city with discourse of late ; some that the Queen was presently to be tried ; others that she was packing up all things to be gone, and what not ? But this morning Mr. Oates, Bedloe, Prance and Dugdale appeared at the Board and gave in all they knew, the two last speaking nothing of any moment, and the two first adding something, but not much, to what they said before ; but all together does not amount in the judgment of law to fasten guilt upon her. And His Majesty is much at ease that the witnesses have declared they know no more. So that now some good news from Scotland may send His Majesty to Windsor.

Upon tidings from Tangier that one Captain Scroop was fled to the Moors and that the garrison was in a great strait for want of recruits it was proposed that three companies should presently be drawn out and sent away ; but His Majesty would hear of no such thing, for tho' he loved Tangier well he loved himself better, and thought there was too much danger at home to part with any of the good men he had. Sir George Wakeman's trial is not to come on till the 16th of the next month, if then.

1679, June 28.—By the Duke of Monmouth's account from Scotland, they have killed six or seven hundred and taken 1,255 and a considerable body are sent to pursue the rebels' horse, which went off entirely towards Ayr. This was the cause that his grace desired to have his new regiment of horse sent down to him. But the Council Board think that needless, and His Majesty has very willingly agreed to the disbanding all the new forces

raised on this occasion. Now that there is no restraint on the press, the papers of all sorts fly about, whereof the enclosed are some. Mr. Langhorne is respited till Monday come sennight in order to the discovery of the estates of Jesuits; but 'tis likely he will suffer at last, tho' he be very vehement about his innocence.

His Majesty goes on Monday to Windsor, and upon Thursday will meet the Council at Hampton Court, and then resolve something about the Parliament, which 'tis likely will be prorogued until some further time.

1679, June 28. Spring Garden.—I am often speaking to my Lord of Essex to report what he shall think fit in that letter about the northern expenses; and I urge to him my concern about Rincorran, and how I can have no redress but by the despatch of that letter; yet still his Lordship hesitates as if he had much to say to some particulars thereof.

I am still supplying my Lord Courcy, as duly as the quarter day happens, and am now out of purse £70, and must be more in case of any stop upon his Lordship's pension. Mr. Tisdall tells me there is a stop, and, that having petitioned your Grace, Mr. Gascoigne gave him but cold comfort; so that for the Lady-day gale he could not get out any debenture. If this should be so in earnest it would import me to know it in time that I might discharge myself of the honour of maintaining his Lordship, which I cannot so easily do as I can serve him. His Lordship comes on very well at Oxford, and is now studying a part that he is to have in the next Act. I have by me a letter from your Grace touching a portion to be raised for his sister. I am shortly going to Tunbridge for my health, and hope for leisure to consider that with many of my own concerns, which I have much neglected to comply with what of other matters fall here to my share, and with which I am in truth grown so quite weary that I have thoughts of knocking off. For I see things are so much in new hands that unless I begin an apprenticeship in order to recommend myself I shall not outdo their own creatures and dependents.

I get nothing here, nor am I like to get more than downright wages, and those are casual. And I am got into such a track of living that I spend these and all my other estate besides. I have lately made a purchase of about £12,500, which has put me £5,000 in debt. Wherefore I see not in the world how I can do better than to sell my places towards the discharge of my debts, and take some time to look after my health, and cultivate with some care, repose and comfort (after fifteen years drudgery) the moderate fortune I have. I will not put into this scale the angry prospect of things, because I have substantial motives besides; but I will beg pardon that I presume to trouble your Grace with my private and domestic concerns.

1679, June 31.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 23rd instant, and am glad the success in Scotland is a sort of victory also in Ireland. Notwithstanding which His Majesty hath

thought fit to send thither a proclamation of indulgence in matters of religion. How far it extends I know not, but a Bishop of that country told me that all they could here do (with the help of our Archbishop and my Lord of London) could not prevail with His Majesty to waive that counsel, or to allow time that the Privy Council of Scotland should be first consulted therein.

I perceive by what your Grace says that our angry lord has little foundation for his displeasure. The retrenchment of all tables is to extend to the dinner usually given to the Lords of the Council at Hampton Court, which is very cold comfort and is soundly censured, as if the contriver of this good managery intended to find out the Philosopher's stone, and to be able to live without a Parliament. How popular such a commendation is I leave your Grace to think.

Our Zealand friend is invited over again to be a professor at Leyden. He is very well bent to pursue that work I sent your Grace so long ago touching the Irish transactions, and hath read many things since upon the same subject, so as to be able to enlarge what he hath already done.* If your Grace can have any leisure to see those sheets so as to say whether the thing be worth your encouragement or no I shall be glad to give him answer, for he seems willing to go on and get the whole printed on that side when it is done.

1679, July 5.—I was much troubled to see yesterday in the hands of Mr. Muly's a letter from Mr. Gandy intimating much of my Lord James's dissatisfactions in the college, whenas so lately before I had the enclosed from Mr. Drelincourt, whereby all things in the former feud seemed to be forgotten. I suppose your Grace may hear somewhat of it there from the same hand. But because 'tis almost impossible to believe that my Lord James should not have right done him by the Bishop and everyone else, I begin much to suspect that the Frenchmen are impatient till they have got him into their own country, and especially into the parts where they have relations which they take no little glory in. And because I have heard from a very worthy man and highly addicted to your Grace that Monsieur Drelincourt, tho' ingenious in several things, is not equal in mind and temper to the charge he has in hand, therefore, if your Grace please, I will at my return from Tunbridge waters (where I am now going) go down to Oxford in the beginning of August and see how matters stand; but then if your Grace likes this proposal I desire such a letter as may make it yours, and which I may show to my Lord Arlington, that he may not wonder at any event that shall happen.

I am told that now the press is at liberty one Dr. Burlace, who lives about Chester, is actually printing that Narrative of the Irish Rebellion, which I sent your Grace, and which Mr. Hill intended to file over. This I had heard before, but saw it verified by some epistle writ by one Mr. Piggott, who is chaplain to the Earl of Danby that corresponds with him, sending a long fustian

* See p.p. 378 and 384, *supra*.

apology by way of answer to the libel in February last against your Grace, which the said Doctor, on the other side, advised him to put in print; but I have desired Mr. Mulys to obstruct it, for that it excuses the matters that are objected and disproves none, tho' they are notoriously false.

Mr. Langhorne will certainly die unless my Lord Roscommon make good his letter to my Lord Halifax from Brussells by a sort of undertaking to make him discover something more valuable than his life, which a few days will bring to light. Mr. Langhorne made discovery of above £1,000 per annum and of the Jesuits' estate; but the Council advised His Majesty to send him back the paper, as was done without taking any advantage thereof.

There is a young yeomanlike fellow come from Yorkshire that deposes how Sir Thomas Gascoigne and his priest incited him to share in killing the King. He is a very notable fellow, and is sent down with some messengers to seize half a dozen in those parts So that this will bring in new vigour to the prosecution of the Plot and it is plain to me that *re* [Shaftesbury] does *ql* [resolve] if there be *my* [a Parliament] to befriend him and will never leave till *iu* [the King] has another *ut* [wife], and all this in contemplation of *fi* [the Duke] with whom there can never be *ng* [peace]; and yet I perceive endeavours are now using to bring *fi* [the Duke] to *fu* [England] and some other matter which *rp* [Sir R. Southwell] must not *ge* [relate]. But this is certain that the new *qz* [Secretary], *fz* [Essex] and *hn* [Ld. Halifax] have the monopoly of *iu* [the King] and *re* [Shaftesbury] sometimes rails, but more often derides it, and sometimes says 'twere much better one late *te* [Treasurer] than three, and between these two humours he breaks forth in all manner of companies, even ready to burst to think of their undertakings.

1679, July 10.—The business of this day has been that His Majesty after the despatch of some lesser matters told the Council that he had fully considered since their last meeting the point of the Parliament, and that thereupon he had resolved to dissolve it immediately, and did declare his pleasure accordingly without further asking their opinions concerning it. The first of the Lords that spoke was my Lord President, who said that altho' his opinion was not asked, and that he should always submit to His Majesty's determinations, yet he could not but discharge his conscience in representing the evil consequences of this resolution, and that the world would very much take notice of His Majesty's late declaration, where he promised to do nothing without the advice of his Council; notwithstanding which His Majesty had not only prorogued the Parliament without their advice, but had proceeded to a dissolution against it. To this the King replied that in matters of this nature, which were so plain, and wherein he was so fully convinced, as of the necessity of dissolving this Parliament, he could not divest himself of that power of resolving without the plurality of votes in the Council, and that he would in other things hearken as much as ever any other prince had done to his council. After this almost all the Lords spoke in the same style,

and to the same purpose as the other day ; only my Lord Russell said that he was afraid the first vote of the next Parliament would be to declare such as gave this advice enemies of His Majesty and his kingdoms, and that indeed he believed that those that advised the prorogation of the Parliament were afraid to see any and did therefore endeavour to make them impracticable. At length these discourses ended in a resolution that another Parliament should be called to meet on the 7th of October next, and that Writs should be given out in due time.

My Lord Halifax produced a letter from my Lord Roscommon, being an excuse that he was not able to make good what he had hoped in relation to Mr. Langhorne as having been disappointed by some persons. A petition from Mr. Langhorne was likewise read, but it was easily carried that no further reprieve should be given him, which you would easily guess, hearing of the dissolution.

[1679, July 11. Tunbridge Wells.—Altho' I chose to come yesterday to this place and leave behind me the great debate, yet this morning I have an account thereof which I presume to send your Grace. 'Tis not improbable but that *fi* [Duke of York] may now see *fu*. [England] and whether *iu* [The King] will see *my* [Parliament] is matter of *fe* [debate].

I know not into how many prospects this dissolution of the Parliament may run. One which is visible seems to be that the next may not be better, and that several who are now chosen will not so much as stand again. I am here at the waters and have not further opportunity to enlarge.

1679, July 21. Southborough.—I have the honour and consolation too of your Grace's long letter of the 5th instant, and do read the enclosed copy of what your Grace writ a few days before to a great Lord with very much satisfaction, for it takes in all the points depending, whether public or private.* It lets him see that instead of plaintiff he might in effect be made defendant ; and whatever can be hazarded by vexing one in power and favour it is got again either in gaining the points in question or by the future justification of having spoken in time to the proper officer, who from thence forward stands accountable for the same. I hope among other consequences of more importance your Grace will get the opportunity of my satisfaction in the matter of Rincorran, and I shall, according to your Grace's encouragement, continue to supply my Lord Courcy in all his wants, being now ready to send to Mr. Tisdall the state of his Lordship's accounts for your Grace's view and approval.

Your Grace's kind remembrance of my mother helps to alleviate that heavy stroke, for I have so many memorials of her goodness that I could not in this world lose more. She was my nurse at first and my good steward at last. She instilled early into me the true principles of my religion, and for an escape I had from

* The reference is to a letter of the Duke of Ormond to the Earl of Essex, dated July 1, 1679, which will be printed in Vol. V. of this Calendar.

sickness she observed a weekly fast for thirty-five years together. This and much more she was unto me, and what she was unto others let her own good works praise her. I am sure she has a high place in Heaven, whereunto God grant I may by her example attain.*

I shall hardly be able to see Ireland until the next spring, especially seeing I have now Sir Philip Percival's help to rely upon there, for I am now at Michaelmas upon the experiment to extricate myself in manner as I have already told your Grace. And I grow the more resolved in that purpose since your Grace also thinks fit to admit some thoughts of like nature; for where shall I see such an example among the men of this generation when your Grace gives out. I confess truly I have not hitherto found it, nor do I hope for it in my time. But I can foresee and do already in prospect enjoy the content I shall have when I am at freedom to attend your Grace at Kilkenny, and to observe how the world goes on with reflection and comparison to the things that are passed. We shall conclude our drinking here of the waters with this month, and then soon after I mean to repair to Oxford, if your Grace shall approve what I proposed.

Postscript.—The Countess of Essex is here at the waters, and with her a niece, the Lady Isabella Dormer, whom the Earl of Mountrath is courting for marriage, and Sir Charles Meredith is here also with him.

1679, August 9. London.—Being returned from Tunbridge I went on Thursday to Windsor where the Council was at last adjourned until the first Wednesday in October. The case of the Lord Bellasis, in point of health, was made so very bad as that he is allowed for three weeks to be at his own house, but with the guards of the Tower upon him; but the like favour was the same time refused to the Lord Aston, though in but upon misprision of treason.

There was one Mr. Jennison, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, who, with his father that has one thousand pound estate per annum somewhere in the north, are lately turned Protestants; he came to set forth several matters relating to the Plot, and will doubtless when the Parliament meets add new flame to the matter, though at present nothing more was done than to hear him and to grant his request, which is that his elder brother, a Jesuit, taken up at the first and now in Newgate, may not suffer upon his evidence, but be transported, whereof a promise is made him; as also pardon to himself for misprision of treason in concealing his knowledge, which he says was to save his brother, and herein he clears off the reflection that some throw on him—of willingness to destroy his brother in order to have the estate. The heads of what he affirms are that he knew of the design against His Majesty's life, and that although he were zealous for bringing in that religion, yet he did never in his heart consent unto this. That Ireland

* Sir Robert Southwell's mother, Helena, daughter of Major Robert Gore, of Sherston, Wilts, died July 1, 1679.

did speak to him to find out four stout Irishmen and that he named to him Levallin, Carney, Broughall and one Wilson, an Englishman ; that these or some others were sent into Windsor, and that on the 19th of April when he saw Ireland in London, being then come post from Wolverhampton, Ireland used means also to make him take a part in that undertaking, but that he did refuse, though offered by Ireland, besides the merit as to the Catholic cause. the remitting of twenty pounds, which Ireland, being his kinsman, had lent him ; for it seems he had at dice played away fifty pounds of his father's money and was put to some shifts to make it up. He further says that when Mr. Ireland, Harcoate and his brother have been together he has heard them very pleasant upon the revolutions expected, and that one of them fell upon that expression which Mr. Oates in his depositions relates that if C. R. would not write R. C. he should not be C. R. very long ; also that Ireland would frequently say that there was but one man's life that hindered all their business. That Ireland told him that Sir George Wakeman might very well poison the King, and when he answered that Sir George was but physician to the Queen, Ireland said that that would give him opportunity enough to do it. That he once telling his brother, the Jesuit, how that if he could but get a commission for a company in the late army at Hounslow Heath he might live very well with the eighty pounds a year which his father allowed him ; whereupon his brother replied that if he qualified himself aright he would procure him a commission to the Duke of York. To which he replied, " that now can hardly be, for that army is completed." " Well ! " said he, " there is other work to be done, and the Catholic cause must be brought in, and the great Catholics of England are engaged therein, as the Lord Arundel, Lord Bellasis, Lord Powis, with others whose names he has forgot, and that after the King was disposed of he should receive this commission ; but that he must take an oath of secrecy, which was accordingly intended on the next ensuing holiday. He further added that in their discourses he heard them say that with very much ado they had prevailed on the late Lord Treasurer. This is what I can remember, and I believe this which he says and what more he is like to say, for *iu*. [The King] is confident he will every day enlarge, and will make no small stir in the next Parliament.

My Lord President took solemn occasion to reflect on the testimony which Sir Philip Lloyd had given on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, and that the behaviour of the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs was such on that trial as that he was no longer fit to serve either His Majesty or the nation. To which His Majesty said that if men had proceeded according to their consciences he knew no fault they had done, and although this matter went no farther, yet it is a fair prognostic of what we are like to hear of in Parliament, and the town does already make Serjeant Pemberton Lord Chief Justice. I did enquire of Mr. Secretary Coventry whether what he had writ unto your Grace in favour of my Lord Castlehaven might not also extend to the payment of the pension of my Lord Courcy ? He told me he had writ something touching

my Lord Castlehaven, but could not recollect anything of my Lord Courcy, so that if your Grace find that matter defective I presume you will think fit to move Mr. Secretary again, that so the said payment may go on as formerly.

I also made enquiry what the Treasury had done with those letters concerning Ireland which had been so long a time before them, and speaking thereof to my Lord of Essex he said they had agreed to all the items that your Grace had mentioned, altho' some were large, for, said he, there is £700 for cleansing of arms, when perhaps all the arms in the kingdom were not worth so much. But for those general clauses of applying the surplus of the revenue to such uses as your Grace thought fit, he thought it proper to have those uses specified, and what every charge might amount unto, and that then there would be no difficulty to approve the same. And when I spoke of this matter to Mr. Secretary Coventry he told me the fact was as I had heard. So that he is now sufficiently empowered to send your Grace His Majesty's letters for all the items you have specified; and that if you think fit to send over another draught that may comprehend and specify the public uses unto which the surplus of the revenue may be applied there is not likely to be any further delay in that matter. And if your Grace shall think fit to proceed in this method I doubt not but your Grace will then also vouchsafe to mention my satisfaction for the lands of Rincorran according to the order His Majesty hath given therein already.

At my arrival here from Tunbridge I did expect your Grace would have said somewhat to me about going to Oxford; but I presently understood that my Lord James had upon some occasion been at Windsor, and upon your Grace's command was just returning back to Oxford. So that I conceive some points in question have been so far looked into as to know better how to proceed in the future.

1679, August 20. King's Weston.—I am here spending a month at my new acquisition, where I find a clear title, good air, a kind soil, a large prospect, and something peculiar which is in the neighbourhood of Kinsale. The house and conveniences are well enough for a hundred miles from London, but that which would crown all would be to see and entertain your Grace therein, which I will not despair of if ever it happen to lie in your Grace's way.* Here I receive the honour of your Grace's of the 23rd past from Dublin, and of the 30th from Kilkenny, the first coming a week after the latter, and therein I find your Grace's favourable remembrance of me touching my Rincorran account, which sorts very happily with the obligations that call upon me in this place.

What the Treasury have answered your Grace you know long before this time. I made bold also to mention what I heard thereof before I left London, and likewise in the same letter I told

* King's Weston, in Gloucestershire. Sir Robert Southwell entertained King William III. there on his return from Ireland in 1690.

your Grace that my Lord James was returned from Windsor to Oxford, unto which place I mean, God willing, to direct my course in our return to London, that I may make some observations in relation to his Lordship. At my coming down it was generally said that the Lord Ranelagh was going over, but all his motions are best observed and attended by my Lord Longford. I know not if your Grace had any satisfactory answer as to the Parliament on that side; but in relation to yourself nothing could sound happier than at my taking leave with my Lord Chamberlain.

I did call as I passed for an hour at Windsor, where *re*. [Shaftesbury] was the next day expected and to be plainly admonished that it was better to have him a declared enemy out of his post than in it, and that he should resolve accordingly. He was by sickness hindered from going; but on the other side he appears to undervalue his station, and would affect to be discharged harshly as the way to enhance him elsewhere. He labours openly in the new elections to have them men of his own mind. When he hears that *hn* [Lord Halifax] is labouring to be *ks* [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland] he says he wonders not that a man should desire to be absent at this *my* [Parliament] who did *er* [determine] the last. I am convinced that *re* will throw all the reflexion imaginable on the trial of Sir G. Wakeman so as to bring it under notorious jealousy that there was combination and bribing in that affair, and, indeed, the people are already at it without instigation. So as I fear *pr* [The Queen] is not out of gunshot.

I am very glad to hear from your Grace of the present quietness of that kingdom. I am sure ever since the Plot the two others have been in much more disquiet and agitation; and I think when the difference is well considered no man of sense or gratitude but will think himself bound to pray for the Pilot. For my own part I pray for my Lady Duchess also.

1679, August 22. King's Weston.—The frigate being not yet sailed I presume to send the enclosed for news; unto which I have nothing to add but that the newsletter says that none of those in His Majesty's service could get to be elected at Windsor, but the same that served before, which is a most base ungrateful instance of people that subsist now by the Court. 'Tis said also that Sir Thomas Armstrong is discharged all employments at the Court, and 'tis supposed for his too pregnant zeal against the Duke of York. I hear by a letter out of Staffordshire that my Lord Chief Justice in his circuit there has so mauled and knocked down all the priests and Papists that came before him that he resolves to pull back fame whatever it cost.

1679, September 20. London.—I got hither yesterday, making what haste I could to the Court, and having a great cold to contend withal I was diverted from my purpose of passing by Oxford, which, if the Court go to Newmarket, I may retrieve.

I observed everywhere in the countries a strange agitation in the spirits of the people; their minds warmed in a great part by

contention and animosity in the elections for the Parliament, where not only inclination but even moderation towards the Court seems to be grown matter of accusation and indifferency in religion. Then the swarms of pamphlets and the liberty of intelligence from hence adds new flame, so that if the Parliament were not so nigh, which they think is to remedy what every man expects, there are many, I fear, would be carving out satisfaction for themselves. London, methinks, which is the source of all, seems yet more calm and undisturbed than any place else. The Duke, they say, is to depart on Thursday, and the Duke of Monmouth the day before. But in case the King's journey to Newmarket be deferred (and the physicians do all declare against it) 'tis likely their departure may for some days be also put off. It is certain that *fz* [Essex], *hn* [Halifax], the new *qz* [Secretary] and *pb* [Lord Powis], who engross all, were wonderfully amazed at the Duke's arrival, and could not propose a more acceptable motive to him to return than that the other Duke should first depart (nor did His Royal Highness go away before until there was registered in the Council's books something to his gratification against the other Duke). But now this dismissal also was obtained from *iu* [The King] with the more resolution upon another motive, as if thereby *re* [Shaftesbury] would be quite deprived of his instrument and the divisions in *dk* [Court] cease, which had hitherto distracted all the *dq* [Privy Council]. So that in the resolution of departure *iu* [The King] is very positive, but in the meantime there continues all demonstration of personal kindness, and although the King has revoked the commission of General and Lieutenant [] yet no new commission is designed for any ; and the pay [] of £8,000 a year as master of the horse is to be continued, and the Duke of Monmouth says his absence is to be but during this session of Parliament. So that your Grace sees how this matter hangs, and may also collect that *re* [Lord Shaftesbury] is to be shaken off and left to do his worst, which 'tis likely he will not be displeased at, but augment and propagate his interest thereby, and would even have broken loose himself if the way were not coming out to his hand ; and there is no doubt but he is whetting his tools against his quondam friends, and they on the other side are likely, and do already show some marks of willingness to expose all that lie within the reach of the Plot, and in particular that *te* be sacrificed, and such other things as may magnify their proceedings. This is the state of things as well as in so short a time I can understand them. *mo* [Lord Ossory] was just now with me and showed me what he had written your Grace, and we discoursed upon the advice which he has proposed, and he did desire I would express my disagreement with him therein, for I cannot imagine that all the enemies that *fh* [Ormond] hath can do more, if the Parliament had full leisure to hear them, than to get him removed. The sore place *mo* [Ossory] mentions is of so ancient a date that there will not be room to hearken to it in so busy an age of fresh and higher things elsewhere. But if that expedient were taken to cover over this it would justify so far in my opinion

the calumnies that have been lately spread which are altogether groundless, as to give occasion enough for an address to remove though not to punish, and, therefore, seeing it may rather hasten than retard a mischief, and if it would even do good */h* [Ormond] will have little stomach to follow the two examples that are now given him; and considering also how unqualified some are lately become who stood fair before, and that 'tis hard to find any other to fill the place to the satisfaction of him that must give it, I think the expedient is not so advisable; however, I think it not amiss that everything, whether good, bad or different, be said and exposed, for */h* [Ormond] will easily see which is best.

I am debtor to your Grace for one from Kilkenny with a copy of that which was written from the Council to Mr. Secretary, but being newly come I know not well where I have laid that letter so as to answer it in particular. There went a report at Court this night as if a warrant were out against the Duke of Buckingham, but there is no such thing.

1679, September 30.—I presume all letters of the last post told your Grace of the departure of both the Dukes; the one and the other were well thronged at the farewell, but His Royal Highness by a superior rank, it being said there were eighteen Lords went with him even to the ships, and all the Earl of Danby's friends were high in their caresses. Many think the Duke's coming has been of great use to him in countenancing the adherers to his right; and his own cheerfulness seemed to manifest no less. The point gained on his nephew as to the power of the army, and absence where hurt might happen, was the greatest stroke, which yet, as rumours already go, may be reversed by addresses of Parliament. Nay, some will add that the King did this only to hasten his return to Brussels and that James shall be admitted back and left to his own ways as before, notwithstanding the entry against him on the 3rd of March last in the Council Books. 'Tis true that his payments continue very large, and that there was no show of discountenance to the minute of his going, and he adventured to take no leave of his uncle, which is reckoned little less than defiance. He also told all that the King had declared his absence but until the next Session were over, and the Duke's friends also talk of his and his whole family's return in February next. But I have heard a very great man say he believed that the King would admit neither of them until they could both return together.

The prorogation for thirteen days begins to shake the confidence of many whether it may not extend further. The King urged for it the hopes of some alliance with Holland, the confirmation of his health, and preparing things to the content of the Parliament, so that it easily passed. Another point was the want of a commission from the Lord Steward, which was ordered. But *iu* [King] had secret advice that a knot of *lg* [members] here in town had agreed to begin at their first sitting down with *fi* [Duke], *pr* [Queen], and to see whether *iu* [King] durst so little countenance

our *qf* [religion] as to hinder their progress. I am assured that *re* [Shaftesbury] drives at a new *pr* [Queen]; somebody from among the high *fm* [Dutch] and by *ke* [law] to exclude all others. He is next for *ue* [war] with *un* *gq* [France] and that the *iu* *ei* [King declare] for head of all those of our *qf* [religion]. I believe he will soon be dismissed *pg* [Privy Council] and perhaps *xb* *wk* *wn* *wx* *wy* *xb* [Radnor]. In his *nq*, for he is fallen into the interest of the *te* [Danby], and to verify the reports that *te* still has *in* [interest] and influence *iu* [King] ordered *de* [Secretary] to send for him privately on Thursday last, but *y* gave *h* it under his hand it could not be done so that meeting fell. And surely it must be some mighty thing which *aa* [Earl of Bath] and other friends that daily pass and bring letters could not impart, but that such hazard of offence to *my* [Parliament.] must be incurred, which is another point of doubt upon the meeting for surely if *te* [Danby] can prevail he will not be for *my* [a Parliament] It is certain that *iu*. [King] is possessed by many of the little hopes of moderation from *my* where so many angry *la* [men] are to enter, and who will fasten upon *iu* [King] the protection of *ns* [the Plot] if he give them not their will, and hat they will begin with *fi* [Duke] *pr* [Queen] whose protection he means to assert; so that in prospect of this cloud he has said that if they would not do their *mz* [part] he could *wu* *ws* *ue* *wo* [live].

Now this of *lm* [money] and *xc* *xe* *wl* *l* *yc* *ws* *xc* *xd* *wk* *wx* *wm* [subsidy] will become the great point. And, indeed, if nobody shall be *wz* *wk* *xh* *wn* [paid] and that *iu* [King] will believe *gq* [France] (which 'tis certain they affirm to him) that he needs no *lw* [pains] as being secure on that side, we may on these terms spin out for some time, although the next year will *er* [determine] a great part of *lm* [money]. But surely this Council suits better with the fear and desperate fortune *te* [Danby], *pb* [Lord Powis] and the new *qz* [Secretary] than with the condition of *fz* [Earl of Essex], *hn* [Lord Halifax] who must desire to be on surer terms for the *meine*. And not leave the world to say (as already they do) that we have *se*. [succour] from *gq* [France]. As to *fz* [Earl of Essex] his care for parsimony in the *xz* which is so useful to *iu*, and of hopes to himself is become matter of accusation from all those who would have already *iu* run aground and at mercy for *si* [supply], so that he has sharp and angry eyes upon him on this account, and they bear it worse from him who but so lately was for reformation as well as they. Nay, *gp* [Sir Stephen Fox] has new clouds and menaces upon him for being thought the only instrument that has kept things afloat by his credit and supplies, so that all his past accounts are threatened with a Brookhouse. On the other side however this *kr* [lord] merits from *iu* [King], yet having lately said in reference to the *wz* *wk* *xb* *wn* *wy* *wx* [pardon] of *te* [Danby] which was designed to be *gq* that it were better to live under great *tl* [Turk] than where such *ny* [power] should be allowed, this has so disgusted *fz* whether the inclination for *te* [Danby] or the affected regality of the thing that 'tis said he shall never be single *nf* [Paymaster.]

As to *hn* [Lord Halifax] he is lately much impaired in his health, and 'tis said dejected in his ambition seeing so sharp a storm against him; reviled by *re* [Shaftesbury] as a betrayer of all their secrets, and menaced to be exposed in Parliament with the utmost shame, and both he and *fz* [Earl of Essex] troubled in many occasions that they cannot carry some points that would be popular.

Upon the whole matter from those general lines of uncertainty in what relates to *my* from the load that lies on some or the direction of others who gaped for *ks* from the present good opinion of *fh* with *iu* and the much greater things of public nature like to be in agitation, I think *fh* is out of gun shot, and that his enemies will not be able for this term at least to get their clamours on the list of causes to be heard. *Fz* inquired lately for the *ag* [Bill] transmitted, saying he would look over it when he could get time; a copy of it was sent him by *rl* [Solicitor], and whether this may be to pick cavils with it or to facilitate *my* on that side you can best judge. Sir John Werden and Sir Thomas Armstrong are both left here behind, and take notice of what passeth in Court.

Being lately with *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] he told me *as* [Bishop of London] had given him a large account of some very severe usage to Doctor Sall from your *cc* [Lord Chancellor], so that from thence and the absolute ascendant which *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick] had with him he suspects him little short of *mx* [Papist]. Your Grace may dispose of this information as you think fit. I perceive up and down great objections against the aid *kr* lord, and even the friends of *fh* think he is more intimate there than he needs be. 'Tis whispered that either Sir William Coventry or Mr. Powell will ere long fill the place of Sir John Ernley, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1679, October 4.—From Newmarket they write that His Majesty is in good health and in very good humour, and the Queen the same. That they have every day the divertisement of the comedy, and at night nothing but dancing and merriment. If a stranger should see that scene and then turning elsewhere read and hear the loud alarms of *ti*. [treason] that fly about in so many parts he would conclude himself to be in two very distant regions.

Fz [Earl of Essex] is now gone to *bk*. to settle and fix the resolution of one to succeed *re* as I told you before, and the party the same. This I had yesterday in confidence from *as* [Bishop of London], but withal suspecting vehemently that *fz* [Essex] would choose rather to slip aside and close with *my* [Parliament.]

To this point of jealousy when you add what he hath done against *fi* [Duke of York] what he lately declared as I told you against *te* [Danby] and the thing that shelters him; when I consider that where he has appeared to *ct* [comply] *bt* [Sir H. Capel] has been opposite, and closed more in opinion with *re* [Shaftesbury]; when at the same time that I have heard the friends of *re* [Shaftesbury] revile *hy* [Halifax], yet to speak mildly of *fz* [Essex] and that this has told a confident of his he desired in

no kind to be *nf* [Treasurer] for about *ln* [Montagu] there are arising numerous difficulties; when to all these points the nature of the party is considered, and that such menaces fly of danger about his *ti* [treason] against the late *my* [Parliament], I see it not improbable but that what *as* [Bishop of London] suspects may come to pass. And if he be once loosened from the present *mi* [office] then certainly nothing but *ks* [Lord Lieutenant] will be in his thoughts. And by this means 'tis possible he may carry his point, which advertisement is not unseasonable, though I see not how to obstruct it.

The Lord President has this night directed that the Council meet to-morrow in the afternoon, and the reason guessed at is upon a report spread that the Duke of York and the Duchess were parted from Brussels and sailed towards Scotland; whereas I presume there is nothing more in the matter than that they went in a visit with the Lady Anne towards the Hague.

1679, October 4. Spring Garden.—In reviewing your Grace's letter of the 24th of August, I observe your Grace intended a petition to be transmitted in favour of my Lord Courcy, which as yet I do not find is come to Mr. Secretary; but because Michaelmas is come and I am this night sending fresh supply to his Lordship, I presume to make mention thereof. Also in my own concern about Rincorran I observe what your Grace in the same letter so sensibly expostulates, that by the punctilio of assuming all sort of direction to the Treasury, the beggars are let in upon what your Grace designed for public uses and are dividing the spoil.

Whether I do not *resent* herein both the cause and effect I leave your Grace to judge, and do humbly beseech your Grace that if things are by such grants left to a *scramble*, that your Grace would take notice of the date of my letter, being the 14th of March last, and prefer me to all subsequent orders; and especially seeing my business was depending for a year before, as will appear by the enclosed copy of His Majesty's letter ordering my £1,041 2s. 6d. to issue out of the same fund that was appointed for building the fort, which was the way and manner of payment that by your Grace and the Council there was proposed unto His Majesty. So that I hope your Grace has already warrant enough from this letter to proceed to my satisfaction. And when I presume to tell your Grace that I am £5,000 in debt I need say no more to show my want of this supply. Therefore I do most humbly beg your Grace's assistance.

1679, October 7. London.—There is now everywhere spread a report of the Duke's being gone with his family from Holland into Scotland. The Council met on this occasion upon Sunday last by my Lord President's direction, who told their Lordships that several of the Scotch nobility and others had assured of him the truth thereof, and that if it should so fall out he did fear the Mass and Presbytery would make but a mad medley together; that

it were fit to advise His Majesty thereof and worthy of serious consideration in case the Duke has undertaken such a thing of himself; but, on the other side, if it were done with His Majesty's approbation they were then to acquiesce therein. The tidings appeared very strange to most that were present, so that for farther information their Lordships ordered one of the clerks to go to Mr. Secretary Coventry, who lay ill of the gout, to know what advices he had and what he believed of the report. Mr. Secretary returned for answer that he knew nothing of it; that the King had imparted no such resolution to him nor had any pass or warrant to that effect gone through his hands. The Lords with this answer broke up, but directed that if Mr. Secretary should have any certain account he should give notice to the Lord President, that so the Council might be called again. *Rp* [Sir R. Southwell] does believe this report by the manner of speaking to him by *be* [G. Bridges] in which case if *my* [Parliament] resent it 'tis not hard to believe that *fh* [Ormond] will sit uneasy, especially if what I said in my last concerning *fz* [Earl of Essex] prove true. The said Council did order that Sir Tho. Gascoigne and Sir Miles Stapleton should be brought to trial next term at the Kings Bench Bar, and that the Lords of the Treasury should furnish £200 or £300 to lie ready for services in prosecution of the Plot.

This day the city have here chosen the same four burgesses who served them in Parliament before. And it was carried for them with such a torrent as that there was neither poll nor dispute that could stand in their way. When it is but considered what industry, arts and anxiety has been used to bring this matter thus to pass, one may easily foretell so far of some events in Parliament as the sense of this great city take place. Such events I mean as principally concern *fi* [Duke of York] and *pr* [The Queen], *pb* [Lord Powis], and God knows what else. So that much of what I had in apprehension when I writ to your Grace the first of this month was twelvemonth is in a great part now almost conspicuous.

I had last night the honour of your Grace's of the 27th past, in the first part of which I see your Grace full of the same impressions as to that sort of armour, which I before reckoned upon. And surely nothing otherwise can be thought or resolved therein. Perhaps what was done in that kind by *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale] has some relation to the present rumour concerning *fi* [Duke of York] and *qw* [Scotland.] 'Tis here said that besides the late pardons of the Duke of Monmouth and Duke of Lauderdale (the first of which is not yet brought to the seal) that the new *qz* [Secretary] is also passing another, which inflames the animosity concerning pardons, so that most think the Parliament will break in with some law upon that point, as to prohibit any pardons to Privy Councillors and public officers but by consent Parliament.

As to the second point of your Grace's letter and the honour you vouchsafe me in relation to my Lord James, I will lay all other things aside and go on Friday next, God willing, to Oxford.

From whence I will bring a faithful account of what I find, let the blame light where it will. And above all I will study to gain some credit with my Lord James that he may take my word for what I shall say or what I may afterwards write unto him. I do hear from several hands that things are not there as they should be, and I now write to my Lord Chamberlain that I am going down by your Grace's direction, and that I will report to his Lord at my return how things stand, because his Lordship may be prepared as to Monsieur Drelincourt, whom he recommended, in case it should so fall out that I should have anything to say to his disadvantage. Sir James Shaen and the partners of my Lord Ranelagh were this day in close consultation together.

1679, October 10. London.—On Wednesday while the Lords were at Council, Mr. Secretary sent them what he had from my Lord Sunderland of His Majesty granting the Duke's desire to pass into Scotland; and that in a few days he would be in the Downs where two frigates were appointed to attend him. *re* [Shaftesbury] declared it was the worst counsel that ever was given His Majesty. *ce* [Lord Chancellor] answered that perhaps there was no counsel in it, but only a request made and the same presently accorded; to which the other replied he was sorry they were made so useless and to remember that it was otherwise promised in the late declaration touching the Council. But they presently rose, one of them saying it was much better so than if he had gone into Ireland.

Those who speak favourably of this resolution say that the Duke was so pestered at Brussels with the resort of Irish and numerous families that have lately gone out of England, that whatever discourses of danger or imprudence fell from them was placed to his account. Next that the Spaniards were not only uneasy, but even scandalized; that instead of seeing him at Mass (which none of 'em ever did) there were two ministers in his family reading prayers constantly twice a day, and sermons twice on Sundays to the Protestants that belonged to him; then that his expenses were very great, which, in Scotland, will not only be contracted but laid out in His Majesty's dominions. Others whom the journey displeased cry out upon a combination between the Papists and fanatics; that he will have now two kingdoms at his devotion—at least so soon as ever the right shall devolve unto him. That this explains the taking away the commission of General and Lieutenant-General, and that the Duke of Monmouth is likely to continue long where he is. Hence they prognosticate a short life to *my* [Parliament], and thereupon that *fi* [Duke of York] may speedily come hither, especially having the motive now spoken of that *fk* [Duchess] is coming hither to her rights, and here to remain.

I do perceive by discourse with *be* [Mr. Secretary Coventry] that he is deeply possessed with the advantage of this *dq* [counsel] given *fi* [the Duke] and that the rage of *re* [Shaftesbury] and such like thereat is that it confounds the measures they had taken.

Rp [Sir Robert Southwell] was last night to wait upon *az* [Mr. R. Boyle] at his brother's, who both told him of advice from their brother of a plot discovered in the county of Limerick, by one David Fitzgerald, who had long since revealed it to Sir Thomas Southwell and another justice, who are now accused of treason for concealing the same—(others report that Sir Thomas is clapt up); that this David had been sent by the Judges of the Assize at Limerick to your Grace, as under accusation of treasonable words; but that after examination your Grace had set him at liberty; that Limerick was to have been seized; that 5,000 arms were shipped at Morlaix in a doggerboat, and to have been landed between Youghal and Dungarvan; that the French are in the bottom of all this; that your Grace had ordered his brother to employ the nine companies in those parts to the most advantage that could be, which was accordingly done; but that the Irish in Limerick were three times more numerous than the English; that it would never be well or safe till the heads of the Irish were clapt up, and particularly those in Carbery; that there were strange fears and jealousies among all the English in that kingdom; that it was strange they should pay £5 a barrel for powder, which can be had at the Tower for £3 10s.; that the arms from the Tower are so unreasonably dear that no man will buy them; that it were fit all the English should be better armed, and that none but they have arms allowed; that Sir Richard Ingoldsby had been with him the day before lamenting several of these points; but the point Sir Richard thinks unanswerable, and everywhere speaks of, is that the proclamation which was issued for calling in arms should give twenty-one days' notice to lay them all aside. These are the themes wherewith some, I dare say, do rather comfort themselves than deplore the case.

News came last night from Holland that the Dutch do waive that alliance which we expected with them, that is, that the deputies being returned to the States, they broke up without any mention thereof, which is the effect, most say, of the French menaces; but others that they are willing to see what the approaching Parliament here will do in this great crisis, before they meddle with England.

I am just now stepping into the coach to attend my Lord James at Oxford having, by way of preparation, discoursed with as many here as had made any observations of that matter, and I wrote last night to my Lord Bishop that I was coming to wait upon him. As to news I suppose the letters of to-morrow night may tell your Grace something fresher than what here I mention.

1679, October 15. London.—Yesterday the Lord Radnor was by His Majesty called up to take the seat of Lord President, and he is at present the person much in request. Mr. Secretary Coventry acquainted His Majesty, upon reading a letter from your Grace, that the Earl of Orrery was dead; upon which none of the Board made any harangue either on one side or the other. My Lord Chancellor moved that all the Irish bills which were lying in the hands either of Mr. Attorney or Mr. Solicitor, might

be returned to the Board, and upon notice thereof the Committee for those affairs are to meet, and to fit those Bills to be sent back unto your Grace. This followed upon what I doubt not but my Lord Ossory will acquaint your Grace His Majesty said on the reading of your late letter referring to these Bills and the humour of a particular Lord. Upon which His Majesty presently declared that he would have a Parliament to meet in Ireland, which I hope will prove a happy turn for the benefit and defence of that kingdom, and an opportunity to testify and applaud your Grace's care thereof. My Lord Courcy's petition was yesterday read, and an unanimous vote given in favour of it. So I will get a letter despatched unto your Grace thereupon.

Mr. Attorney General having refused all persuasions to hold his place, my Lord Chancellor presented the names of nine to His Majesty, out of which Sir Cresswell Levinge is chosen to be the Attorney; his Lordship studiously continuing his son in the post of Solicitor. I happened to tell this news unto *fz* [Earl of Essex] and to touch upon the disappointment herein of *su*, unto which he replied that if my Lord Chancellor had but given his helping hand that disappointment had not happened.

There is one Mrs. Price, Mrs. Harris and Mr. John Taesbrough sent to the Gatehouse and are like to have the same fate with Mr. Reading, on account of tampering with Dugdale to renounce all his evidence. Mrs. Price alleges that Dugdale came first to her declaring his remorse, praying the Duke's pardon, and to be transported beyond sea. Upon which she and Mr. Taesborow (formerly a servant to the Duchess) did indeed urge him to show his sincerity by signing of a note of detestation against the plot and all he had done therein. And that Dugdale had come to her with pretence of marriage, in consequence of what had been treated of ten years ago at the Lord Aston's house. But Dugdale swears that she began, and that upon the very first motion made him he went and revealed all to the then Lord President, from whom and others having directions to entertain the proposal, he held the matter in hand, and did insist to have that under the Duke's hand, which they pretended in the Duke's name to promise him; and at one of the conferences there was placed in a study a Justice of Peace and his clerk who took notes, and now testify as Dugdale says, that Mrs. Price did own the whole matter to be brought on by herself. His Royal Highness was pleased to call in at the Committee, and to assure their Lordships that as soon as ever he had the first notice of this matter of Dugdale's penitence he did reject it as a trepan.

On Monday the Council will again meet to examine something which they call a Presbyterian plot, but will prove in likelihood to be only the contrivance of one Willoughby, who hid papers in the chamber of one Mansfield; for Willoughby, having been formerly in the pillory upon coining matters, his practices are all suspected.

The Lady Ranelagh is sending this night some cordials to her brother* as not believing him dead; it was so said by Dr. Cox.

* Lord Orrery.

I had last night a letter from my Lord James in his own pure native style and freedom, so that our correspondence is like to go on.

The *Garland* frigate is arrived at Bristol after great storms and tearing all her sails.

1679, October 18. London.—Being on my journey on Tuesday last I could not acquaint your Grace with what I suppose others did how that Mr. Bridgeman was sent with a letter from the Earl of Sunderland to my Lord Shaftesbury to let him know His Majesty did, excuse his further attendance in Council. To which his Lordship said that the letter needed no other answer than that he would give obedience thereunto; adding also that he wondered not much to be dismissed, when he so lately saw His Majesty advised to send away even a son with tears in his eyes; that he knew not that he had ever disserved His Majesty, and that when His Majesty thought so too he should be still ready to attend his commands.

On Wednesday at Council His Majesty took notice that in the commission presented him by the Lord Chancellor about proroguing the Parliament, the Earl of Shaftesbury was named for one, and as President of the Council. He thereupon bade his Lordship to make over a new one leaving that name out, and His Majesty having acquainted the Board that he thought it very ill service done him to have the advices and even the very words of those that sat there told about to their disadvantage, when they gave him but such counsel as was fit, he therefore ordered the clerk to strike the Earl of Shaftesbury's name out of the Council Book. And further, His Majesty acquainted their Lordships that for very important reasons he thought fit to have the Parliament prorogued unto the 26th of January; that he would take this matter upon himself and desired nobody to speak therein, for he did not love that any should be arraigned abroad for their opinions there. *Bt* [Sir Henry Capel] made some essay of speaking, but because of the command thought fit to acquiesce.

On the Monday before the Lord President had appointed an extraordinary meeting of the Council, and then entered deeply as on the Friday before into a necessity of being concerned for Hamburg to speed away an envoy to expostulate with the King of Denmark, and to fit out eight frigates to keep open the Elbe. Upon all which a report was to be made ready, and calculation of charge against His Majesty's return. And now also on Monday the Duke being arrived, the Lord President took notice thereof, and proposed a free debate in relation to the journey to Scotland; but by agreement it was put off unto the next Council day. And this gave *p* [Earl of Anglesey] occasion upon Wednesday before His Majesty to break in upon that business with some preamble of inclination to the Duke's stay. But His Majesty told him that he thought his motion as unseasonable as everything else had been at that Board, in calling extraordinary Councils, etc., with relation to his brother, for that he knew nothing that

hindered him from going into England, Scotland or Ireland, or any other part of his dominions ; that he was a brother who had expressed so much deference to him in all things that he must ever consider him accordingly ; and that wherever he went it was not matter of concern there ; but, by way of information, he could assure his Lordship that his brother was presently going into Scotland.

The same day at Council Sir Thomas Williams appeared, as also his antagonist, Mr. Oates, who had some witnesses to back his accusation ; so that the knight was sent to the Gatehouse with this warrant—for carrying false messages between His Royal Highness and Mr. Oates ; and for having said that he knew enough to break the neck of the Duke of York and all his party, and would out with it if he were provoked, yet refusing, upon examination at the Board, to declare the same. The knight denied flatly what was proved against him, but it was plain he had been blowing other coals than what concerned him in the profession of a chemist.

After this slaughter upon the knight Mr. Oates was heard against Sir Philip Lloyd, where all the objections were either answered or excused save only this : that after the trial of Sir George Wakeman, Sir Philip, in a sort of bravery, presented himself in the *Rainbow* coffee house, and declared that he did not believe any kind of plot against the King's person, notwithstanding what any had said to the contrary. He in excuse declared that he had only said he knew of no other than a fanatic plot. But Oates had got ready four shrewd coffee-drinkers, then present, who swore the matter point blank ; so that the Board thought fit to advise His Majesty to suspend Sir Philip from his attendance during His Majesty's pleasure, lest his indiscretion against what had been so solemnly voted in two Parliaments, about which proclamations had issued, and a public fast solemnized, should seem to be countenanced there also, if he escaped without some mortification.

Those who, in the *Gazette* and the prorogation of the Parliament and the displeasure against the Earl of Shaftesbury, joined together, and this just at the season when the Duke is here, exercise great licence in their observations and discourse, imputing all misfortunes to one cause and magnifying the Earl of Shaftesbury as the public martyr. This will doubtless furnish new fuel to the press, which has already afforded such flames as if all the beacons of England were set on fire. And thus men freely talk in every corner ; that the nation is left unguarded either as to force or foreign alliance ; that the Plot and plotters seem to have protection from the Court ; that these prorogations do but foretell the disuse of any Parliament, especially happening at a time when the public wants are so visible, and must increase by the failure of the additional branches ; so that some think that resolute counsels are now taken up ; that Scotland and Ireland must become formidable and keep all in awe ; and that if there be any sense or meaning in these things it must arise, if not from a worse motive, at least from an unshaken confidence that there is no

danger to be apprehended from France, and that nothing need to be spent upon that account; and there are not a few that do really believe this kind of security, but are grieved to impute it to our own dissensions, in which we swim, and which as a strong tide carries us insensibly on that lee-shore, which we should better escape if all the winds and tempests of France were openly broken out against us. How far this confidence has any share in retarding a Parliament on that side and making the defence of that kingdom needless must be left to conjecture; but surely he that most urges in that particular does best exonerate himself in an important matter.

I shall add to your Grace these broken particulars that fly about. First, that *hn* [Lord Halifax] is certainly very sick and, as *re* [Shaftesbury] and others will have it, troubled in mind for having left his old friends and meddled in matters that run amiss and reflect dangerously upon him; that *re* should jestingly say of his sickness that *fh* [Ormond] lay heavy in his stomach, and he would never be well till he brought him up or down. But I am told he said seriously that *dk* [the Court] finding that *fh* [Ormond] would answer their purpose they thought no more of him. Some have now got it by the end as a great discovery, that the Lord Ranelagh had been instrumental by a lady's favour to gain *hn* [Lord Halifax] a full promise of *ks* [Lord Lieutenant], but that he had been as instrumental to break it all to pieces and to obtain a commission of three years more to *fh* [Ormond]. Upon which all the accounts that have hitherto been made so black are now to be white and clean; but of this you know best what the honest men here believe. Some thought the Earl of Radnor would have been made President, and 'tis said he expects it, but as yet it is not done. I am told in great secret that *be* [Secretary Coventry] gave the advice about *fg* [Duke of York] and *qw* [Scotland], and I am very apt by circumstances to believe it, and that *kf* [Lauderdale] knew it not till done; also that *lq* [Duke of Monmouth] had a letter sent him to continue where he is.

Mr. Attorney General has got His Majesty's permission to lay down his place, and who will succeed is not yet known, tho' Sir John Temple has been mentioned. Mr. Serjeant, the priest, has sent word that he will appear on this side. Yesterday there were about 150 members in the House of Commons who met about the prorogation; which was done accordingly without any motion among the Commons. Your Grace's letter with the Judge's report was read in Council, and little said thereto in reference to Colonel Fitzpatrick, but that the matter might proceed in the way it was in. Neither *fz* [Earl of Essex] nor the Lord Radnor were present. There is an order of Council appointing the Judges and the King's learned Counsel to meet to see how far the law will reach, or what may be done against the license of the press. The Duke of Buckingham has been lately seen in Paris.

I am promised the copy of a Bill drawn by way of project to reconcile all these disputes relating to Popery in the succession,

making everything as strict as can be devised—bating the Duke's exclusion. I will send it your Grace as soon as it comes to my hand.

Postscript.—I have now the honour of your Grace's two letters of the 8th instant, in one of which I received the copy of a petition which I hope will speed very well in Council; and I heartily acknowledge your Grace's remembrance of me in the other point about satisfaction for my land. If it will depend on the success of what is to be approved at the Treasury here, I beg a word of instruction what I shall do in case my appearance be needful.

Your Grace is now pleased to acquaint me with a noise about French arms, and the deportment of FitzGerald, whereof I told your Grace by the post of this day sennight what I had before heard from the Lord Burlington and Mr. Boyle upon that subject, unto which I omitted to add this particular—that there were two priests taken in a vessel that came to Youghal; that they flung their papers overboard in prospect of their seizure; and that being examined at Castlemartyr one of them confessed he had been a sort of secretary unto my Lord Berkeley at Paris. I do not find that this new plot makes here any noise; but I am now armed by your Grace to speak as to the manner of the thing, though you say nothing as to the matter of it.

My Lord of Ossory desired me to acquaint your Grace that the Lord Burlington came lately in much kindness to him, saying that nothing stuck so much on this side in reflexion upon your Grace as the twenty days notice given the Papists by proclamation about their arms; and that the powder and arms sent thither from the Tower should be held up at such excessive rates as that very few will buy. Upon which two particulars it were good, he said, that your friends here were sufficiently armed. My Lord of Ossory told me also of another point which he said he would write himself, and in favour of which was that the same Lord gave the like evidence of his brother's illness, which your Grace observes some others there did, of desiring what might fall, and that his Lordship seemed to affect to succeed in the government of Limerick and of his brother's troop. My Lord Chamberlain bid me tell your Grace that whoever brings him the certainty about *mn* [Lord Orrery] shall have a guinea from him for the news. Just now my Lord of Ossory showed me your Grace's of the 12th, to which all I can say is that Mr. Solicitor told me about a fortnight after the time he was spoken to that he had not then sent the Irish Bill to that Lord, nor had it been sent for; but I will know more to-morrow. There is no certainty yet of the time of the Duke's departure. I never yet heard from your Grace whether you had any answer from my Lord President to your letter.

My Lord Chamberlain having read this letter acquiesced in all points but the advice of so long continuance in Oxford, knowing by experience it was apt to make a man stiff. I told his lordship there were some things so over limber that all they wanted was to be made stiff, and to think of despatching this young lord into France was to pour oil into the fire to *quench* it.

Unto which answer his lordship made no reply and bid me tell your Grace as much.

1679, October 18. Spring Garden.—I got early upon Saturday last to Oxford and left it upon Tuesday. I found my Lord James in health and vigour, very sanguine, and somewhat fatter than he should be, though all say it is not so much as it has been, and that he is also grown taller. He rides very willingly, but cares not for tennis, because he is not good at it; so that I mean to get Mr. Mulys to send him down some shuttlecocks and rackets which will strengthen his hand, and incline him by degrees unto the other exercise. And he must also have some waistcoats with a little stiffening before to keep in his belly, for he cannot endure some that were already sent him for being too stiff quite round. His own hair is coming up so extremely thick that he had best let it grow in the spring, for so his head will be cooler. I believe his blood is very hot and may be the cause that he uses some wriggling gestures, and the screwing his mouth when he thinks he is not observed. He spits also at times pretty largely, for which I advised him to chew in a morning some mastic; but above all I used arguments to induce him to rise early, as the only way to deliver him from the poison of physic and extraordinary medicines.

But first of all I waited upon my Lord Bishop to know how he understood the state of things; and his lordship freely told me that there had been much jangling and disorder, but that now of late all was in pacification, and he hoped things would go on well. That the young lord meeting here at first with several other noblemen's sons who did not study to humour him as he expected, he grew very forward and uneasy; and those that were about him helped to aggravate every trivial thing, thereby hoping to get away into France where their thoughts were placed. So that he seemed to brook very ill his station and condition there, and chose rather to have about him small companions that would please him than any others. But your Grace having, on the one hand, declared positively for their longer stay, and the Bishop having plainly told Mr. Drelincourt he must never expect to travel abroad with that young lord, and the young man himself having now by time learnt better how to sort and mould himself among his better companions, all things are much amended and in a hopeful way, and so not fit to be altered unless new wars break out. His lordship also told me that he had commanded the servitor, one Parker, that was too saucy, to keep to his *study*, and not to come nigh his lordship but in the hall; which absence the young lord brooks much better than his servitor, who is removing in discontent into some other place, and by the discourse I had with this lad the separation is not much amiss. Upon the whole matter his lordship said, that as things had now for a fortnight been in good tune; so if those about the young lord would but agree among themselves, and all vote the same way, they were like so to continue; but he thought they had done very ill before to make long stories,

and trouble your Grace with every impertinent thing, which either mended itself in a day or should have been mended by him on the least complaint, and he took it ill (as he had reason) that they should pass him by. However, he told me that Mr. Drelincourt was very diligent in his attendance and endeavours, and he thought him an honest man, and would do well enough there, as he was under his lordship's eye, but that he must never be thought on for the governor abroad, as having in conduct nothing proportionable to it; for our young lord (under the rose) has in his rage struck him and rogued him like a lackey; and he has brooked all much rather than to let go his hold. So that no man less than one fit to be a colonel, who can have authority with his young master, and also draw his sword for him upon occasion, is fit to go with him into the world; and some such man in due time must be found out, though it cost £500 a year. And then Mr. Drelincourt may in his own way of church preferment receive your Grace's consideration*.

Having to this effect drawn from his Lordship all the information I could, I was the better enabled to steer my course, and falling into conference with Mr. Drelincourt, I found him very complacent, and much more willing to touch upon my young lord's virtues than upon his faults; and he confirmed to me what I had also heard from my Lord Bishop, that he was very good-natured, constant to his prayers, and reading in the Bible, and had aversion to debauchery, but that indeed he brooked very ill to be crossed in any matter, and that your Grace had the only high ascendant over him. Mr. Gandy, whom I had also alone, was freer in owing to me that his lord was as yet very wandering and unstable in his thoughts and inclinations; only that he thought himself much more towards manhood than he was, and would too frequently undervalue learning, as if he needed but little of it. I did, in the first place, conjure them both to agree and even to combine together that my lord might hear nothing sounding in his ears but such things as your Grace and the Bishop did from time to time direct; that they would study to make Oxford delightful to him; and that whatever fell out amiss should first be represented to the Bishop. I also gave to each in relation to my lord's exercise and studies the best rules I could think of. I discoursed also with Mr. Aldrich, the tutor, who is a very good and well disposed man and hopes the best.

But last of all I entered into close conference with my young lord himself, and did ingratiate with him the best I could and I think with some effect; for he did pleasingly enough hear me tell him of all things that would make him great and happy; and also of the shame and misfortunes that would befall him if he neglected himself or yielded to evil courses. I told him that his mind (as most young men's) was like a garden, where his care must be to root out the hurtful weeds that would be constantly growing up, and to plant good trees in their room. And that he should ever fix the mark of enemy upon that man that came with

* This suggestion was adopted, and Mr. Drelincourt became an Irish Dean. See note at p. 333 *supra*.

flattery to tell him that he needed not to take pains, and that all was already well enough. We had much long discourse and made agreement to write to each other, and I have already begun desiring him to tell me all his wants of money, dogs, horses or any other thing that might serve for his health, credit or information ; that he should write to me without care, for I should suspect if his letters were too fair and exact that they were not his own, and I revived some touches of our discourse, and particularly that of early rising, for which I tell him that I undertake to all his friends, and for many other good points.

He did tell me that he was very well pleased with Oxford, and all things that he had. And he repeated to me some verses out of Virgil, and did construe a few of them pretty well, and showed me what he was doing in arithmetic. And, certainly, for his getting hold of Latin and other good things peculiar to the quiet and care of that place, as also for subduing his natural passions when he is crossed, and learning now early to live by rule, he can be nowhere for about two years more to better purpose than where he is, for in that time the flying bee will in a great measure be settled, and it fortunes that there are some very good examples before him among the young noblemen of the college, with whom he begins better to sort, and by degrees I hope he will fix his thoughts and distinguish plainly between the things that will do him good and such as will prove mischievous unto him. I cannot enough mention the love, care and concern the good Bishop has for him in all his expressions, and I know no man has his thoughts and genius so much turned to the care and education of youth as this good man. So that I hope in time for a very happy crop.

My Lord Courcy grows up with some improvement, but I must quicken him to more pains about his book, which he has also heartily promised.

I am to return your Grace all possible thanks for your late favour and countenance to my nephew, Percival, wherewith I find he is very sensibly touched.

1679, October 21. London.—There is no manner of foundation for the news which is spread that my Lord Chancellor is to quit the purse, and my Lord Privy Seal, as some say, and others Sir Lionel Jenkins, to take it up, and this to arise, as they fancy, from a purpose to bail out, if not pardon the Lords of the Tower. Nor do I find that the Duke of Monmouth is at all sent for, as hath passed for current, making all to be reconciled, only by charging displeasure on two or three servants ; for I see no other approach hereunto, saving that the Duchess of Monmouth is visited, and she hath also waited on the Duchess of York. The King has been induced by my Lord Chancellor to press Mr. Attorney this morning to continue his station, but whether it will take effect or no I know not. The Duke dined this day with the Artillery Company in the city with the same welcome as hath been usual. My Lord Radnor asked me what return was made about *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick] and was pretty intent on

the inquiry. This enclosed note was part of a letter from one Mr. Herbert there to Sir Thomas Lynch.

Pc told *ea* that *fi* [Duke of York] would have some command in *qw* [Scotland], for that things were now there much amiss. How this will operate on *kf* [Lauderdale] I know not, but his adversaries think they have as good hold as he.

1679, October 28. London.—Yesterday his Royal Highness departed towards Scotland with a very considerable train as far as Hatfield. He intends to be twenty-five days upon his journey. This proposition of Scotland came out from *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale] but seemed to be smoothly assented to till of late there appear some marks of dissatisfaction in it, for *fi* [the Duke of York] observing how the discontented nobility of that place disposed things to make his reception there very welcome, he was willing, as they expected from him, to experiment some composure, and therefore, by way of essay, sending a fit person to the lady of *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale] to touch upon that string, she burst out into open expostulations that she saw plainly the King's service could be ruined. And so nothing could be done or negotiated as was intended. Another thing was this, the Duchess having invited to go with her in her coach my Lord Athol, it begat such indignation and such struggling and endeavours were used to oppose it that *iu* [the King] was scandalized thereat, and said that perhaps in greater matters there had been more folly and mistakes than hitherto he had believed, so that hereby your Grace may see that *fi* [Duke of York] stands loose and independent, though not in any contradiction to *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale]. This much *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] told me this night to impart unto your Grace that you may know upon what foot things do stand, and that your Grace should not omit to send over some person of consideration to make your compliments, which is his advice. *ck* [Earl of Clarendon] was then present, and said that the Duke's reception in Scotland was like to be marvellous great by the accounts he heard given from the Scotch noblemen who in that country have great influence over the Commons.

I last post told your Grace of one Willoughby that was under examination, as one, according to the rumour abroad, that had been contriving to fasten a plot upon the Presbyterians. Upon examination yesterday at the Board, he proved so great a rogue in the course of his life, having been frequently in the pillory and jails about coining false money, and confessing by his own story that he would have trepanned the Earl of Shaftesbury, and in the matter of Mansel, it appearing too plain that he had forged the letters importing treason, and fixed them in his chamber to render him guilty thereof, he was thereupon sent to Newgate, and is to be prosecuted at law. It appeared in proof that this dexterous blade had taken notes at all the trials about the Plot, and resorted frequently to the Lord Powis in the Tower and met his Lady in several other places, so that in the prosecution of this matter at law, they will go nigh to discover, as is already

said, that this man was set on by the Papists. For parallel hereunto was there not a while since a rising of the prentices in Dublin intended for pulling down the Mass-houses, till their purpose was stopped, and upon inquiry 'twas found that this matter was promoted by *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick]—thus it was observed by *fz* [Earl of Essex].

1679, November 1.—'Tis now near ten that the Council is risen, having sat morning and evening to examine Willoughby, whose true name is Thomas Dangerfield. He has since he was in Newgate written a narrative of seven sheets, and was carried to my Lord Mayor where he swore to it, and his Lordship had not only Sir Joseph Sheldon present, but sent also for my Lord Bridgewater. This day he has affirmed all things to the same effect, amounting to this—that the Popish Lords in the Tower, particularly the Lord Arundel and the Lord Powis, offered him £2,000 to kill the King, which, he refusing, they offered £500 to kill the Lord Shaftesbury, which he accepted, and was twice with him at his house to have done it with a dagger in case he could have been with him alone. And while they were using all means possible to carry on the Popish plot, yet stifle the opinion and credit of it, they framed another contrivance to possess the King, the Duke, and some Ministers with the fears of a Presbyterian plot, naming officers for an army and Privy Councillors. Besides the Lords in the Tower who are named distinctly for their advice and instigation herein, the Lady Powis is named as a main agent, and has been examined at the Board. So has my Lord Castlemaine, who is sent to the Tower. So was Mrs. Cellier, a midwife, who is sent to Newgate. Gadbury, the astrologer, is not yet found, being accused, nor a certain French merchant. Lord Peterborough is made knowing of the design against Lord Shaftesbury and promoting it with some others. Dangerfield (though of infamous life) has told so much, and so many particulars, that however the King undervalues things, yet the Lords are wonderfully startled and give credit to the main of what he says, and doubtless the whole will very soon come out in print, and revive the horror of the Plot, and wonderfully commute [?] for what reflection arose on that score of the Scottish rebellion. By the next post I shall have more time to enlarge. Mr. Sergeant was yesterday examined at Council, and denies all that Rookwood affirmed of his knowing of the Plot.

1679, November 3. London.—Your Grace will see in the *Gazettes* not only that the Council are very busy examining after the Plot; but in what form and new edition it was now again coming forth, namely, that while the Popish Plot went really on, it was among other industries to be concealed by a counterfeit plot to be fixed on the Protestants, and of whose progress they were to give notice to the King, who were the contrivers thereof. Thomas Dangerfield, who now discovers as much as came to his share, entered the list upon this account. There being a purse

made for the relief of poor prisoners, and for their liberty, if possible, the Lady Powis was a great promoter hereof, and Mrs. Cellier, a notable, zealous midwife, was a great agent and frequenter of the prisons upon this account. Under this specious pretence there was a great communication and consulting and intelligence passed round upon what imported the main concern. And Mrs. Cellier, having released one Mrs. White from Newgate, did enquire after some well qualified dangerous fellow that might be fit for every sort of business. Whereupon she named this Dangerfield, who lay plunged and abandoned there on account of clipping or coining, and for which he had often before and for several cheats tasted of the whip and pillory. This man Mrs. Cellier gets out of jail, not without Captain Richardson's remark at the same time, that it must needs be for some wicked purpose. This man being got out does so well approve himself in all the matters wherein he was employed that at length he grew much into favour with my Lady Powis, and with her lord at the Tower, and with the rest of the Lords also, that they gave him money and liked his service, so that at last the Lord Arundel did in the Lord Powis his bedchamber ask him if he had courage enough to kill the King; but, he refusing, though a reward of £2,000 were mentioned, the Lord Powis said it should be £500 to kill the Earl of Shaftsbury; this he freely undertook and went twice with a dagger to that Lord's, with whom he desired to be private, and thought to amuse him about dangers threatened his person, according as he was instructed. But my Lord Shaftesbury not consenting to be alone with him, he put off the execution till another time, and says that among others who reproached him for his cowardice and omission herein the Earl of Peterborough was one, whom he met at Gadbury's and was charged by his Lordship not to fail of his stroke the next time he went. He further saith that a design being framed by much industry of several heads, and particularly by the Lords in the Tower, by setting down all the noted mutinous clubs, with several contrivances they had in hand about a plot among the Presbyterians, naming several officers of an army, as the Duke of Monmouth for General, Earl of Macclesfield, his son, Lord Gray, and Sir Thomas Armstrong for Lieutenant-Generals, Sir William Waller and Blood for Major-Generals, etc. Also a Privy Council wherein were named the Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Radnor, Duke of Bucks, Earl of Essex, Earl of Halifax, and Lord Wharton, with such other like mad and improbable mixtures. Yet this matter as it was thus framed lay in the hands of Dangerfield, and much care was had to have it in readiness to acquaint the Duke withal when he first came over, and in truth to amuse him therewith, and by his means to gain credit with the King. So that in pursuance hereof this blade and Mrs. Cellier were by the Earl of Peterborough secretly conducted to the Duke, where he had long audience, and some guineas, and by order given to Mr. Halsey was conducted to the King; and from thence to Mr. Secretary Coventry, from whom he would have had a warrant to have searched Mansel's chamber for dangerous papers which should manifest the truth of what he said. Halsey, by the King's

order, gave him forty pound, but the Secretary was unwilling to give his warrant without affidavit first made. Wherefore he went to the Custom officers and got them to search as for prohibited goods, and there accordingly was the packet found which he himself had pinned behind the bed according to the advice of Lady Powis, who frequently signified unto him the mind of the Lords in the Tower. And lest those officers being now possessed of these papers should conceal them, he was directed presently to acquaint the Earl of Peterborough where the said papers then lodged, and also to acquaint the King thereof, which he accordingly did, getting audience by way of Mr. Chiffinch. And that when he after told Mrs. Cellier, and soon after the Lady Powis, how long he had been with King alone, they both lamented the opportunity he had lost, and that he was not then provided to kill the King. He swears also that the Lord Castlemaine was before that in displeasure with him for refusing the proposal which had been made him in the Tower. And Gadbury also railed at him for not accepting the proposal to kill the King; for, said he, did not Mrs. Cellier bring me your nativity before she took you from prison where you might have starved? And did not I prognosticate that you were born for such an action and to escape? But to return to the late exploit, Mansel, having his chamber ransacked, found out this Dangerfield, and hearing something of his life and conversation got him arrested, and bringing him to the Council Board (where Captain Richardson painted him forth) he was from the Board despatched unto Newgate where, notwithstanding the care and supplies and conjurations of Mrs. Cellier, he found himself so little at ease that he writes a narrative of above seven sheets, and is conveyed on Friday night to my Lord Mayor, before whom as also the Earl of Bridgewater and Sir Joseph Sheldon he makes affidavit of the same. On Saturday morning he was under examination at the Council Board discovering the series of what I have here related; and my Lord Mayor, about noon, bringing to His Majesty the said papers, His Majesty sent them into the Committee and followed after himself, and sitting down seemed to wonder much to find the whole Board so advanced into a strange belief of what this man had related. But when the Council met again in the afternoon to read over the narrative which he had written, and to examine such as were taken thereupon, and the Council sitting again on Sunday in the afternoon in the prosecution of this matter, His Majesty could not free himself from a belief of something in the matter; for notwithstanding the party had been so great a villain, yet dilating himself into so many particulars and circumstances of things and persons, and everything upon cross examination proving true, and even confessed, unless in the points which would make the parties concerned guilty, he has raised a strange new fermentation in the minds of all men, not only as to a belief of the Popish Plot, but of rage and indignation that it should be fastened by them upon the Protestants. The Lord Castlemaine is hereupon sent to the Tower, Mrs. Cellier and a French merchant to Newgate, Mr. Gadbury to the Gatehouse, etc.; and on Tuesday the Lady Powis

will be again examined, as also the Lady Abergavenny and very many more.

1679, November 4. London.—It is now just nine at night when the Council is risen after examining several persons upon this discovery of Dangerfield. By all which the truth of his information is more and more confirmed, how strong soever the infamy of the pillory rises up against him. My Lord Peterborough has been examined and given a large—and in appearance—a very frank relation of all things; by which it is manifest that the Lady Powis has been an extraordinary agent in several intrigues, and that his lordship and the Duke were to be imposed on to believe really a Presbyterian plot in order to bring the King more entirely into the same belief. And his lordship also informed how Mrs. Cellier had brought things about with Sir Robert Peyton so as to reduce him to a desire of waiting upon the Duke. After his lordship had finished his narration and several witnesses were examined, my Lady Powis, who is a woman of much dexterity, was called in, and in conclusion by the unanimous vote of the Board, her ladyship was sent to the Tower for treason; and their lordships are to meet to-morrow or next day to consider what is fit to be advised upon the whole matter of this information.

For my own part I am of the opinion, especially upon this new eruption, that nothing but a Parliament can deal with the Plot so as to bring things to a final determination and to quiet the minds of the kingdom upon this subject. For I perceive it is like a tumour that grows bigger and bigger, not likely as some have hoped by time to evaporate, but must absolutely be lanced or else it will never end. And, therefore, in proportion as I think this new matter will irresistibly call on the Parliament, how remote soever it were from some men's thoughts, by the same steps will the late purpose of a Parliament with you naturally vanish. And your Grace ought not be less upon your guard for the death of one in Munster who was always giving the alarm; for if there be any kind of footsteps of information there, it will be fit not only to represent it, but to prosecute every appearance of danger with vigour; and though no imaginary dangers are to be in any degree affected, yet to appear supine in that country while the alarm is so strong in this will but create ill effects, and give advantage to malicious enemies. And having given this hint, 'tis sufficient, for your Grace will know what value and consideration is to be had thereof. This revival of the Plot will certainly extinguish all expectation in the Popish Lords to come out upon bail, which they did most certainly expect by particular favour designed unto them. And it was expected they should have been tried out of Parliament, but that *ce* [the Lord Chancellor] told *in* [the King] that no Lords would sit on the trial, for fear of being accountable to the House whenever they met for deciding in a matter that was depending in Parliament.

The Earl of Danby had his petition ready, and hoped to have been bailed out by the Council; but it has not yet appeared, either for fear of insuccess, or that it may give fresh occasion there to

press on for *my* [Parliament]. *fz* [Earl of Essex] is now most zealously prone hereunto upon all occasions, and, I suppose, has taken quite new measures as to this particular. *de* [Secretary Coventry] is thought to have given too much credit to *pc* [Presbyterian] *ns* [plot], and to have pursued too zealously some mistakes, for which he is entirely lost on that side, and especially for being noted the chief in *dg* [Council] to *fi* [Duke of York] especially in reference to *qw* [Scotland] and all things rising since that vote. *fi* [Duke] drives up hill in this new eruption, and too much or too openly shows more *ai* [belief] *pc* [Presbyterian] than *mx* [Papist.] I will not tire your Grace with any more but that Mr. Blood is fallen almost into as much displeasure in the city as Sir Robert Peyton. But as more manifestations thereof appear I will acquaint your Grace therein.

1679, November 8. London.—To-morrow, being Sunday, in the afternoon the Council are to meet to consider of the whole matter of this late information touching the Plot; for notwithstanding several are sent to prison, yet few without doors seem to be satisfied that the Court prosecute this matter as were fit. And that in consequence leads them to say little less than as if the Court were in the concern. I cannot really understand why it was that the new *qz* [Secretary Sunderland] was lately for two hours with *re* [Shaftesbury] and this party in secret the same afternoon with *iu* [the King], but from such intercourse your Grace is left to judge. I was told that *re* [Shaftesbury] sent word he was ready at a beck, but he had already declared his conditions; and without them he would never enter, nor was there any good to be done. I am told he would accommodate in all other points if *iu* [the King] would change his *ut* [wife].

This new alarm of the Plot has bred so much new talk about the necessity of hastening the Parliament that I am told my Lord Shaftesbury has proposed that they meet presently together as a Council, though not to act as a Parliament until the 26th of January. And this opinion for the Parliament's speedy meeting is in a great part increased by a strong opinion that it was the contrivance of this false plot and the dangers thereby apprehended which caused the prorogation. For it seems the first information to my Lord Peterborough was that there would be strange proceedings upon the very first meeting of the Parliament. I am told my Lord Shaftesbury resents very much that when it was made so apparent at the Council Board that his life was in danger there should be no advertisement sent to him thereof, which he thought was a respect due to him and every other person, and which, in effect, in a much less occasion had formerly been shown unto him.

While Blood was named to be an instrument in this new affair it was said by one conversant with *re* [Shaftesbury] it would be made appear that Blood did hold correspondence with *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick], whose name is upon frequent occasions made use of as the poison against *fh* [Ormond]. The Earl of Halifax, though they say he be recovered, doth not yet come to the

Council, and *fz* [Earl of Essex] is at his wits end to know what will become of matters; and as a good expedient grows very keen in the matter of *ns* [the plot]. I am just now told by an undoubted author that the scope of the late conference and advice from *re* [Shaftesbury] to *iu* [the King] was this, that he should leave to *my* [Parliament] all that concerned *pr* [the Queen] and *fi* [Duke of York] without which all other expedients of making things better are insignificant. Thus much at least was told by *iu* [the King] to *pr* [the Queen], and with the same kindness as formerly.

1679, November 11. London.—By resolution taken on Sunday last in Council Mr. Attorney is to consult the Judges about what prosecution is fit on the parties concerned in this new plot. There were some very home touches for ascertaining the *my* [Parliament], but all put by *fz* [Earl of Essex] was loud. There is a report about the town that *re* [Shaftesbury] was with *iu* [the King]. But it was only the younger *qz* [Secretary] [was willing?] [Salisbury] who sent such points of proposal leave *fi* [Duke of York], and *pr* [Queen] to *my* [Parliament], that *iu* [the King] was scandalized. It is to be feared that attempts will be made by public petitions to draw on what they apprehend was held back; and so deprive those of the good grace of doing a thing, which is not acknowledged when it comes from importunity.

1679, November 18. London.—After some impatience for want of your Grace's commands I had last night the honour of three of the 8th, 9th and 11th instant, together with a paper enclosed concerning the disarming of Papists and the arming of the Protestants, which I think is very closely argued, only I conceive there may be some mistake in that computation of fifteen Papists to one Protestant, for I have often heard Sir William Petty computing all the people in Ireland at eleven hundred thousand—he made the Protestants three and the Papists eight, which is not three to one. I went this morning to Mr. Secretary to show him your Grace's of the 11th, but he rested not all night, and so I could not speak with him. I will to-morrow show him the letter and am glad your Grace is there piecing together your various informations into an entire narrative. And 'tis well to employ the Bishop of Meath in the works of that nature, because his authority weighs with many, and will not only satisfy expectation that there could no more be made of the matter, but that it also could not sooner be finished.

Our prosecutions here have as it were quite laid asleep the thoughts of the Irish Bills, and the rather because there is arisen so much new struggle touching the necessity of a Parliament here which any operation upon those Bills seems by implication to thrust off to an ungrateful distance. And 'tis now upon this point according to the general vogue that the Earl of Essex has

resigned his station in the Treasury as a demonstration to the world that he is ardent for the meeting of the Parliament, whatever hard censures have passed upon him for any advice or opinion to the contrary. And although his Lordship, as I hear, intends not to leave the Council, yet this single fact has filled the town with discourses as if Sir Harry Capel, the Lord Russell, the Lord Cavendish, etc., would leave the Council, and some also of the Commissioners of the Admiralty give up their charge ; but of all this I shall believe nothing till I see it ; only most do agree that my Lord Halifax is so shattered in his health, and the dissatisfaction of his mind does also operate thereupon so far, as that 'tis not likely he will come to Council in a long time.

Mr. Secretary Coventry being then laid up with the gout did on Wednesday last send me one from your Grace to show His Majesty in Council, and if he thought fit to have it there read. It was what your Grace freely said touching the Bill of Confirmation—to take it or leave it as they here thought fit ; but His Majesty not being disposed to read bid the letter be shown to my Lord Chancellor, who, having read it over, did hand it to the Earl of Essex, and he also read it, which was all the reading it had ; but perhaps Mr. Secretary may offer it again to-morrow in order to awaken the business of the Irish Bills, and to see whether any progress is to be made or not. If the business go on I shall not spare my attendance, though I get no more by them than I did for my pains at London and Salisbury about the Act of Explanation. But it is my fate after fifteen years service in my station never to have gotten by Ireland in the way of bounty the value of one acre. I wish your Grace would show me some hopes of what in justice I expect for my recompense about Rincorran ; for whereas I was to depend on some letter to be sent from hence in reference to public uses, Mr. Secretary now tells me that your Grace waives the insisting upon such letter, and so I am perfectly in the dark and know not when I shall see the shore, which is some discomfort unto me.

This vacancy in the Treasury being filled by Sir Stephen Fox your Grace will not dislike. 'Tis generally said that Mr. Hyde is to be Viscount Killingworth, and will not only be at the head of that commission, but soon admitted to the Council Board, being for his good abilities and devotion to the Duke in a more principal regard with His Majesty than any man else as it is certainly said.

I am told that the Earl of Shaftesbury does plainly own to his friends that the late message brought him by the Earl of Sunderland, and repeated again to him by another hand, was to offer him the Treasurer's staff and to make all other the great officers such as he should like, but that his answer was he would never more enter the list at Whitehall till it were resolved there should be excluded from thence *pr* [Queen], *fi* [Duke], *ph* [Duchess of Portsmouth] and every other *mx* [Papist] that were but an inch long. And though this sounds high and looks romantic yet 'tis what he glories in to say and to be reproached for by *iu* [the King] as he is for such exorbitant demands. But he takes those things very little to heart, and augmenting every day in his

interest elsewhere he seems to say it is the pleasure perhaps of *iu* [the King] to expose men that are of *dk* [the Court] and therefore he will keep out of that danger's reach. *fz* [Earl of Essex] consulted him if he should not also quit *dg* [Council] but *re* [Shaftesbury] advised the contrary; so that *fz* [Essex] and *hn* [Halifax] are making atonement there all that is possible. And I am also told that *be* [Secretary Coventry] has found it necessary to do something also of this kind in reference to the cloud he saw growing and some personal words of his, which he heard were much resented.

I am told that there are meetings of some of the nobility in order to an address to His Majesty about the Parliament, and that they will conjure the Archbishop to engage the Bishops in the like address; and that the Grand Jury of London will show some precedent of this kind to other places. And all this agitation to take growth from *re* [Shaftesbury] and doubtless is become very considerable. I perceive he has not thought fit to write to *fh* [Ormond] which must be borne with Christian patience; but it is suitable to my information that he does not forgive *mo* [Ossory] and is much dissatisfied, I know not why, with *ks* [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland]. There is a paper called "Mr. Smith's Narrative" touching the Plot, which was written or at least reviewed, by *re* [Shaftesbury], and is here much in request.

I will not further tire your Grace, only I am going to complain against my little correspondent of Oxford that he sticks in my debt, though I am as little serious in my letters as himself. The only one I have hitherto had is the enclosed, which I pray your Grace to return me back again, because I expect many more of the same kind.

1679, November 25. London.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 16th and could never hear a more lively character than you give to him that seems to have everybody's destiny in his hands; and you will think it no very ordinary influence when at this time those very three points are put into a petition intended to be presented and to press home for *my* [Parliament] as the only sovereign antidote against all infection whatsoever, and doubtless, according to the course of things, all will at last end there. I am told that several of the nobility have had meetings and intend in a body to wait upon His Majesty and to press for the meeting of the Parliament; and, if that fail, then a petition to be offered, by which precedent many others are like to be made from different parts of the kingdom, which is thought a method irresistible.

This day Mr. Knox and Mr. Lane were at the suit of Mr. Oates, convicted of a combination against him in their affidavits and former design to have charged him with buggery towards the said Lane, his servant, while he was at Whitehall. And there is no doubt but they will both run Mr. Reading's fate of the pillory. That which is most remarkable in this matter is that Knox and Lane were both managed by the Papists during that accusation. For Lane lay sometimes at Mrs. Cellier's and sometimes at Powis

house, under the discipline of those two ladies and in particular of Mr. Neville, and Dangerfield comes in as part evidence that it was so. And Lane does in a manner acknowledge his guilt. But the point of more remark is that this Knox, a pragmatistical busy fellow, is servant to the Lord Dunblane, and did formerly appear at the Council touching this matter, to vouch something about the innocence of my Lord Treasurer, when Bedloe accused him of offers and tampering to send him out of the way; and by this trial that Knox is found a partaker much reflection is made upon that noble family; and that you may know the cause is of moment it was yesterday by accident put off unto this day. But both yesterday and to-day there attended in the Courts the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Lord Grey, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Huntingdon, the Lord Howard, etc., in all eight of them, and the matters passed in Court with high applause after the verdict given, and great remarks by Sir Francis Winnington on all the progress of Knox his accusation. And these Lords dined together, and there is to be a weekly meeting of the Lords who will associate for ends and purposes of the public good. *kq* [Earl of Longford] is this day gone towards your Grace. We had lately much discourse touching *my* [Parliament] there, wherein I find he is much cooler than formerly, fearing the spirit of *fu* [England] is got thither and may be more unreasonable than was formerly thought; whether this be the mind of *fh* [Ormond] I cannot tell. If it be 'tis best I suppose when concealed, being surely not so popular.

I formerly told your Grace from *ce* [Lord Chamberlain] that *fi* [Duke of York] would mollify things in *qw* [Scotland]; but he now bids me tell your Grace that his adviser tells him the contrary, and that the way and will of *kf* [Lauderdale] must stand, and the most knowing of those that are gone expect nothing of alteration and design—nothing but compliment, from whence your Grace will conclude that *fi* [the Duke], is not likely there to take any deep root.

It is almost incredible what multitudes of people met on the 17th instant to celebrate Queen Elizabeth's night, and as strange that after all those squibs and bonfires they should all without confusion resort unto their beds. The celebrating thus the memory of one Prince is doubtless matter of advertisement to another, and their quiet does but declare their expectation of a Parliament, unto whom they leave the more serious consideration of their entertainment and the reasons thereof. I observe your Grace is intent there upon transmitting such informations as present themselves, which are not now safe to sleep at any man's door.

1679, November 29. London.—Being awaked on Friday morning by five of the clock by the sound of the bells and a succession of some bonfires, I heard in the morning that the Duke of Monmouth was arrived at the Cockpit about one of the clock before; that His Majesty hearing of it with surprise sent to forbid him his presence, upon which the Duke writ His Majesty

a letter wondering at his displeasure, for that he was only come over to clear himself from the scandal of being named general of a rebellious army according to the late contrived Plot, and that he had no other business in England but to manifest his innocence. His Majesty presently writ him back that 'twas strange he should wonder at the surprisal, seeing he came without his orders and without his knowledge; and, therefore, having just reason to be displeased with him he forbade him the Court, and commanded him to return presently into Holland. The Duke hereupon removed to the little Mews, where great visits were made him, and at night bonfires appeared in every street and the bells rang in every place. The Duchess of Monmouth was with His Majesty to extenuate the offence, but His Majesty appeared so inexorable that her Grace promised the Duke should the next day depart. But his Grace is of a different mind, and desires to see His Majesty and to remain in his dominions and to clear himself of all things that can be objected unto him. He supped the last night with Mrs. Gwyn, who was this day at her utmost endeavours of reconciliation, but received a very flat and angry denial, and by all appearance His Majesty is incensed to a high degree. So that not understanding what this matter might portend, all the officers of the Guards were the last night commanded by His Majesty to give him no obedience, and his particular commands were offered to the Duke of Albemarle, upon whose excuse I think they are not yet bestown. There is a paper out this day in print, but I have not seen it, proving the right of his succession to the Crown and the solemnity of a marriage with his mother. It is supposed that the Lords who meet are his advisers in this enterprise, and some say he has been in town four or five days before. And all that I hear besides this is only conjecture, as if his Grace might in a few days weather His Majesty's displeasure, and that the bells and the bonfires would prove advocates for him, and that he might at last take a share in the intended address from the other Lords to importune His Majesty for a Parliament. Others are amazed at the action, considering how all the Duke's interest depends on His Majesty's goodness, and cannot devise by what counsel he has been led to this undertaking, which, if not improved to a very high degree, must turn extremely to his loss of ground and disadvantage, and this is all that offers to me on this matter.

Yesterday my Lord Chancellor moved in Council that seeing the term was over and several copies of the Bill of Confirmation given to the Lords, it were fit now that the Committee for Ireland should meet thereupon, and perhaps find it reasonable to alter several things, or to let it quite alone until the Parliament of Ireland did signify their own desires, but he beseeched His Majesty to write over a letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Council to invite them to the asking of such Bills that might be grateful to the Parliament there, and not to leave them to be the effect of importunity; that in particular the late Bill that passed here for excluding Popish Lords and the Act for the Test upon all that were in employment might have effect there and all other laws against Popery that could consist with the Government and condition of that kingdom.

With this my Lord of Essex closed, and Mr. Secretary did open what your Grace had lately written upon occasion of the Bill of Confirmation, to the sense of which letter my Lord Chancellor did indeed also speak, he having formerly read it as I told your Grace. Mr. Secretary did also add the prosecution you were upon of plot upon plot there also, and that you might be required to issue a proclamation to the effect of that here, which requires informers to come in by a certain time, which was also ordered. And my Lord of Essex did propose that a Bill may be transmitted for annexing the Phoenix Park to the Sword; which was also well approved of; and a letter upon all these heads is to be sent your Grace and the Council, and the Committee here are to meet on Saturday next. But after all this preparation for a Parliament on that side I cannot think, as matters here are working, but there will be a Parliament on this, and that is all I have to say unto this particular.

I send your Grace here enclosed a fresh epistle I have received from my Lord James which has been seen by my Lord Chamberlain and his father and mother—the first and last of which are for gratifying him his desire to be here at Christmas, but his father bid me consult your Grace, whose answer I shall expect in the matter; and mean now to write unto him that I have moved your Grace therein; and pray return me back the letter when your Grace has done.

I should have observed that while the business of Ireland was speaking of, my Lord Radnor made very sharp enquiry after Col. Fitzpatrick and whether he were, according to order, yet outlawed, to which Mr. Secretary replied with the state of the fact as it now stood, and his Lordship did scarce acquiesce therein.

1679, December 2. London. Yesterday and to-day brought me your Grace's of the 26th and 27th past, together with a taste of what my Lord Ranelagh's final audit is like to amount unto, which just now I gave my Lord Chamberlain the satisfaction to peruse, and which will differ very much from those cheerful echoes that were lately sounded in his behalf. There had newly been with his Lordship in a long visit *hn* [Lord Halifax] who does frankly and professedly revile *re* [Shaftesbury] in every point of the compass. He said he had been with *iu* [the King] and used many long arguments for *my* [a Parliament] which were very patiently heard, and although he got not ground, yet he will not despair in that point, resolving to return again to it, and advising all his friends to concur in the same battery, that he means not to leave *dg*, [the Council], but to stick close with all his might that he might succeed in that of *my* [a Parliament]. He thinks the business of *lq* [Duke of Monmouth] such a morrice-dance as that none but *re* [Shaftesbury] could have been adviser in it. He and *lq* [Duke of Monmouth] do in their discourses intimate as if *ml* [Prince of Orange] would speedily be here and unite with their desire of *my* [a Parliament], and set forth the ruinous state of his interest by reason of the practices of France unless immediately supported here. Your Grace says in your material remark

touching the Parliament's meeting—if on the one hand cause were given to suspect it should not meet there was reason to blame the conduct, etc. This certainly was the state of things at that time. For those who broke into the question have taken alarm from some symptoms which better conduct might have concealed, and being willing to *f* or *n* any share on the secret were resolved to provoke as much [as] amounted unto a divulging of it.

I do not find any variation as yet in His Majesty's commands upon the Duke of Monmouth to go, and his Grace's refusal to obey. Those about His Majesty aggravate the disobedience, and commend His Majesty's stripping away and distribution of his employments, and that if His Majesty shall not carry this point nothing is to be hoped for at home or in reputation abroad. But the cry on the other side is malicious, and that all this mortification befalls the great champion of the Protestant cause, and that such a man as he is not to be deserted by good Englishmen. If upon this alarm the Duke should now come post from Scotland it would, above all other things, rekindle the late bonfires and keep up that joy which perhaps with a little time may grow much less, if not extinguish; and 'tis the fear of many the Duke may be ill advised to such a thing.

When your Grace answers my last as to the Oxford student I will then prevail that he expect the horse that is promised until the next spring. I will to-morrow find out Sir Cyril Wyche to see what hopes may be in that discovery which your Grace mentions. I was desponding and had just taken up Seneca, but I shall now lay him by till I see further occasion, which I hope your Grace will prevent.

1679, December 6. London.—The enclosed letter from Mr. Francis Gwyn is to accompany the news of my surrendering to him yesterday my place of Clerk of the Council. I did acquaint your Grace this last summer of my [intention] therein, and I have since been casting about with some care to find a man devoted to the Crown and who would be obliged to be my rival in zeal to your Grace, which were two indispensable points that I set my heart upon. And having lately met with this gentleman, whom I knew well fixed in the first point, I soon discovered that no relation to my Lord Conway, nor acquaintance by that means with my Lord Ranelagh, had the least impression upon him; but that he was full of acknowledgments to your Grace of favour done him, and resolved to do all things that might merit the continuance thereof. I did not know until Wednesday night whether His Majesty would gratify me and accept of him. But the joint application of my Lord of Ossory and Mr. Seymour, his kinsman, had an [] consent and as to me with a circumstance [] very fond of; for I was on my own account unwilling to be thought a deserter in this cloudy time, and as little willing to cast any reflection upon the [] rone by what I did herein, and therefore my first request was that His Majesty would vouchsafe me some employment in his service abroad,

and in the meantime to let me sell what I had bought towards the discharge of my debts. And His Majesty was pleased accordingly to acquaint the Board that he designed me for employment abroad. So that I am still as a candidate to his service, and many wishing joy to the promotion that is intended me. I beg pardon that I do so particularly acquaint your Grace with my private case. But having now for more than fifteen years laboured with fidelity I was willing to withdraw without reproach; and I thank God my enemies at Whitehall are as few as my friends, which is some good fortune, and I go with a resolution to be always ready at His Majesty's call at home or abroad whenever he shall think fit.

I purpose about March to convey my family to King's Weston; to step myself from thence to Kinsale, and soon after to kiss your Grace's hand at Dublin. And His Majesty has allowed me when I depart from hence to transfer the care of my place in the Excise Office to Mr. Blaythwayt. And now my principal care must be how to extricate myself from debts; for till those be overcome my mind cannot be at rest. Mr. Gwyn gives me £2,500, but the place is much better than when I bought it.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the first instant, and observe how the Plot begins to ferment, or at least the informations to increase on that side. It is certain there are printed here in one form a multitude of petitions dispersed into the several counties [and] confided to certain gentlemen therein to go from parish to parish, and not only to gather hands but to set down those that refuse, that their good qualities may in convenient time be made known. The hands to these petitions in each county are to be cut off and posted to one copy, and brought up by ten gentlemen from each county, and so presented. That in Essex there are already near eight thousand hands; and I am told that to-morrow the confederate Lords under the character of Councillors by birth will address to His Majesty after coming from Chapel to set forth in a few settled words the danger his Royal person is in from the Papists and to advise him to ascertain the meeting of the Parliament. We shall see what to-morrow will produce. In the meantime it is now in everybody's mouth that these Lords have not only the concurrence of the Duke of Monmouth, but the interest of the Prince of Orange that all cry aloud for a Parliament. And *ne* [Penn] told me plainly this day that he saw plainly so much extremity intended on this side as well as on that of *fi* [Duke of York] that he resolved to withdraw himself from all manner of meddling, since things to him appeared violent and irreconcilable.

This day the Irish Committee met, and I, having some foresight how the Bill of Confirmation would by some good friends of your Grace's be called the Bill of unsettlement, as I am told it frequently was, I got Mr. Secretary early there with your Grace's letter to testify how little you were concerned in the fate thereof. The Lord Chancellor also came there, who shewed those notes your Grace had formerly seen, and when your Grace's letter was read after the Bill it was observed there was no great difference between

your Grace's judgment and theirs. So that they have agreed to *rp* [Sir Robert Southwell] that this Bill be laid in the chest, and that it be left to the Parliament when they meet there to propose what they think fit.

I confess I rejoice much in that fortunate letter of your Grace's which was the same formerly shown by me to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Essex as I told your Grace. As for the other Bills, copies and [abstracts ?] appointed to be made thereof and given to the Lords. And for such Bills as are taken from the pattern of England, the difference, where any is made, to be shown, and this is all that passed.

I thank your Grace for remembering my Lord Courey, and on Monday I hope to meet Sir Cyril Wyche about Rincorran.

1679, December 9. London.—The great discourse at present is of the Lords' address made upon Sunday last to His Majesty, of which the enclosed printed paper gives an account, and nothing more can be added than my Lord of Shaftesbury's good humour while they attended His Majesty's coming from the Chapel, telling the courtiers that crowded about them that they were come with a project of advantage to them and to all others ; to them in particular, for whereas they had now neither meat nor money they were to have both, and even new wenches too, in case the old ones would but give them leave. The Earl of Bedford came purposely to town to bear them company, but fell that morning ill. My Lord Wharton, whom they say was earliest in this advice, withdrew himself from the prosecution as advised thereunto by my Lord Anglesey, for which they mean to remember his christmas box.

This address is esteemed but the breaking of the ice and the firing of the first beacon, for your Grace will see here enclosed what sort of petition is diffused into all the counties of England for gathering of hands. And yet I saw this day the draft of another, short and much milder, yet imploring the speedy meeting of the Parliament, which will not fail together in most of those hands which may happily withdraw from this. I am also told of a third matter in agitation which is exactly to imitate that method of association which was practised in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards confirmed in Parliament in the 27th year of her reign. But what is doing in counterbalance with all this motion I do neither see nor hear, unless it be that a select Committee did yesterday meet about reforming the Justices in all counties, which will be a tedious work if not difficult and thankless.

There is nothing more visible or more avowedly done than the invectives that pass between the two Earls of Shaftesbury and Halifax ; the latter desires only to be keen, but the former would be pleasant also ; and says that upon condition His Majesty would send this Earl to the Tower he would engage all his interest for getting out the beloved Earl of Danby as deserving it much less. For this Earl destroyed that long Parliament which would have destroyed England, but the Lord Halifax dissolved the short one that was setting all to right. That the Earl was the

man who sent away his Royal Highness, but this Earl was the man which brought him back.

'Tis here reported that his Royal Highness would have entered the Council of Scotland free from taking the oaths, as exempted according to the custom here by his blood. But upon the difficulties that were made 'tis said His Majesty has sent a letter to overrule that matter. *ce* [Lord Chancellor] tells me this night that he wonders the Duke should be advised to enter at all, but is now again informed as if *i* [the Duke] were to lessen *k* [Lauderdale], but the matter has been from time to time so variously represented unto him that he knows not what to believe.

I here enclose to your Grace the copy of a Bill hammered, as I am told, by way of project by some moderate men, or those that would pass for such, in reference to the succession ; that the expedient here mentioned is such as his Royal Highness will acquiesce in. It has been handed amongst the great men of all sides some months ago. I hear in particular that the Lord Hollis and Sir Thomas Littleton have laboured in it.

1679, December 13. London.—The late *Gazette* shows with what solemnity his Royal Highness was received in the Council of Scotland, as soon as ever His Majesty had decided the place he should take and the privilege due to his blood of exemption from oaths. However, there are some of the Duke's friends that think it had been more suitable to his interest to have kept out, and been rather as a mere passenger in the ship than not to have the superior direction ; for then the discontented would live in belief of ease from him, if it were in his power, and that belief would have created some influence among them. Whereas if he only enforces and plays out the game of another hand he is not like to be any great gainer either in interest or glory.

'Tis observed that the proclamation of proroguing has a new title, being said by His Majesty in Council, which happens because all that spoke differed they say from the thing ; those that were silent are reputed to have consented ; but there not being ground for putting that consent into the body of the proclamation is thought to be the reason of the title. *fz* [Earl of Essex] is so incensed that were not *ip* [Ireland] in his head *pg* [the Privy Council] would not longer hold him. *Hn* [Halifax] is a little more moderate herein. There cannot yet be seen how the discontented party will steer their course upon this long prorogation, because there are many and must have time to consult. Some are now more eager to subscribe than before, but I was also told that a roll of 800 names has been burnt by the chief subscribers. My Lord Chamberlain laments the use of his hand, being in arrear to your Grace, though he hath found great benefit by the socks and glove recommended by your Grace ; but after all the description of their virtues he had not known what they were made of but for Sir Nicholas Armorer. Mr. Hobbes is lately dead, in all the forms of a very good christian.

1679, December 20. London.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 10th, and have writ down to Oxford to signify by the best arguments I can how preferable the keeping of Christmas ought to be in that place ; and that I shall lay out ten or fifteen guineas here in globes or maps or whatever his Lordship pleases to commute for the disappointment ; besides I give assurance of a fine horse from Ireland in the spring.

I have discoursed with Sir Cyril Wyche about the £12,000 and afterwards with others ; but last with Major Huntington, who tells me that he and his partners had £30,000 advanced by these Farmers as recompence to some demands of the late ones. So that if the late Farmers have got any defalcation of £12,000 in consideration of a part of the thirty, that will appear a mistake. But yet he says there is no great harm done in it, for that Mr. Dashwood, who was one of them, does yet expect far greater defalcations than that does amount unto, having in one sum £10,000 stated and allowed unto him by the late Lord Treasurer on the score of the Plantation Act. The Major further told me that the Lord Ranelagh did about six weeks ago inquire of them about this matter, to which they returned him an answer, and that Mr. Bridges is able to give a full account thereof. So that I fear there is no hope of relief or justice to me upon this *fond*, but *must* still recommend myself unto your Grace's remembrance.

I have little news to acquaint your Grace withal at this time, only that His Majesty entered upon a milk diet, which gave an alarm to many ; but they say he has either left it off, or will use it but sparingly to abate the sharpness of some humours ; but he complains that since his ague his stomach is not perfectly come to him. My successor will acquaint you with the progress lately made against Popery, wherein none are more zealous than my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Seymour, who is present in a great degree of good grace.

I hear the petition goes on in many parts notwithstanding the proclamation to the contrary, and that they are likely to thicken very much before the 26th of January, because that after Christmas the Quarter Sessions will be held in all places, from whence this matter is designed to commence to make the proceeding more regular. So that whether on the 26th there may not be some intimation of a shorter day is what many do hope, or at least that the Parliament may be dissolved and a new one shortly appointed.

The Prince of Orange, having understood that he was reported here to have united in the councils of the Duke of Monmouth, and to follow him in a short time, declares that he knew nothing of his coming over ; nor has he himself any purpose of coming, his affairs being in too much disorder there to permit him that satisfaction. That he does earnestly wish a happy reconciliation between the King and his Parliament, which would also have very good effects in Holland ; but that he shall never desire to see his wishes satisfied by methods that are improper or ungrateful.

The Council of Scotland have writ His Majesty a letter signed by thirty hands in the highest strain of thanks for the Duke's

company there that can be imagined. But I am told that Duke Hamilton is come from thence in dissatisfaction with his Royal Highness. I know not yet what reflection will be made on the late letter about Costelloe's behaviour; but in the meantime I am heartily vexed in this age of calumny that he is escaped the messenger's hands.

1679, December 23. London.—Your Grace will doubtless be much surprised at the orders going this night for your sending 200 men out of Ireland into Tangier, but much more when their pay is to be continued out of the Irish Establishment, but so as not only the expedition of the service but the necessities of this place require it; five of the outworks there being lost and abandoned by order of the Governor without the loss of more than nine men: his conduct is called in question, and upon his complaint that he cannot agree with Col. Dongan, but writes for Sir Palmer Fairburne. Sir Palmer is to go and recover the ground that is lost, and his Lordship may probably come home.

Yesterday there was election of a new Common Council in London, and upon the change of several members the petition is much promoted. The late rigorous orders of Council against Popery have this reflection—that His Majesty had been safer to have suffered the same to have been done by a Parliament, and that so much rigour would have gone far towards their gratification. There is a wild story about the town as if Mr. Seymour were to be Lord Chancellor; but he is gone this day to get my Lord Conway a young wife.

1679, December 27. London.—There is much discourse as if by the success of numerous hands to the petition the time for the Parliament will be shortened. Sir Wm. Jones refused to sign it, which has incensed them against him to a high degree, especially when 'tis said that six of the Judges will sign it as agreeable to law and the highest privileges of the subject.

Re [Shaftesbury] cries aloud against the last Monday's *Gazette* that thunders so against the Papists in the first part, when at last the letter from Scotland gives thanks for the order from His Majesty that supersedes several repeated laws which require oaths to be taken by all of what quality soever that enter the Council; and that this case has had such operation on some great men here who had prepared and qualified a Bill so as to admit the successor under certain restrictions, that by this they see nothing can tie the supreme authority from any Act it hath power to assert, and so abandon any further thoughts of what they were about.

1679-80, January 3. London.—I think the holidays have had some good operation in livening the news, and the variety of troublesome events, which other seasons are pregnant withal; so that unless I entertain your Grace with a pack of cards, or a paper of verses said to be made by one Carroll, a prisoner about

the Plot, I hardly know what to say. But you will find your Grace makes up a card of the pack. After Christmas when the Quarter Sessions are held we shall see what progress the petition will make, and whether the subscribers will appear so formidable as to shake any of the resolutions taken in reference to the distance of the Parliament. But as the certainty will not be known until the 26th instant, so in consequence cannot it be determined concerning the Parliament in Ireland:—whether none at all by having one here; or when one there, tho' there should be none here. For perhaps those who are now most in credit in the Court, have had less occasion to think of Ireland than of other things. But till the transmission of the new Bills your Grace mentions in yours of the 14th, there certainly can nothing be done. But when they are here we shall see the entertainment they have, and how they are like to be speeded. It falls out very well that the Bishop of Meath presides in the examination of the Plot, since the work proves so dilatory. But 'tis much wondered that the information against the Earl of Tyrone is not come over, seeing he is under commitment thereupon.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 24th, and most thankfully acknowledge your Grace's favourable sense touching my demission, which in truth the necessity of my affairs did require. And tho' it puts me by the box, wherein I was faithful a sentinel as I could approve myself, yet I think I am now in condition to speak bolder and freer the truths I know, and which some will certainly believe, than when I was under a double awe of some peevish superiors within, and insolent aggressors from abroad. Besides my pretensions are now, as they have ever been, so moderate and just (if any at all) that I think I shall little fear any that will unjustly be angry with your Grace upon that account. Besides, I hope, even in the post I was, my successor will acquit himself with candour and respect. And what he wants in experience shall be supplied by Mr. Blaythwayt, who has all the fit dispositions to serve your Grace, and I will give him the best preparation therein before I go that I am able. Mr. Gwyn is this Christmas in the country.

The enclosed paper of my Lord Chamberlain's case is the opinion of two differing persons. The first is Sir James Shaen; his Lordship knows not what to think of their secret kindness, but desired me to send your Grace the paper, and that you would please to say what you think thereof.

I presume I might have credit enough at Kinsale to serve there in the Parliament on that side, if things so sorted with the time of my being there. But the other point your Grace vouchsafes to mention is of an higher nature, which perhaps when I kiss your Grace's hand at Dublin you will not think me so well qualified for. For tho' I have had luck enough to break through an undertaking of clerkship, which your Grace stood in some measure, by your recommendation, accountable for; yet the high-rope is another thing, and I know not whether my head might not turn round. But I shall refer myself to your Grace's judgment in all things when I have the honour to kiss your hands in Dublin.

1679-80, January 10. London.—Sir Robert Peyton was yesterday sent to the Tower for traitorous contrivances to disturb the peace of the Government. It seems his friend Gadbury being weary of the prison, and willing as he said to tell all things he could ever call to mind, gave an account in writing how that Sir Robert in discourses to him and Mrs. Cellier, when they were treating his reconciliation with the Duke, did own unto them that if the King had died it was agreed between him and his friends that he should presently be at the head of 20,000 men, and in a short time after of 60,000 men, who would all declare for a Commonwealth, and for the exclusion of the Duke. And in order hereunto they had resolved to knock the Lord Mayor on the head, to seize the Tower, as also Portsmouth and Plymouth, with other like things of this strain. And Mrs. Cellier being present at the reading of this information, did own the remembering of several material passages thereof; so that here are two witnesses to things of an high nature, which he notwithstanding utterly denies, and 'tis under consideration to have them pardoned in order to his prosecution; and perhaps for as much of this matter as may concern Sir Robert Peyton few will be solicitous what mischief may befall him; but surely to me the matter looks attended with various intricate points. First, this discourse of Sir Robert's to them is owned to have been in order to raise his greater estimation and rewards with the Duke. And as my Lord Peterborough had in the Duke's name promised forgiveness of all, and the same was confirmed by the Duke himself, when Sir Robert twice kissed his hands, to fall now under prosecution for the matters so forgiven will not much gratify the Duke. Next, it will be said that this is to show that the belief of a Presbyterian plot is still fresh, and that there remains hope to find out, either by Sir Robert Peyton or others, some considerate actors therein who must likewise fall under prosecution and severity as the law shall require, which is become a very unpopular and discredited point. For, in the third place, Dangerfield has his pardon in a great measure for confessing how that the Papists had contrived to fasten upon the Presbyterians the guilt and scandal of such a plot. And Mrs. Cellier and Gadbury are not only made prisoners upon this account, but more particularly for having meditated and conspired the death of the King. Now if these two shall be pardoned in order to prosecute Sir Robert, there will many jealous if not odious questions be started, in comparing the merits of the two plots; and whether contrivance against the King's life, or for disturbance after his death, ought most to be disfavoured. Then again if Sir Robert should name any of the most renowned prosecutors of the Popish Plot, what noise and conjectures the falling upon them would beget is from every day's licence become very obvious. I dwell the longer upon this story because it affords new matter; and may multiply such intricacies in the Government as that nothing less than a Parliament will be able to dispel the difficulties. But it were also to be wished that there were a Parliament which would not too much resent them. For the unhappiness is that

this body is already apprehended as too formidable, and yet whosoever they must meet they are likely to be more.

On Wednesday morning there was a Committee to consider the refusal of Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe to attend Mr. Attorney, who had it seems frequently sent for them in order to prosecute some priests in gaol to a conviction. And tho' they did the evening before come to the Attorney's chamber, yet they plainly told the Lords of the Committee that they would appear no more before the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, for that he had defamed their evidence in the public trial of Sir George Wakeman, and by several expressions since, for which they intended to accuse him in Parliament. Upon this the Committee ordered them to bring in their complaint against him to the Board, which they have accordingly promised to do.

It is now declared by the Dutch Ambassador here that the States have refused the French alliance. It seems the French Ambassador there suspecting this event, and finding Mr. Sydney very warm in representing how deeply his Majesty would resent the same, he did show a letter from the French Ambassador here, first to some of the States of Holland, and then afterwards to the Pensioner, adding that he would make no scruple to show it even to the States, importing as if our King had declared unto him that he was willing enough to see Holland and France allied, and that he himself would embrace an alliance with France. This being represented over by Mr. Sydney gave first great disquiet to our Ministers, and is since become the discourse of all. His Majesty has utterly disowned any such words, and Monsieur Barillon being sent unto to return his answer upon this matter in writing, after three day's pause he flatly denies having sent any such letter; which, as nobody can believe, so many are troubled that His Majesty does not express more displeasure against him, and at least press for his revocation.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 27th past, and am sorry to find the gout seizing your Grace so unreasonably as in the Christmas holidays. As for the paper enclosed, demonstrating the £12,000 to have been unjustly brought to an account, and so properly appertaining to His Majesty, I did this day call upon Sir James Shaen, who casually meeting me about ten days ago said he thought he could put me into a way of getting my recompense touching Rincorran, and when I told this news the next day to Sir Cyril Wyche, Sir Cyril told me Sir James would probably mention the said £12,000, for that he had had some discourse with Sir James about it. Sir James first owned to me that he and the present Farmers actually paid their £30,000 here, and that the whole was actually received here by Huntingdon. And yet the late Farmers had gotten an allowance of £12,000, as part of their £30,000 in Ireland, notwithstanding which plain mistake he says that the King is not entitled to anything hereby; for that all the debts and revenue of the kingdom of what kind soever belong either to the Lord Ranelagh or to the present Farmers, and so whatsoever is to be recovered will belong to some of them. And that he has long known of this concealed sum,

and expected in due time his advantage by it. This is the present answer he gave me, but has promised me a larger one ere long in writing. And as to my payment for Rincorran, he says that they now pay £300 a week to the Fort, and that in this winter season perhaps £200 a week is as much as can be employed. So that if your Grace would appoint the other hundred pounds a week to my satisfaction, he and his partners would give obedience thereunto. Thus far he told me to-day, and I presume to relate here to your Grace what his opinion was therein, being attentive to anything that sounds like the method of my satisfaction.

I had already a visit from P. W. [Peter Walsh] who desired me to peruse a long letter he had writ to *fh* [the Duke of Ormond] wherein he bemoaned the not having heard anything since his being on that side, and the comfort he should have to receive a few lines; but acknowledging in the meantime that he did receive the effects of former favour punctually continued unto him. I did upon discourse so convince him of the inconvenience that might happen either by the writing or receiving answers that he presently flung his letter into the fire. And further to prevent any inconvenience that might fall out in this busy time, he promised to search over all his papers for any letters he could find, having of himself a year ago burnt as he thought all but one. Yesterday morning he came to me again showing me two, which he had found, leaving them in my hands to burn or dispose of as I thought fit, resolving to extinguish every shadow of inconvenience that way. The first of them is dated from Whitehall, 21 November 1668; wherein somewhat is touched of the forged authority of J. F. who was brother to the Earl of Carlingford; also of the malice of *mn* and the Papists then raging against him. The next letter is from Clonmel, 30 August, 1674, touching upon the recommendation of a certain writer to Sir John Duncombe; then of his kindness to the Remonstrators, who have been constant, and pitying those that were compelled to retract; enlarging upon the interest of the English Government to support those that were well affected to it. Then mention is made of a large letter sent to the Lord Lieutenant. These two letters he has left with me to dispose of as I thought fit, not thinking in his own opinion, nor I much in mine, that they deserve this fine. However, I keep them in my hands for a time; and, to do him right, he was heartily concerned to do everything that I thought advisable in that point.

I suppose your Grace has seen the Irish History put forth by Dr. Burlace, which being a quite different thing from what Mr. Hill had under his hand, P[eter] W[alsh] was very inquisitive to know whether your Grace would never think more of that matter. For if you thought the contrivance of what I sent worthy of the labour, Mr. Hill, though now fixed in Holland, would be contented to carry it on.

I here send your Grace enclosed two of the wild papers that here fly about, wherewith many entertain themselves.

1679-80, January 13. London.—This day one Mr. Smith, a lawyer, and used by Mr. Oates in all occasions for his counsel,

did present to His Majesty the petitions for the meeting of the Parliament, with a large bundle of names from the people of Westminster, and (as Sir Gilbert Gerard who bare him company said) in the behalf of thousands more. His Majesty manifested his displeasure at this address, and told Sir Gilbert that he was very sorry that any with the name of Gerard should be concerned therein. He noted to them how that he saw no names of remark in the bundle, unless that of Major General Desborough, adding further that he knew better than any man else what concerned the government of the kingdom, and would take therein all the care that was fit. So I presume what other addresses may come will in like manner be received without any variety touching the Parliament from this motive. But what will happen from the motive of Holland, which will doubtless press very strong, a little time will show. 'Tis plain the Prince of Orange has to the utmost strain laid about him to procure a soft gentle negative to the French demanded alliance, in which, however, they will no longer persist than to see whether they can find good anchorage with us. And if they conclude that nothing but union between the King and the Parliament and the supplies of a Parliament can make us for their purpose, 'tis natural to believe, (and the Dutch Ambassador says already as much) that the King and his Ministers will be warmly moved by the States and by the Prince in this particular. And how far the Ministers may think that a Parliament will be charmed at their meeting with an assurance of friendship with Holland and open their purses, which few other arguments will be able to unlock, and dispose themselves to a more general harmony at home, while things may then prove well abroad, in proportion as these motives operate as well as some reflection of their own risk and danger if they neglect them; so we may see and a little time will tell us further tidings concerning the Parliament. And until the 26th of this instant be over, your Grace will hardly know as to your affairs there what certain measures to take.

The Committee for considering the lists of Justices do proceed towards the leaving out such as appear not well affected to the Government. I am told there will go fresh orders to your Grace, to give some further disturbance to the titular Popish clergy there, and that *p* [Earl of Anglesey] is often zealous herein.

1679-80, January 20. London.—The Common Council meeting this day, and having many hours debate, the conclusion was that sixty-six were for the petition; but sixty-eight against it. Fifty of that number did not appear, and ten were excluded from voting as not having taken the oaths. Among the Aldermen fifteen were against it, and five only for it, whereof the Lord Mayor was one. So the vote passed that for the present they would not petition. This event doubtless is very grateful to His Majesty. The Lord Herbert has lost his company in the Guards, for being one of the petitioners; several new Justices are removed, and more will follow.

The Duke of Monmouth had a message from Sir Stephen Fox, to pass beyond sea. He presently answered that it was very strange he should now be commanded after the loss of all his employments. But if His Majesty pleased to send over the Duchess of Portsmouth, Duke of Lauderdale and Lord Sunderland, which would be as useful to him, he would go in the same yacht, tho' he liked none of their companys. This fresh menace from France to Holland will in all probability have some operation with us. How far it will operate I know not, but in Holland they believe France meditates war against them. I have this day been so lost in variety of business that I cannot write more, especially seeing my wife after miscarriage has lain these nine days under a dangerous crisis, which just now I thank God seems to be happily over.

1679-80, January 17. London.—The last Wednesday produced a new turn in the evidence of the Plot. For whereas the last account your Grace had, conveyed Sir Robert Peyton to the Tower on the evidence of Gadbury and Mrs. Cellier, Gadbury comes now to the Council Board to declare that having said all he can touching Sir Robert Peyton, he can swear as to Mrs. Cellier what what she had communicated to him, her having knowledge of the endeavours used to take off Dugdale's evidence, and that she owned herself to have actually set instruments at work to take off Oates and Bedloe; that she declared often to him the Plot would go on, notwithstanding all opposition, and that the kingdom would be sooner overturned than that Lords within the Tower would suffer; and that she knew the truth of what she said from an higher art than any he meddled in from the stars; that she often pressed him to calculate the King's nativity, and to let her know the length of his days; which he absolutely refusing to meddle in, he believes, by her importunity to be satisfied, that she went to somebody else. Mrs. Cellier being summoned to the Board did flatly deny all this matter, and prayed she might have leave to speak in private with the King, in order to which her further examination was put off until the afternoon. Whether she spoke or not to His Majesty I do not hear. But to the Committee in the afternoon she spoke of nothing but contempt of death, and that she was too loyal to expect or find any favour. There are many of these Papists that fall often into this way of speaking, and do infinitely prejudice His Majesty by mixing Popery and loyalty so near together.

On Wednesday my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs appearing at the Board said in the presence of Oates and Bedloe that sure nobody could doubt that either of them would want test-money against any man. This unadvised speech Mr. Oates laid presently hold on, desiring the Board to be witnesses for him at what a rate he was used, and whether he could properly appear to give any evidence before such a Judge. He and Bedloe gave in yesterday about twenty general articles against his lordship, unto which I am told his lordship's answer will be read in Council on Monday next; and just now to mend the matter comes Mr. Dangerfield

to give evidence that Mrs. Cellier told him in September last that she was going to a private place near the Tower to meet my Lord Chief Justice, and to do somewhat touching £10,000 with reference to the late trial of Sir George Wakeman. Oates and Bedloe have further prayed the Board that they may prosecute his Lordship in the King's name, and have all His Majesty's Counsel to their assistance.

My Lord Mayor having upon address made to him appointed a Common Council to meet on Tuesday next (which the Court of Aldermen showed inclination enough to have deferred), His Majesty sent for his Lordship and would have had the meeting put off, which his Lordship said could not now possibly be. So they parted with little satisfaction on either side, and 'tis believed the business of the petition will be there fomented. What by such example may spring up afresh in other counties I know not. But 'tis certain that in several counties the matter languisheth; and at the Assizes in Somersetshire the gentlemen apprehended the promoters, and are sending up representations to His Majesty of their dislike and aversion to such tumultuary proceedings. I am told that in Derbyshire it is opposed by Mr. Sacheverell, but on a different account; namely, that the Court is not yet sufficiently starved, and so not thoroughly qualified for a Parliament, as in process of time it will be, and especially since in the interim there are no taxes paid. I am sorry they have so shrewd a calculation of our wants, which are such that neither the Commissioners of the Excise nor of the Customs, and even the Lords of the Treasury have not touched anything of the last quarter, altho' the former never used to go to the Exchequer for the same.

Sir James Shaelt says that my Lord Longford has lately writ unto him about the £12,000, and he is making a deduction of that whole matter which I shall see when finished. In the meantime I think it may not be amiss if your Grace venture a letter to the Lords of the Treasury, opening a little of the case, and referring the rest to Sir Cyril Wyche, as he shall be able to make it out more clear, and in such case to pray their aid.

1679-80, January 24. London.—The petitions presented from Westminster, Wiltshire, Essex and Berkshire have received from His Majesty much discountenance, and yet no man can tell, or at least pretends to know, the certain time of the prorogation. Those that reckon on the Duke's being speedily here, and that by sea, do compute upon much length of time. But those who contemplate the affairs of Holland, how they have again refused the French importunities, and must naturally fall in to become petitioners to His Majesty for a Parliament, think the time cannot possibly be far off. The Lord Chamberlain was credibly informed from a good hand that the Duke of Lauderdale was peaced up with Lord Shaftesbury, and now playing tricks with the Duke of York, whom for a while he screwed to a great height, and this in part is the motive of expecting him at Court; and although the Lord Chamberlain thinks this very incredible, yet he bid me write it. Mr. Gwyn is not yet returned from his negotiation of

my Lord Conway's marriage, which confirms what the Lord Arran, a rival, declares, that the Lord Conway is like to miscarry. 'Tis said if the Duke come, he may probably make himself the instrument of the Duke of Monmouth's reconciliation with His Majesty, for that 'tis said the King is uneasy with this state of mortification, and is pleased enough to hear anybody speak well of the said Duke.

From Spain Sir Harry Goderich writes much of the festivals upon the late marriage, and that the King, instead of going sometimes to Council and sometimes to hunting, appears very anxious, and spends all his time at cards with the Queen and her ladies. But he adds a remarkable passage, which filled the whole town there with discourse, of Sir William Godolphin's being made a grandee; wherein, not to make any mistake, he took his information from Sir William Godolphin himself, who told him that the Duke of Arcos came to him, wondering that he did not congratulate the King upon his marriage, to whom Sir William answered that he was now in the condition but of a private man, and he thought it was sufficient if the King knew that he prayed for him. But the Duke inviting him to come, with intimations that he should be well received, he came with three coaches, but not conducted with any marks of ceremonies. There were on each side the room three grantees, and when he approached the King at the upper end, the King bid him be covered, and again repeated with a smile that he should be covered, which is as much the way of making a grandee there as knighthood is given here by the sword on the shoulder. Whereupon he put on his hat, and declared his congratulations on the marriage, and being withdrawn he received from some of the grantees the joy of his promotion, with declaration that he was a grandee during life, and that this was the effect of a consult. Sir Henry having writ this from Sir William's relation adds of himself that there had been known no other English grandee in that Court but the Duke of Richmond, and who came thither in a shining Embassy.

After all this is said and that Sir William has set his heart on the thing, there is a by-letter which mentions a great opinion among the Spaniards there that this was done upon no other account than that Sir William, tho' ceasing to act as an Ambassador, was not yet divested of the privileges belonging to that character, especially having found great respect in that Court, and the more for his sufferings about the Plot, which they extremely under value. Sir William's friends here do not mind what use he can make of this honour, but by living always there. And they fear it will disprove what in several letters he has so sharply asserted of his being a Protestant. But after all if he should prove no grandee, and come to undeceive himself in that point, it would be but an unfortunate delusion unto them.

1679-80, January 27. London.—By the enclosed paragraphs your Grace is left to guess the probability of an Irish Parliament, for the distance of an English one is fairly enough asserted.

Three yachts are already gone to fetch the Duke and Duchess, and 'tis whispered that to-morrow His Majesty would in Council tell the Lords of the Duke's coming, and how he shall demean himself when there. I suppose there must now enter as many retrenchments of expense as can be devised in all kinds.

1679-80, January 31. London.—I can say nothing of certainty now unto your Grace ; but what I hear spoke of by several is that some of the Privy Council have often met of late, and that the Marquis of Winchester, the Lord Cavendish, the Lord Russell and Mr. Powle will retire from the Council Board, and that in a while after the Earls of Essex and Halifax, the Lord Fauconberg and Sir Henry Capel would do the like. The Lord Halifax is gone from Sir William Coventry's to his house in the North, instead of returning hither. They add that Mr. Secretary Coventry will resign his place to Mr. Godolphin, upon valuable consideration, and that Mr. Hyde is in such a degree of fame that if he affects the Staff he may not long be without it. He is up every morning at five, and at the Treasury an hour before the rest. And some think my Lord Sunderland is a little jealous of his augmentations, which will certainly increase upon the arrival of His Royal Highness, at which many do expect some difference on the face of things, and talk already of his being Lord Admiral, tho' I see no better ground for it than that some of those Commissioners have offered, and do in discontent submit to Mr. Brisbane's being made their Secretary. Mr. Vaughan refrains coming there any more, and Sir Thomas Lee is next door unto it. I do not believe there will be any discourse of an Irish Parliament till your Grace transmits the new Bills, which will give a fair occasion to debate the question. But what will be the event thereof, who can tell ?

1679-80, February 7. London.—I am assured that Mr. Godolphin did put by the offer of being Secretary, and pointed rather to Sir Leolin Jenkins, unto whom he was sent to ripen that work, and on Thursday Sir Leoline waiting on His Majesty was commanded to turn his mind thereunto, and he will be assisted in the making up £6,500, (which I am told is the sum that Mr. Secretary Coventry is to receive) and so Mr. Secretary in consideration of his age and infirmity will leave the stage. I was told of this the last night very late, and casting presently about, how it would turn to profit or loss as to your Grace, I went early this morning to Sir Leoline's bedside, who does protest to me that, after the royal blood, he has no family living in greater veneration ; and tho' he may not be so fierce a friend as Mr. Secretary, yet he will be as faithful a servant as ever your Grace had, in-case he comes to that post. He is not a man that looks after any station of this kind, but in his nature turns away from all noise and the glittering of a Court. However, he is in the last resort most absolutely resigned to His Majesty's will and disposition. But he seems willing to see the Duke here before this

matter break out. Mr. Secretary did certainly believe he should have had a more considerable gratification for his place, but yet he held it with less content to see himself in all things so overdone by his junior. I suppose Mr. Thynne will retire with him from business, and so Mr. Bridgeman will naturally pretend to the agency of Ireland which formerly he had when with the first Secretary, and I am afraid he must not be displeased therein.

What your Grace transmitted about the ship with the Turks driven into Brandon Bay, is referred to Sir Leoline Jenkins to examine a report. There are some merchants of Bristol that claim the ship, and entreat His Majesty's favour. But I presume the dispensing of favour in this case will depend from the Lord High Admiral of Ireland, who is expected here as soon as these blustering winds will permit.

1679-80, February 14. London.—There offers little at present wherewith to entertain your Grace, only those who are zealously concerned in the prosecution of the Plot are wonderfully dismayed, and think all is damped by what has happened at the King's Bench Bar by the clearing of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, the severity upon Harris, the bookseller, the giving no judgment upon Price and Taesborow, with the bailing out of several who were in custody, which added to the great reformation in the roll of justice, and the coming of the Duke, makes the discontented shake their heads, and talk of wonderful severities, and in particular as if they were all to be disarmed.

Blood, Christian, and five more, are found guilty by the Grand Jury of a conspiracy to fasten the crime of sodomy upon the Duke of Buckingham. And it was affirmed to me by the foreman of the jury that the proofs are most evident and the whole contrivance most abominable, and that a Lord in the Tower was the promoter of all. If this should be made out so notoriously as is declared, it would strangely enlighten the late contention between Oates and Knox, who had been a servant in that family, and who, together with Lane, hath been lately found guilty for contriving to impute unto Oates a practise of this nature.

The last news from France about the prisoners sets forth that upon what Madame de Voysius, the great fortune-teller and face-mender, has discovered, the Duchess of Soissons is trumpeted, which is the manner of citation used in like cases when people absent themselves. And if she appear not at the third trumpeting her crimes and sentences will be pronounced, and then her *effigies* is to suffer. There is as yet no other crime laid to her charge but of a design to poison this young Duke of Savoy, and that she actually poisoned his father. The Duchess of Bouillon, which seemed before to be excused, was lately called upon to appear and be confronted with her accuser. But she pleading that it was a derogation to her privilege was ordered to retire to Novac, her house in Gascony, and there to be confined till further order. It seems the King has every night a report of what passes in these examinations, and being impatient to see an end thereof, the said

Madame de Voysius declared that she had yet more than in three days she could discover. So that 'tis thought that what between the concern of husbands, wives, heirs to estates, and maids with unlawful great bellies, there are above half the Court involved in these pernicious practices, and nobody now doubts the Duchess of Orleans was one of these first martyrs.

Touching the ship in Brandon Bay, Sir Leoline Jenkins reports that the merchants of Bristol who put in their claim ought to have all restored unto them. But that the Turks belong to the Lord High Admiral. That the Spanish renegado be sent with his crime of levying war against His Majesty unto the justice of his own Prince for punishment, and that the English one be upon the same crime tried there in Munster, upon a commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to the Vice-Admiral and others, as in such cases is accustomed.

1679-80, February 17. Spring Garden.—It was agreed at the Cabinet to-day that I should go in quality of Envoy Extraordinary to the Elector of Brandenburg, and that with all speed, in order to some alliances in those parts, to knit in some better understanding the interest of England with them and Holland together. Thus much I hear without doors, having not yet entered into the knowledge of my instructions.* But I perceive the thing arises from the Prince of Orange, and that I must go thither and from him derive a good part of my instructions. This expedition overthrows all my private concerns for the time it will last; and although they tempt me with a despatch and at most two or three months, yet I know what is it to reckon without mine host. My Lord Sunderland, who moved the matter to me, would not let my own concerns stand in the way, nor did I much struggle when he once told me that His Majesty's service required me, to which I must ever be devoted and will sacrifice all. The Treasury have been at this time a little propitious to me in considering what service I did in the recovery of the Queen's portion, and I think they will do me some good turn. I have not anything more to enlarge upon at present.

1679-80, February 24. London.—The Duke and Duchess arrived this day at Whitehall, both very well, and [were] received with all demonstrations of joy. But the King did forbid any expression to be made in the city by my Lord Mayor. Yet at this end of the town the bells are ringing and the bonfires numerous.

Monday next is assigned for my day of departure, but before that time I hope to write to your Grace, as His Majesty I think also will in my favour, being thereunto incited by the Lords of the Treasury, who are so convinced of my care and merit in the matter of the Queen's portion that they advise His Majesty to forgive me £75 per annum of my Quit Rents in Ireland, which

* Sir Robert Southwell's original instructions as Envoy Extraordinary to the Elector of Brandenburg are preserved in the British Museum. Addit. MSS. 31, 146, f. 13.

it seems is the only method left whereby I can have any gratification. And although I am sensible this will not sound well in Ireland, yet if I stay till I offend nobody I may continue to labour fifteen years more, and never be the better for serving His Majesty. I doubt not your Grace will concur with a powerful warrant and authority for the King, and observe to those that oppose it, whether they have not in so many years of equal service been better gainers by His Majesty's bounty than this amounts unto. I have so long looked after Sir James Shaen's deduction about the £12,000 that I was even tired with a vague solicitation before this Brandenburg's adventure took me off; but I hope if your Grace do but enlighten the Lords of the Treasury in it, their diligence and authority will bring it to a period.

WILLIAM BLAYTHWAYT TO ORMOND.

1679-80, March 6. Whitehall.—I humbly take leave to acquaint your Grace that Sir Robert Southwell set sail for Holland on Wednesday, the 3rd instant, towards the Court of Brandenburg, and that before his departure he had left with me all the papers that were in his hands relating to your Grace's affairs, which according to his directions I shall keep and dispose of as your Grace commands, and your service shall require. The great hurry Sir R. Southwell was in upon his departure hindered his giving your Grace this account.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO ORMOND.

1680, May 17[-27]. Berlin.—It was no small affliction to me when at the same time I was here contending in my business against the charms and power of France, that I should hear of such a calumny against your Grace and your family as was mixed with the tidings of a new plot in that kingdom, and then also to hear of your Grace's particular kindness to me in the matter of my Quit Rents. I must confess I was all on fire that I should be absent in such a conjuncture, and not have any share in contending for your vindication, which truth and time have already given, and with shame enough I think upon the heads of those who took pleasure to accuse.

I am now in hopes of speedy orders for my return home, seeing this Elector is resolved upon a neutrality. He dares not accept what His Majesty has offered him, or what the Emperor points him unto, for fear of France; for he has armies in view ready to execute any displeasure that may be taken against him. He has also been told that if he needs friendship France offers a defensive alliance, and all the advantages that can attend it. And although the refusal hereof shall not pass for an affront, yet if he accepts elsewhere, His Most Christian Majesty will be obliged to take his measures accordingly, and this I presume is the style that haunts all Courts where His Majesty is at present to make any overtures.

If the Emperor and Spain were actively linked to England and Holland, and all engaged in a guarantee of the peace, it might,

perhaps, tempt the Princes here to start in by degrees, as they saw the protection grow strong enough against France. But as to their own strength, I do not see that they dare confide therein, and in the meantime they temporise, and yield to the jealousy and divisions that are by France fomented among them; seeming to smile upon all that is said or done, and not thinking themselves in a condition to do otherwise. The first and last thing for our own honour and safety is unanimity at home, without which not only ours but the condition of Europe will look very crazy. For 'tis the voice of one and all here abroad, that if ever any good be done against France, England must be the bottom of the alliance, and depended upon as on the corner stone. I wish your Grace long life, and the happiness to see this good event.

1680, November 13. London.—Yesterday I reached hither from Hamburgh, and although the sea be not yet out of my head or my heels, I would not forbear to present my duty to your Grace. My business now in this place is but to report a negative, and to recover about twelve hundred pounds that is due to me for want of supplies. The first part will require little attendance in this busy time, and the latter is too difficult to be soon composed. So I propose in a few days to repair to my family in the country, there to repair my health if I can, and some breaches in my domestic concerns. All things are here in a great fermentation, and to hear fourteen days news at once (which I wanted) is, like the vision of St. Paul, more than I can well comprehend. Mr. Gwyn will believe that my intercession with your Grace must be of some avail for him in point of favour to him before others touching the retrenchment of officers in Ireland. I think him a very good man, full of zeal for your Grace, and in a station to acknowledge favour that may be done him. I beg pardon for this freedom.

1680, December 8. King's Weston.—By the honour of your Grace's of the 19th past my contentment in the country with my family and relations is extremely augmented. What your Grace mentions in Mr. Gwyn's case ought certainly to give him all satisfaction; and it alleviates the loss I suffer by my nephew Percival that he is so favourably remembered by your Grace. His brother, Sir John, is now here with me, a plain young man, but virtuous and very intelligent. *And besides his own thanks I must also pay mine for your Grace's late favour to him about the troop. But Mr. Tisdall tells me likewise how inquisitive and earnest your Grace is in the means of my satisfaction about Rincorran. I confess I was extremely dismayed when my Lord lately told me in London of the impossibility in that expedition, for I had and still have fastened the discharge of £1,000 of what I owe and pay interest for on that payment, and my temper is

* Sir John Percival, 1st Baronet, grandfather of the 1st Earl of Egmont, married Catherine, sister of Sir Robert Southwell. The Sir John here mentioned was the third son of this marriage. See Egmont Papers, i., 569-574.

such that until I stand clear of my debts, I think myself in a river of sorrow. But your Grace's favour and justice will I hope in this instance, verify what I have proved in most other instances of my life, that all my matters become difficult, and I scarce ever succeed in any till I begin to despair. As for your Grace's part in the public affairs, I see your Grace preserves the same temper and inward quiet that has formerly served in all events. I presume the misfortune is that you have a station some affect for themselves, and others like not in your hands. But in this time where would your Grace be without some receiving envies, if you were not where you are.

1680-81, January 10. King's Weston.—This letter is singly about what concerns my Lord Courcy. 'Tis with some trouble I have heard for a long time that his Lordship's thoughts would not be turned to study, and that of late his Lordship was grown quite weary of Oxford as a place now useless to him. And, indeed, to those who once think it so it seldom proves otherwise. And what the Bishop says to this point your Grace will see here enclosed. I was therefore the more willing to invite over his Lordship to me this Christmas, the better to consider what I might offer your Grace in his behalf. He has now been with me about three weeks, and though I cannot venture on this trial to say what is his standing temper, or know if he have quite subdued that stock of pride and arrogance he carried with him five years ago, yet I must needs do him this right that his appearance is very gentle and agreeable; his manner in conversation, in dancing, and playing at cards very easy, and also without suspicion of vice. Besides, when I have pushed him very home about the Protestant religion, although I have not found him strong in argument, yet he seems to be so in inclination, assuring me he is fully satisfied with it, and that he will continue therein for ever, and that 'tis the religion he will die for.

As for his preferment in the world, I could wish for some rich heiress that were affected with deportment, good blood, and good manners. That would do his business at once. For I do not as yet discover fire enough to hope very much either in the civil or military ways. His Lordship speaks often of his hopes to travel with my Lord of Ossory, which is a point best left unto your Grace. But if that fail him, and there be thoughts of his travelling alone, 'tis plain that he cannot have less with him than a tutor and servant, and that with excellent frugality they cannot spend less than £400 per annum, and this to be as constantly supplied by some fit undertaker, as he has heretofore been quarterly supplied by me with his allowance at Oxford. When his Lordship considers this difficulty and the clouds that appear, he then begins to wish for employment in the army in Ireland, and that he will bend his mind to be a soldier. But then he does inquire, having still an inclination to travel, if he might not be allowed to employ the salary of such employment for a time that way. For my own part I cannot in these tender years but apprehend danger as to his religion in travel. And in the next place I fear that travel

would serve him to little other account than to better his outward deportment, which, though a good thing, is not to be relied upon as a talent. As to his going into Ireland to an employment there (if such a thing were as easy as he thinks to be had) he must still be molested and shaken by the importunity of his kindred, unless they found him better able to fence than he is. I confess I do not know many ways to propose for his Lordship : all that occurs to me is that if for a while he were transplanted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to learn under that shelter to deal with the dangers as well as the improvements of the world, he would afterwards with more safety be ventured for such trial if it should be judged fit, and then perhaps there would also be a better prospect of a friend to support him. But I suppose whatever course your Grace shall judge most advisable for him, he is not to be removed from Oxford without the knowledge and direction of the Council Board, seeing by their order he was there placed ; and that may come by intimation from the Bishop that his Lordship is now desirous to leave the University. I submit all that I mention in this matter to your Grace's good pleasure and direction, for I aim at nothing but service to this poor young Lord, who is in tottering circumstances. I wish your Grace all the happiness that a new year can afford.

1680-81, January 29. London.—It is not long since I writ to your Grace of my Lord Courey, and how he might most fitly be disposed of, and having touched upon the same matter with the Lord Bishop of Oxford, his Lordship, as by the enclosed your Grace will see, does not approve of my Lord Courey's going to the Archbishop's, but rather points at travel or the going with my Lord Ossory to Constantinople. But I presume to leave this, with what I said before, entirely to your Grace ; only I think that seeing the Court and Parliament are now to be seen at Oxford, my young Lord will the better digest some further stay in that place. And although for this cause the Bishop may wish his Lordship elsewhere, yet seeing his Lordship will not elsewhere take to the books he must be ventured and left to his stars.

1680-81, February 12. — I have got unto this place and am labouring to draw from the Exchequer what I lately expended in Germany, and I make no ill progress considering the time, for from a payment of the Queen's portion (which twelve years ago I settled in Portugal) I come now to have my satisfaction. My next great work is to untangle myself from my debts. And having trespassed thus far with your Grace in my own domestic concerns, I will presume to acquaint your Grace that my nephew, Sir John Percival, is intending to marry a daughter of Sir Edward Dering's, in pursuance of an amour as it seems of long standing. Sir Edward agrees to pay down £2,000, and £500 more to each of Sir John's two sisters at their day of marriage. We both intend, God willing, to wait upon your Grace in Dublin. I have hitherto had no time to see how the scheme lies, and therefore I shall not presume to enter on news of the present state of things.

1680-81, March 17. King's Weston.—Your Grace's of the 19th past found me on the 3rd instant in this place, whither I was come from London in some haste upon my wife's great sickness after a miscarrying. And because the chief concern of the letter was about my Lord Courcy, I sent it to the Bishop of Oxford for his information of your Grace's thoughts, and I have it now back with his Lordship's satisfaction to attend what your Grace shall think fit to determine in that matter. I could not stay long enough in London to dance at Sir John Percival's wedding, but I find that he is very proud that he has your Grace's good wishes to the state of happiness whereinto he thinks he has entered.

In the same letter your Grace was mindful of my Rincorran business, and I find your Grace had soon after given your final orders for my payment. But this day I am told by an agent's letter of the 8th instant, how Sir John Champante makes answer that all the fund which was allotted is already expended upon the fort, and that the Farmers tell him the same thing; and that Mr. Robinson confirms what both of them say: namely, that there was as much money already expended as would answer the King's letter, and that in his estimate for the fort he never considered the purchase of my land. I think my fate very hard to be told I call too late, when I have for these three years past been soliciting with as much diligence as was decent for me towards your Grace. I do not really know now what to pray or to propose. But if a new fund must be erected, and new orders obtained to establish it, I know a little what circle those things take; and I hope in this case your Grace will not only allow, but assist me in getting a suitable augmentation for the charges I am at, and the interest also for my money from the time the commission and valuation was returned until I be paid. For the matter is a plain bargain, and I have never since had the use of the land, but I have myself been paying interest for the want of this money since that time. I have this week, I thank God, paid off two debts and need this Rincorran money to deliver me quite. Therefore as nothing in the world is more uneasy to me than to be in debt, I hope your Grace will pardon my being solicitous in this question.

When the spring is a little more advanced, I presume Sir John Percival and I shall join in our humble request to your Grace to have the use of the frigate to transport us from hence to Kinsale.

1681, April 9. London.—Upon receiving the honour of your Grace's of the 19th of February I sent it to the Bishop of Oxford because the greatest part concerned my Lord Courcy. And his Lordship was thereby to remain in his station until the session of Parliament should be over. When I received back the letter with the Bishop's satisfaction to attend your Grace's time, I writ to your Grace by a ship then bound for Ireland, which was so very long stopped by ill winds that I thought fit to call back your letter, because I intended for Oxford, and might therein inform your Grace more particularly in what concerned this young Lord. Hence it is that your Grace has not had from me a sooner acknow-

ledgment of your Grace's extraordinary favour in the matter of the Rincorran money, nor Sir John Percival's humble thanks for your Grace's good wishes to his marriage, which I had mentioned before.

When I came to Oxford I found all running out of town upon the dissolution, but I continued there some days after and had opportunity to discourse my Lord Bishop and others about my Lord Courcy, and with the young Lord also as to himself. I found him become as [].* He told me of many kind expressions newly made him by [? Mrs. Wall], which he, taking for current money, did suppose he might easily obtain some place at Court, but named in particular to be a cornet of the Guards. I did labour to undeceive him and to dissuade him from thinking of the Court, till he had laid in some stock of merit, as well to make him useful there when he came, as to resist the temptations by which else he would soon be ruined.

In my discourse with the Bishop, his tutor, and others, I found all agreed that his talent was a facility in address and the multiplying of acquaintances. That he had laid it forth while the Court was there, and that in a very diligent manner, upon the great ladies in favour, and had soon made kindred with Mrs. Wall, that he might remain in the same grace with the Duchess of Portsmouth. This scene was so much overdone that everybody saw where his inclinations pressed, namely, to be at the Court, and therein to run all the dangers of a handsome youth, well-born and of good fashion, but no sort of steadiness of [character] raise his fortunes there by hopes of favour; so that 'tis plain your Grace has not any easy task in resolving how to dispose of him. All agree that London and the Court would be his bane; and I perceive that if he be not there then his inclinations are for travel. But as to this your Grace has already taken notice of the uncertainty of a support, and on the other side the grief and mischief it would be if, being in your Grace's family, he should warp in point of religion. I told your Grace before how firmly he had declared against any such thing. He has still appeared very steadfast in his duty to the Church and receiving the Sacraments; and his morals are thought entire, for the Bishop has kept him as in his bosom, and both wishes and prays that he may do well. He was naming for him a trial at sea, and to see if courage might not, as other things, be taught; to which all I can say is that his Lordship is not disposed that way, and if he be put upon it he will then press to be with the Duke of Grafton, who is too young to be a good governor. As for Monsieur Faubert's academy, I know not if he will bend to the discipline [].

I am returning in ten days to my house, where Sir John Percival intends to leave his lady while we ship over for Ireland, and to that purpose I shall ere long presume to entreat your Grace's favour that we may have the frigate to Kinsale. I went to Oxford with purpose to help Sir Thomas Southwell out of the briars, but the Parliament was dissolved the day his business

* The original of this letter has been injured by fire and some words here have been rendered illegible.

was to be heard [] home and gave him his pass, and he took leave of all the Ministers ; which I the rather name to your Grace, because he spoke often of your Grace's very good treatment of him in his troubles. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for all this trouble, and though it be long, yet I cannot end without repeating again most hearty thanks for your Grace's favour about my Rincorran payment, which will fall in very seasonable for the accommodation of my concerns. May your Grace have happiness and long life by as sure a title as that wherewith I am, etc.

1681, May 4. Kings Weston.—I am here now in the country, indifferently labouring to undermine my distemper and the scurvy, which is become very obstinate ; so that when I pass over into Ireland I must take my provision of medicaments along with me. Sir John Percival and I are both humble suitors to your Grace that the frigate on that side may have your Grace's orders to come to King-road, and there take us in for Kinsale, as soon in the beginning of the next month as it can.

I have not yet heard from your Grace touching my Lord Courcy's removal. Since I writ thereof to your Grace from London, his Lordship sent to me again to be mindful of it, as being quite sick of Oxford. And if this come in time to your Grace, it may lay somewhat of that matter more fully in your view. I made mention to your Grace what I had heard in Oxford of the great league and kindred struck up between Mrs. Wall and my Lord Courcy. And coming to London I heard more of her zealous endeavours to have my Lord at the Court, there presently to enter into fortune and preferments, and to shake off all other pedantic ways. And I do not doubt but she has found means to make the King speak kindly of him ; for so my Lord Arran told me he found the King well inclined. My Lord's tutor, Mr. Benson, who is nephew to the Bishop, and a sober, careful man, was lately in great anxiety for him, as your Grace will see by his letter to me here inclosed. For it seems his Lordship was broken away to give Mrs. Wall a meeting at Windsor, at the late instalment of the Duke of Richmond. But I hope he returned back directly to Oxford, for Mr. Blathwayt did encourage him thereunto. His Lordship had a little before writ to me very artificially how much my advice had wrought upon his mind, and then in the postscript he desired to have a sight of Windsor, and that the Bishop was willing, if I would consent. I writ him back I left all to the Bishop as to the seeing the place ; but that I thought the Court would be there in a few days, and that he ought not to be seen at the Court until his final orders came about his removal. But his Lordship, to be true, I suppose, to the assignation long before made, passed over the usual forms, and then told Mr. Blathwayt that the Bishop had actually given him leave. I would not mention so small an intrigue as this is, but I consider your Grace may just now be thinking of this young Lord's concerns, and so every instance at this time may serve to some purpose as to the method of his future course.

My servant tells me from Kinsale that he sent three horsemen to Tralee, with the Farmers' warrant for my Lord's Michaelmas pension, but that Mr. Trench [or French] the collector had sent them back without a farthing. He says also that after your Grace's orders, which are so strict and positive for my Rincorran payment, he could get nothing of it. I know your Grace will in both cases vouchsafe to do what is fit. I shall, soon after my arrival at Kinsale wait upon your Grace.

1681, June 21. Kinsale.—After attending many days for a fair wind on the other side, we were content at last to deal with an ill one, and after four days' trial we got into this place on Friday last. Sir John Percival and I are already preparing ourselves to pay our early respects unto your Grace, and not only to acknowledge what concerns the accommodation of our voyage, but a map of other benefits. Just as I was coming off I had a letter from my Lord Courcy of some persistence for his intrigue with Mrs. Wall. But the secret is that Mrs. Wall upon some sour message I sent here has reprehended my Lord for his too early advance towards the Court, and so they stand as it were upon ill terms. But my Lord continues still to be weary of Oxford, and desires me to solicit your Grace for his deliverance.

1681, September 9. Kinsale.—I most humbly acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 3rd instant, and in what concerns my Lord of Ossory I shall conform strictly to the discourse we parted withal, as I receive further intimation from your Grace therein. But when I compared in my mind the late Lady L. (which was all the notion I could have of her sister) and the creature I mentioned, I confess my head turned round with concern. There is yet no tidings of the *Swan* frigate, but that she was at Bristol on the 28th past. By a letter of the [] from London, I am told that my Lord of Courcy was there in the care of Monsieur Faubert.

Your Grace may please to remember the ruins of an old church here near adjoining to Charles Fort. It was, in my remembrance, the parish church of Rincorran, but now the minister of Kinsale, Mr. Vesey, has the grant of the tithes during his incumbency here. 'Tis in the King's gift, and my Lord Strafford, before the wars, gave it to one that had been his old schoolmaster. If His Majesty would vouchsafe to grant me the advowson, because my estate lies round it, I would provide one other fit place wherein to erect the church, and set out glebe land, and use endeavours to have the church new built. In which case I would have the minister (to be presented by me or my heirs) to oversee the poor of the almshouse which I am building and endowing with the quit-rents His Majesty lately gave me.

1681, September 27. Kinsale.—By Captain Aylmer, who came in upon the 24th, I have such ill tidings of sickness befallen my wife that I purpose to take the first turn of the weather to get

over. Yesterday came in hither Captain Wyburne in the *Happy Return* and Captain Dering (my brother-in-law) in the *Dover*. By what I gather from their discourse and in way of privacy they have not their instructions from the Admiralty—but signed by the King; and they are to correspond with Sir Leolin Jenkins. Captain Wyburne, who is chief, means to have Captain Dering to cruise between Cape Clear and the Land's End, and up and down along this coast. He himself has on board twenty-six thousand pieces of eight, which he says were furnished by the Lords of the Treasury, but that Sir James Shaen had the care of putting them on board; and he thinks they are to redeem the English Captains that are in Fez. He is here to take in Mr. Thistlethwaite, the Receiver-General for the Farmers, who carries with him about £5,000 for Tangier; and while there has orders of great authority and inspection upon all the affairs of that garrison.

The Captain is to cruise about Tangier about twenty-eight days, and to take in such redeemed captains or such maimed soldiers of that garrison as Mr. Thistlethwaite shall direct, and then to come straight to this port and give advice of all to Sir Leolin Jenkins. Here Mr. Upton, the collector, is to provide therein all necessaries of provisions, etc., and he talks of sending for his wife and here setting up his rest, and thinks that not only these two frigates but two or four more may be allotted for this coast, and to be maintained as well as Tangier by the revenue of this kingdom. This is the best collection I can make of the Captain's discourse to me, he being of my former acquaintance; and although your Grace may know things more distinctly, yet because you were once left in the dark to my great admiration, I am not unwilling to mention what I hear.

'Tis near six years ago that your Grace named Mr. Thring to be seneschal and receiver to the Lord Courcy. They both serve his lordship in a manner for nothing, and with fidelity and the approbation of all good men. His Lordship's uncle, McCarty Reagh gives out that your Grace will expect them both to make room for him; and they say if it should be so it would be much more to their disgrace than to their disprofit. I have assured them I would write to your Grace to justify their zeal and fidelity to my Lord's poor distracted concerns; and to add also that I think it would soon be dissipated if it fell into the hands that it seems pretends to it. As soon as it pleases God that I reach the other side I will inform your Grace thereof that I may receive your commands.

1681, October 10. Kinsale.—As I am just now ready to embark there is the cry of a great many poor people renewed upon me touching the debt of sixty odd pounds due unto them on the score of Tam and Birne. I did presume at Kilkenny to move your Grace herein, and you were pleased to tell me that at your return to Dublin it should be paid out of the concordatum; and truly if it be not the debt will fall upon myself. For these poor people say they minded not the Government, but my father, for their paymaster, who gave to them directions for what they did.

1681, October 14. Kinsale.—I am here still blocked up by the contrary winds; so that my cousin, Arthur Hyde, having got matter enough to call upon me, I have had occasion to enter seriously into the value of this gentleman, and of his zeal and principles, which are such in relation to the Government as even reproach a great many that hold offices and advantage by it. He lives in the esteem of the whole country, and as he has many children to provide for, perhaps his condition may need a little countenance and help. Sir Nicholas Armorer and I have since he left us had much discourse of this worthy gentleman, and we both really believe that your Grace will do not only a good work, but a thing of further approbation, if some mark of favour from the Government were placed upon him. If it be true, as is said, that many are to be displaced, and that for principles contrary to his, I heartily wish he had a troop of horse, or what else of consideration your Grace shall judge most fit. He is the nearest kinsman I have in the world, and for whom I have the greatest love. Therefore I most humbly beg pardon of your Grace for the liberty I take. 'Tis most certain I should not for myself be more grateful or concerned than for any success of this gentleman, which I leave at your Grace's feet.

1681, October 26. King's Weston.—Hither I got in the *Swan* frigate, and send your Grace the humble acknowledgments of Sir John Percival, and Sir Thomas Southwell and myself, for the conveniency we have had thereby, and very good passage. I dined at my house on Wednesday and here the like on Friday. I do not forget the enquiry I am to make for the pictures, nor the old notes of Sir Matthew Hale, nor the much more important affair which concerns your Grace more nearly. Just now came one to visit that passed the last week at Badminton, and repeats and verifies all that I said to your Grace about the young lady. He lay there several nights, and was able to speak as to various particulars. I beg your Grace's pardon for naming this again after the discourse you already gave me. But I am less able to conceal what my wife tells me of the other party, which she lately had from her mother that was here.

It seems the young man that played the prank with one of the sisters was pursued by the mother to London in [] to my Lord Chancellor, and there in very [angry] posture, dress and language, ripped up her debt. My Lord seeing the other daughter in her hands she had lugged up, but in a most beggarly condition, began to rally and comfort her with better prospects for that, and told her of £23,000 and a great Lord he could name to her; and, I know not how, named my Lord of Ossory. But as soon as she heard of Ireland, the woman cried out against any such thing, as if her child were to be murdered. My Lady [] sat at all this scene, and here lately entertained my sister with it, as if it had been a show; but in particular [said] that the young creature was most miserably bred up. I know not with what discretion I name these things, but I will

venture any censure or displeasure rather than not tell all I hear of so weighty a matter until past redress. However, I beg your Grace's pardon.

1681, December 3. London.—I have now been in town this fifteen days, and have met the honour of your Grace's of the 12th past, and yet what between some little indisposition of my own, and a very severe return of sickness to my wife, who is also here, I have not known how to get into the way of writing to your Grace anything that was material. I have not taken notice to anybody of what is in meditation about my Lord of Ossory, but I hear of the thing from unconcerned persons, so as I perceive 'tis no secret. And I also heard that the party wants neither shape nor an understanding, if anything were bestowed in culture.

My Lord Courcy is well in health, and appears very well fashioned, but Monsieur Faubert complains that their wants fire or inclination to arrive to much. He is much concerned to see no better prospect of supplies to his lordship; and for aught I yet have by my Lord of Arran his friend Mrs. Wall will not have credit enough to restore him in Ireland to his full pension. I now send the state of my accounts with his Lordship, to Mr. Tisdall, to be at a fit opportunity laid before your Grace. His Lordship is now only in my debt £33 9s. 9d.

As for news, I leave the matter of the Farm to those who have better knowledge how the proposed conditions proceed. My Lord Chamberlain told the King after the last hearing that the business appeared to him like a race at Newmarket, one horse the better at this post, and then lost at another; and so I find it generally thought that my Lord Ranelagh lost ground at the last hearing. But none can give me any colour of good reason why in a thing of this nature your Grace should remain unconsulted. I find one was still, as he tells me, of the same mind, and has since seen the inconvenience of omitting it.

I hear that the Dutch Ambassador here, as well as the French, informs His Majesty that the attempt in Holland reached no farther than to carry off the Count St. Paul, who writ the book of Europe, Esclave, etc., and that it no way regarded the person of the Prince of Orange, which yet is the belief of the generality there, and will probably in like manner take place here. The great point of [? Spain] is now to have Luxemburgh. His Majesty have used all endeavours to divert that stroke, and if he cannot he will certainly call his Parliament, and it may accordingly meet by the end of February. 'Tis believed that they will not more stir as to the point of the succession, but be content with such other assurances as His Majesty may be willing to give concerning religion; that His Majesty will assuredly send for the Duke to be here at the Parliament, and also bring the Lords in the Tower to their trial, who, if they escape or suffer, there may be an end of the plot, and then an Act of Oblivion pass as to all things which have either been said or done. This I have from good authority, and as a matter of secrecy.

I have lately had tears twice in my eyes on reading in the new poem* what concerned my dear Lord of Ossory who is in Heaven.

1681-2, March 15. King's Weston.—I never had a letter of your Grace so long before without acknowledgment, as of the 12th of December last. But it came to me when my heart was full of sorrow, and for a cause, alas, the most considerable that could befall me. It hath pleased God of late years to lessen much the number of my nearest friends—I presume in that list to place one who is very much in your Grace's also. But everything that is born must die, and that after all is the result of what this will afford. I turn my thoughts now to the care of my children's education, and my utmost endeavours to root out the effects of the scurvy, from which I can hitherto get little relief.

I had two things in charge from your Grace in Ireland, and the enclosed paper is the success of one. That is to say the arguments used at the trial of the Lord Maguire by Twisden and Hale, the counsel that were assigned him, and against his Lordship being tried in England. I had in London inquired among the servants of Sir Matthew Hale without any success. But at length my Lord Chancellor told me he himself, having attended that trial, had made a report thereof, which I might find with his son the Solicitor General. The Report, being writ in law French, was given to be put into English by one who had, it seems, occasion to go out of town; and this Mr. Solicitor writes me word was the cause I had it no sooner, for I have kept it but just to take a copy. Judge Bacon, who then sat on the Bench, was first of opinion that prisoners could not be tried in England, but then he after retracted it with an apology, as my Lord Chancellor noted to me, and it is hinted in the Report.

My next care is after the pictures at Acton. The lady lives still in the house, nor is the estate sold to Sir Robert Atkins or anybody else. I must go over to the place to be satisfied; for the endeavours I have hitherto used have been fruitless, only in general that everything of value there has been scattered to the four winds. I wish your Grace a prosperous voyage over, if it be true you are coming; and if your Grace ever see the Severn again I shall account myself happy, who resolve to live and die your Grace's most faithful and obedient servant.

1682, September 25. King's Weston.—When your Grace was the last summer at Charles Fort, you took notice of the ruined walls of the parish church of Rincorran there adjoining. And soon after I proposed in a petition to His Majesty the rebuilding thereof in a more convenient place, if the advowson might be conferred on me. Whereupon your Grace, being first consulted, was pleased to order Mr. Ellis to tell me that I should have your Grace's consent if the Bishop of Cork said nothing to oppose

* Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, which appeared in November, 1681, contains an elaborate *Eloge* on the Earl of Ossory, *lines* 830-853.

therein. At that time Mr. Vesey, the minister of Kinsale, who held this living also, (and that as well by presentation from the late Lord Bishop as from His Majesty, because the title was uncertain), he was for his health here absent in England; so as I could not consult him as I wished touching the King's right, in order to lay the same before the Bishop. But as soon as I got light into it I did; and his Lordship taking time to search and consider thereof, I now received his answer by the last post, and he gives me his free consent to proceed in my petition as your Grace by his letter will see. While I was in expectation of the Bishop's answer, I did at Sir Nicholas Armorer's motion, promise to Hignett, now chaplain of Charles Fort, that I would present him in case I did succeed. For Mr. Vesey, the incumbent, was thought to be a dying man. And so it happened that Mr. Vesey died almost a month past, and I am told that Mr. Meade (brother to Sir John Meade) was thereupon hastening to obtain Rincorran from my Lord Deputy, as well as another place called Taxanon held also by Mr. Vesey, Kinsale being given by the Bishop to one Mr. Lapp. But I would not move until I had the Bishop's answer and resolution in this matter, as your Grace had directed; and it coming now in favour of my suit (which I look upon as depending for a year), I hope Mr. Meade by stepping in will not disappoint Mr. Hignett, and, indeed, the rebuilding of the church: for I shall be loath to meddle about a reversion after one that may be near twenty years younger than myself. If your Grace think fit to cause a stop to be put to Mr. Meade's presentation, so far as concerns Rincorran, and to approve of my proceeding in the way I was for, I will then presume to present my petition to His Majesty, and to procure thereon a reference to your Grace; and I will attend till I receive direction by Mr. Gascoigne herein.

1682-3, January 25. King's Weston.—I know by very good authority that if your Grace had not lately stood in the gap I had undergone some censure which I very little deserve. This shows me how good it is for me to have been these twenty years past dedicated unto you. I have laboured and even prayed that I might in your Grace's service be such as your Grace would have me, that I might never demerit your protection, but show unalterably [] according to that glorious pattern I have before me. I am not so well known to some others, nor did I ever [pretend] to be so. I remain with deep acknowledgment of your Grace's condescension, and where I vary from what your Grace would have me to be I shall deserve to die.

1684, August 23. London.—The next day after your Grace departed from Berwick I found the Lord Fitzwilliams at Milton, near Peterborough. Upon reading your Grace's letter, his Lordship spoke to me of the papers, but seemed very unknowing in what he had, and almost hopeless of finding anything. But I told his Lordship I would come in a day or two and undertake

any searches that were necessary. When I came back to his Lordship, things were changed much for the better, and a great old trunk found out and brought in play, where with all freedom I was allowed to search, so that from Monday morning till Tuesday at five in the evening I and my two companions (and his Lordship also) found work sufficient to unravel what there appeared in dust and wonderful disorder. The enclosed list gives your Grace a general account of all, and under what heads I did reduce them.

There are about ninety-two original letters from the Queen ; about eighty-four from the Council ; about 206 from the great men in England, and of these many in the Lord Burleigh's own hand ; about 259 letters and applications to the Deputy from those in Ireland ; and among these letters some signed Thomas Ormond ; copies of letters, etc., from the Deputy, 407 ; promiscuous papers, 285 ; sixty-four papers about the Earl of Kildare ; five papers and parcels about the Earl of Clanricarde ; copies of some instructions to the Lord Deputy Sidney.

When I had separated and bundled out not only these nine bundles, but all the others in the enclosed list, in order to be sent unto your Grace, which his Lordship frankly offered, there entered a certain man of the law (sent for I suppose to be consulted withal) and from thenceforth his Lordship seemed willing to part with papers only. But as to the books of accounts he knew not if future reckonings might not fall out and make them needful to his family. To this I told his Lordship that an hundred years past was a fair quietus from all exchequers ; and his Lordship did at last agree that if your Grace should desire these also, he knew not why he might not also part with them. But I suppose his Lordship has in the enclosed to your Grace said somewhat as to this point himself. The nine bundles have now gone to town, and in the hands of Mr. Heriot, the goldsmith, to be sent your Grace with the first conveniency. I send with them a letter from his Lordship, wishing I would here more strictly peruse all the papers and return him back such of them as appeared to be only of private concern. But I promised to write to your Grace that all papers merely private should be laid by and returned back, and then such papers as were chiefly private, after the public passages were transcribed, should also be returned. There this matter stands, and I presume your Grace will find somebody that is at leisure to fulfil what I have promised, which will be a good expedient to get the remaining books, if any of them (as the world is now altered) should seem to be of any use. As for Council Books, there was not any at all of that nature appeared, nor do I believe that his Lordship has other than what I here give account of. For he let me enter at last among all the evidences of his estate, but nothing appeared, save in this old rotten trunk, which had never been opened and hardly ever seen by his Lordship before.

I must add that in these two days his Lordship entertained me and my company very kindly. He showed us the antiquities of his family, among whom the last twelve have been called Williams. They have affected this name from William Fitzwilliams' who

entered with the Conqueror, and being Marshal of the Lamp in the famous fight of Battle Abbey, the Conqueror gave him his own scarf in reward of his prowess that day. This scarf they preserve sacred, and by custom lay it over the face of all the male children when christened. But his Lordship showed me a book in parts, where there is entered upon vellum and curiously adorned (as the Church writings of former times) an exact deduction of the family, and their chief exploits from the time of the Conqueror down to the Deputy of Ireland, and all attested by the chief heralds of that time.

I presume to mention this to your Grace, as wishing you had the like, or that even what you know yourself (which is very much) were all noted down, for posterity runs more and more in the dark. I beg your Grace to pardon this presumption, which flows from a zeal that can never be extinguished but with my life.

1684, August 26. London.—This night my Lord Rochester is for his last being at the Treasury. He took on Sunday his place as Lord President of the Council, the [? Lord] Bath being first sent with a compliment to the Earl of Radnor, and that his pension should be continued. Mr. Secretary enters the Treasury as First Commissioner, and with [the] title of Lord Godolphin of Godolphin, and the Earl of Middleton is become Secretary of State in his room. The town makes this the workmanship of the two Seals, because of former ruffles and their present triumphing at it. But the more knowing say, as they own, it was sworn secret to them, and that it has blown from another point, namely, from the great lady, who, seeing him foiled in the former affair, resolved to fill that place with a favourite not involved in those quarrels. And if this calculation be true, which is the worst that could happen, the Duke must partake in the suffering.

'Tis certain my Lord Rochester comes with aversion to this new post. He owns it in his words and more in his countenance, and could he have followed his own will he had rather been nothing. This it what I can most materially collect at the distance I stand; and touching its aspect towards your Grace I must needs add, according to the freedom ever allowed me in what relates to your own province, and about which your Grace imparted something to me in the journal. The King is made believe that army is very slender. And among other tales these two things pass current, that a company in the Guards at Dublin is sold for £1,600, and in the country for £1,000. That a [Lieutenant] there undertakes to furnish his Captain £100 per quarter to spend here in London. And from these instances (taken for granted) infer how great the abuse must needs be in false musters, and how defective the army is.

I should add to the former part of this letter that His Majesty has given the Earl of Rochester £16,000 out of the confiscated estate of the Lord Grey. Having writ thus far I met with one who knows how matters go, and confirms the manner of this change as I here have represented it. How that the King complained that my Lord R. (on the first change of the Com-

missioners) was too impatient and addicted to his own thoughts and ways. And that this lady, taking advantage, has brought this matter to pass, and that her own friends stand firm, and the Duke's lose ground.

1684, August 28. London.—This letter (having writ largely by the last post) is only to tell your Grace the disappointment of the favour and bounty which your Grace intended to my son by recommending him to a reversion in the Auditor's place. I went to Windsor, and first in humble manner I told my Lord Rochester how it stood, and prayed his favour if occasion were. His Lordship told me he could give me no help, but must oppose it if it came before him; yet if it did not he should say nothing in the matter. I went then to my Lord Sunderland, and presented him your Grace's letter, which he received with all respect and a greater degree of courteous expressions to myself than I had usually found. He told me that in a day or two he would move His Majesty in it, and did believe His Majesty would not refuse your Grace's recommendation. But after ten days the answer is that no reversion can be granted, and his Lordship will, as I am told, signify to your Grace that this is not in disfavour, but to preserve the rule.

I should here end, there being no man readier to acquiesce in a reasonable answer than myself. But because I had in this matter calculated a lasting favour, which my son might in the next age have worn in memory of your Grace, and the dependence we have had for the age that is past, I cannot but own my sorrow for the disappointment; and the rather because I am shaping this youth all I can for the King's service, so in a peculiar manner I fill him with principles of devotion for your Grace's family. So that if any other thing comes fairly to your Grace's hand, which may fulfil my wishes in this particular and which may break no rules nor receive contradiction, I humbly recommend him (or myself in his behalf) to your Grace's favour and remembrance.

Postscript :—The evening my Lord Rochester left the Treasury he added a new Commissioner to the Excise; which your Grace knows in another case would not pass.

1684, September 29. King's Weston.—I lately had the honour of your Grace's of the 5th, which mentions three of mine. I see plainly that most of the London censure about the army is mere clamour, and perhaps increased by those who are much more guilty themselves. For (while there is no need of a Parliament) the greatest part of the Court and company about the King is made up of the officers and his army, and his ears are filled with nothing so much as regulations and reformations that way. So that if your Grace turn the note of indulgence to that of severity, it may be the safer borne.

I perceive your Grace vouchsafes to be well satisfied with what I did about the papers of my Lord Fitzwilliams, which are surely before this time in your hands. I noticed some memorials in his

family as things fit for imitation. And 'tis from the same spark of zeal that I now presume to tell your Grace, that having occasion to send lately for a book into Holland, I writ to Mr. Hill, who now preaches to the English there at Rotterdam. He is a Dissenter, but of the more sanguine strain. 'Tis he who writ "*The Zealander's Choice*," and was much countenanced for it by His Majesty. But he went back to that country about ten years past (where he is by death of friends become rich).

Your Grace may remember that he undertook while on this side to write out into more intelligible English a certain manuscript which came to my hand, and which Peter Walsh commended much for a true account of things in Ireland after 1641. He went on (by Peter's aid) as far as about 1648, and then I sent over, by your Grace's order, not only a copy of his original, but of his perseverance on it so far, and that with a broad margent, to receive the amendments your Grace should think fit. But soon after this, the noise of the Popish Plot drowned it, as well as many other words. And Mr. Hill being at this time in London and in some credit in the city, did your Grace good service and told me still how things went, which my Lord of Ossory did reward by giving him fifty guineas for a picture (of King Solomon) which perhaps was not worth above half the money. To him therefore having lately writ, I put a question whether he thought any more of your history. His answer is that he had neither proceeded in it, nor forgotten it. That the whole thing depended on my answering him a plain, easy question—whether the Duke of Ormond (to whom I had sent a specimen) like the same and desire it to be done ; in which case he would proceed upon it forthwith. Thus the matter stands, which had first its rise from Peter Walsh's affirming that the said history (which fell into my hands) did your Grace much right ; and Mr. Hill's leisure and willingness to undertake it. I have myself writ a sheet or two, being a narrative of what passed with Prince Rupert, for the eight months he and his fleet were at Kinsale, 1648-9. If your Grace think fit to give any life to this matter, I will accordingly advertise Mr. Hill. I hope in a few days to meet the Under Sheriff who seized the pictures at Acton, and to find out if any of them can be returned.

1684-5, January 9. King's Weston.—May it please your Grace : I have had for some weeks the great honour of your Grace's of the 3rd past, and I could better read and take it to heart in the solitary place I am, than know what to answer in a case which is so extraordinary. There is one point touched by your Grace, about your intended resigning, wherein I think I am a competent voucher. For I well remember your Grace told me at Ailesbury, that although business at that season was most welcome, as excluding other melancholy thoughts, which it did for the day-time at least, yet you foresaw that in a short time nothing would prove so irksome unto you as business. So that, in effect, others have but snatched what your Grace was going to bestow. And if they have too much presumed on your Grace's talent of bearing mortification with courage, they may perhaps sooner fall into

the same disease than be masters of the same remedy. 'Tis now a felicity that your Grace can turn all this, as you do, to the most excellent account and contemplation that human changes are capable of. I see also how in the midst of greater things your Grace was more mindful of me than I was to know of. Since the success and good will of others did not answer, it is to me satisfaction and honour enough that I stood worthy in your Grace's eyes, and I will ever do what I think may best preserve me in that station.

As soon as your Grace comes over I will not fail of giving my attendance, nor shall I ever covet anything with more zeal or ambition than to live and die, my Lord, your Grace's most faithful and most obedient servant, ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

OXFORD LETTERS

OF THE

1ST DUKE OF ORMOND

AS

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

A manuscript volume, entitled on the cover, "Oxford Letters," consisting chiefly of entries of "Recommendations" by the Duke of Ormond as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, respectively addressed to, and on behalf of, the persons named, as follows:—

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Charles Hedges, M.A., student in the Civil Law, lately of Magdalen College. Dispensations in regard to the defect of time, etc., that he may accumulate the degree of doctor, performing all the exercises required, and paying the fees of a grand compounder, both for that degree and that of Bachelor.

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Francis Carswell, Master of Arts, formerly of Exeter College, who "has long waited and used his utmost endeavour to get a class for performing his school exercise for Bachelor in Divinity, but has not been able to procure it." Leave to accumulate the degree of Doctor in Divinity, doing all exercises for that degree, as also preaching a Latin sermon and paying the fees of a grand compounder for both.

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Robert Hanbury, formerly of St. Mary Hall, now Chaplain of New College and Student in Civil Law, "who is eight years standing from his matriculation, but kept not above five years residence, by reason of his father's sickness in the country and other affairs, which upon his death were left to him to manage there; nor was he entered upon the law line above three years." Leave that the overplus of time spent in the study of arts may be accounted to him for taking the degree of Bachelor in Law this Easter term, and as he cannot procure a class at present with whom to perform his exercise, further leave that upon sufficient stipulation being given, the doing of his exercise may be deferred till next Michaelmas term.

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of William Gould, scholar of Wadham College, “who was entered in Act Term, 1671, but not matriculated till the term following.” Dispensation to reckon his time from his first admission, not from his matriculation, in order to be a candidate for the degree of B.A. this Easter term.

1675, 24th April. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Benjamin Barnett, B.A., of Merton College, “who was invited from thence to read prayers in St. Martin’s church here in Westminster.” Dispensation in regard of defect of time, being of full standing for Master, and only wanting three terms besides those the statute allows.

Undated.—To Mr. President.—On behalf of one Fitzherbert, now in Magdalen School and entered in College. Recommendation that he may be chosen a Demi at the next election.

1675, 6th May. Whitehall.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Stephen Bryce, M.A., of Magdalen College, well known and approved of in the University, “having some years since answered the doctors in the Act for his degree of Bachelor of Laws.” Dispensation to accumulate the degree of Doctor in that faculty, performing all exercises and paying all fees for both degrees.

1675, 6th May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Knight, B.A., of New Inn Hall, who is from the time of his matriculation to the next term, of full standing for the degree of Master of Arts, but being about the time he was to go out Bachelor visited with a greivous and lasting sickness, he was hindered from taking his degree for the space of three terms.” Leave that these terms may be allowed him for his Master’s degree, as he has always resided in the University, and performed all his exercises.

1675, 6th May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Thomas, B.A., of Alban Hall, “by reason of his necessary occasions in parts remote from Oxford, and being now of full standing for Master of Arts.” Dispensation for the absence of three terms, and that one term which abounded to him for the degree of Bachelor, may be allowed for the degree of Master of Arts.

1675, 6th May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Hammond, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for the absence of one term, and more than the statutes ordinarily allow of, that he may take the degree of Master the next Act.

1675, 13th May. —To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Ed. Taylor, B.A., of All Souls. Dispensation for five terms’ absence, occasioned by his necessary attendance on his Grace my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, so that he may take his Master of Arts the next Act.

1675, 22nd May. Whitehall.—To the Provost of [Trinity-College], Dublin.—On behalf of Hugh (son of Mr. Matthew Anderson, of Chester) who went to Ireland with Dr. Lingard, and is now resident in college at Dublin. Recommendation for his election to a fellowship, for which he is fully qualified.*

1675, 22nd May. Whitehall.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of George Harris, of Trinity College, B.A., in Michaelmas term, 1669, “and determined the Lent following, but being hindered from his residence in the University by his employment as tutor to a gentleman’s son in the country.” Dispensation for not keeping six terms, that doing all his exercises, he may proceed Master the next Act.

1675, 22nd May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of John Pomfret, of Corpus Christi College, B.A. of five years’ standing, who was “called into the country about some necessary occasions before he had been resident the full term required for his Master’s degree.” Dispensation for the loss of two terms.

1675, 22nd May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Wm. Turner, B.A., of Edmund Hall, of full standing to take the degree of Master of Arts. Dispensation for the absence of one term.

1675, 1st June.—To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Gough, of Alban Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of B.A.

1675, 1st June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Isaak, M.A., of Exeter College, of more than full standing for Doctor of Physic. Dispensation to accumulate for that degree, doing all the exercises, and paying all fees for both.

1675, 1st June. To the same.—On behalf of John Ratcliff, M.A., of Lincoln College, and student in physic. Dispensation for not being entered in due time on the physic line, and that, being of full standing for the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, but not in a capacity to perform his exercise for want of a class, leave may be given him to stand for his degree this Act term, stipulating to perform his exercise within two terms after.

1675, 12th June. To the same.—On behalf of Venables Keating, B.A., of Christchurch, who through mistake did not come to Oxford at first until some days after term was ended. Dispensation that the said term may be allowed him for his degree of Master of Arts this Act.

1675, 12th June. To the same.—On behalf of William Browne, B.A., of St. Mary Hall, who, being in the service of the Lord Marquis of Dorchester, has been detained from keeping his full residence. Dispensation for two terms’ absence.

* This entry and others printed in italics do not appear to properly belong to the series of “Oxford” Letters.

1675, 12th June. To the same.—On behalf of Peter Shelley, B.A., of Christchurch. Allowance of those terms which he wants for completing his degree of Master, and which he lost through attendance on the Archbishop of Canterbury.

1675, 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Edward Gammage, B.A., of Jesus College, who had lately been granted a dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to his employment at a great distance from Oxford. Further dispensation for one more term's absence, due to unforeseen detention in the country, so that he may proceed Master of Arts the next Act.

1675, 16th June. To Mr. Vice Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Wm. Powell, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, having been detained from due residence in the University by reason of his attendance in His Majesty's chapel and elsewhere in the country, for some years past, that he may proceed Master the next Act.

1675, 17th June. Whitehall.—To the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford.—On behalf of Mr. Matthew Bowles, formerly recommended by the King's command, for the fellowship vacant by the death of Mr. Fennis, but without effect. Recommendation that Mr. Bowles may now be appointed to the fellowship vacant by the death of Mr. Reekes.

1675, 9th July. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Parkhurst, of Katesby, in Northamptonshire, a gentleman of plentiful fortune, nephew of Lord Crew, a cousin-german of the present Bishop of Durham. Petition that he may be granted the honour of M.A. in Oxford University, having been about eleven years ago entered as a fellow commoner in Lincoln College, "this being a favour that has been upon occasion granted to strangers, and no way prejudicial to the scholars who stand for their degrees in the University, in hopes of preferment thereby."

1675, 10th July. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thadeus Lantman and Mr. John Wolnore, Ministers at the Hague, persons of good esteem in Holland, for their preaching, learning, and prudence. Recommendation that they should be granted the honour of D.D. of Oxford University.

1675, 13th July. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Nicholas, Warden of New College, son of the Dean of St. Paul's, and nephew of Mr. Secretary Nicholas. Permission to accumulate the degree of Doctor in Divinity standing in the next Act, he giving caution for the speedy performance of all other exercises to the degree of Doctor.

1675, 2nd October. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Doctor Bathurst. Proposal that Dr. Bathurst should continue in his office of Vice-Chancellor for another year.

1675, 4th October. To the Vice-Chancellor.—
On behalf of Mr. Browne, servant to the late Earl of Clarendon, formerly Chancellor of the University. His appointment as Bell-toller and Clerk of the Schools at Oxford, upon the death of one Holder. His appointment having been promised to Browne by the Earl of Clarendon, but given to another during Browne's absence in France attending on his master.

1675, 12th October. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Peter Brooke, M.A., in Aberdeen, in Scotland, who is desirous of continuing his studies in Oxford. "He thinks it some discouragement to be admitted undergraduate, and yet he dare not take the confidence to beg the confirmation of his degree of Master. Therefore to hope it will be no immodest request if he desires to be presented completely to his degree of Bachelor in Arts." Leave to do this.

1675, 12th October. To the same.—On behalf of James Parkinson, B.A., and fellow of Lincoln College, being from his matriculation above standing for the degree of Master, but having continued undergraduate in Corpus Christi five terms longer than the statutes of the University require. Leave to be allowed four terms, so that he may be admitted Incept. in Arts this term.

1675, 12th October. To the same.—On behalf of John Peck, a gentleman commoner of New Inn Hall. Being by his father commanded to Cambridge, and taken thence to travel, he was by sickness detained in England, and is now of standing sufficient for the degree of B.A. Dispensation for the absence of six terms, and leave that his exercise of answering under bachelor, may be changed into answering generals.

1675, 16th October. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Crick, commoner of Christchurch, "who, falling sick of the small-pox and being thereby hindered from answering generals in due time and opposing *Juramenti Gratia* during the term of his sickness, desires" dispensation for one term's absence, and that his answering generals this term and opposing thrice *Juramenti Gratia*, may go *pro forma* in order to the degree of B.A.

1675, 17th October. To the same.—On behalf of William Hanmer, of Brazenose College. Dispensation for the absence of one term towards his taking the degree of B.A., the said term having been lost through a suit of law.

1675, 17th October. To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Grylls, of Brazenose College, son of Mr. Francis Grylls, who did eminent services for His Majesty and his royal father of blessed memory, and particularly in preserving Sir Joseph Wagstaff after the defeat in the West, and was sequestered of all his patronage and temporal estate during the

time of the late rebellion. Leave that he may be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law, the next Michaelmas term.

1675, 18th October. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. William Williams, formerly of Jesus College, Oxford, and now chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Derby. He matriculated in the year 1651, was forced by the iniquity of those times to quit his studies in Oxford, and to betake himself to a country retirement in which he has ever since continued, and now has a great ambition to be known in the University. Leave to be admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, performing all the exercises required by the statutes, and paying the fees of a grand compounder for the degree.

1675, 26th October. London.—To the Warden and Fellows of All Souls.—On behalf of Mr. Colt, of Oriel College. Recommendation for a fellowship in All Souls, in addition to those from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Rochester.

1675, 13th November To the Rev. Dr. R. B[athurst], Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to be communicated to the Dean of Christchurch, Warden of All Souls, and President of Magdalen College.—On behalf of Dr. Moryson. Recommendation, by His Majesty's command, for the appointment of Lecturer in Natural philosophy in the University of Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. Willis.

1675, 16th November. London.—To the Rev. Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christchurch.—On behalf of John Masson, a scholar in Christchurch. Admission as a student of the Foundation at the next election.

1675, 16th November. To the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Convocation.—On behalf of John Plimley, of St. John's College, of ten years' standing in the University, but, by reason of employment in the country, disabled from taking the degree of B.A. at the time. Leave to accumulate for the degree of M.A., doing all exercises, and paying all fees for both degrees.

1675, 16th November. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Richard Vaughan, of Jesus College, of five years' standing in the University, and prevented by a long illness in the country from keeping his due residence. Dispensation for the loss of three terms, in order that he may take his degree of B.A. this term.

1675, 23rd November. To the same.—On behalf of Martin Hirst, of Trinity College, who has for some time been hindered from coming to the University by a design of travelling into foreign countries. Leave that, having matriculated at the beginning of Act term, 1672, he may compute his standing in the University from the preceding term, so that he may complete his degree of B.A. next Lent.

1675, 29th November. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Short, of Pembroke College, who matriculated a term too late, and has otherwise time to proceed B.A. this term. Leave to reckon his time from his first admission and not from his matriculation.

1675, 29th November. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Plimley, of St. John's College, who is of some years' standing in the University, but, by reason of employment in the country, has been prevented from taking the degree of B.A. in due time. Leave to accumulate for the degree of M.A., paying all fees, and doing all exercises for both degrees, save only instead of answering under bachelor, to twice answer generals.

1675, 8th January. To the same.—On behalf of Meredith Phillips, B.A., of Jesus College, of six terms' standing above his time for the degree of Master, but hindered from residence by necessary and urgent occasions. Dispensation for the lack of six terms.

1675, 8th January. To the same.—On behalf of Francis Nation, commoner of Balliol College. Dispensation for the absence of part of one term through sickness, that he may take his B.A. next term.

1675, 24th January. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr Piers, son of the Dean of Salisbury, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and who has performed all exercises for this degree. Dispensation for some terms' absence occasioned partly by his attendance on his father's removal from Magdalen College, and partly by his own indisposition, so that he may complete his degree at Oxford, and not need to apply for that favour to Cambridge, to which several have resorted upon like occasion.

1675, 1st February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Jonathan Lowe, hindered by the nonconformity of his nearest relations from going to Oxford, and sent to Glasgow, in Scotland, where he took the degree of M.A. several years ago. Leave to be admitted into the University, first to the degree of B.A., and afterwards, upon paying all fees and doing all exercises, except determination, to that of M.A.

1675, 9th February. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Isaac Walton, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for one term, which he was hindered from keeping by reason of absence from England, that he may take the degree of Master this term.

1675, 15th February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Davis and Henry Hill, M.A. and fellows of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, of full standing for the degree of Bachelors of Divinity, which by their local standing they are required immediately to take, find some difficulty in so speedy performance of their duty. Leave to be admitted to the degree

of Bachelors of Divinity, having first finished their disputations, paid all their fees, and stipulated to preach their Latin sermon within a year.

1675, 21st February. To the same.—On behalf of James Libb, an undergraduate of St. John's College, who was, soon after his entrance, prevented by sickness from matriculating that term, and has time now to take the degree of B.A. Dispensation for that term wherein his matriculation was omitted, that he may reckon his time from his entrance.

1675, 25th February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Edmund Sermon, of St. Mary Hall, who took his degree of B.A. above ten years since, but, being detained in the country about a necessary attendance on the education of youths of noble extraction, and officiating his cure, he has been unable to regularly take his degrees of M.A. and Bachelor of Divinity. Dispensation for paying the fees of both and performing all exercise except that of examination.

1675, 29th February. To the same.—On behalf of David Watkins, B.A., of Jesus College, of above eight years' standing. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, due to necessary employment in the country, that he may take his degree of Master of Arts the next Act.

1675, 14th March. London.—To the same.—On behalf of one Throckmorton, proposed by Mr. Jeffrey Banister, the King's servant, who keeps an academy for music and dancing, and other scenes for the education of youth in London, as a fit and skilful person to teach those arts in the boarding-schools of Oxford.

1675, 7th April. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Price, B.A., of Christchurch.—Dispensation to reckon his time from his admittance into college, and not from his matriculation, so that he may take his degree of M.A. in Act term next.

1676, 30th March. To the same.—On behalf of Monsieur Le Moine, designed to be Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, and invited thither by the Prince of Orange, that he may have the honour of Doctor of Divinity conferred on him by the University of Oxford.

1676, 16th April. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Herbert Pie, B.A., of Hart Hall, of full standing for the degree of M.A. the next term, who has had some preferments in the country offered to him, which he cannot accept until he has his Master's degree. Dispensation that he may proceed M.A. this term, paying his fees and performing all exercise previous thereunto, and standing in the next Act.

1676, 15th April. London.—To the same.—On behalf of David Evans, of Jesus College, of full standing for the degree of B.A. this term. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to sickness in the country.

1676, 8th May. To the Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Mr. Collier, Beadle to the University, that he may have the place of Bailiff there.

1676, 9th May. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Samuel Collier, of Trinity College, of full standing for the degree of B.A. the next term. Leave to reckon his time from his entry into college, not matriculation.

1676, 9th May. To the same.—On behalf of John Bagwell, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to necessary employment, and long distance from the University, so that he may take his degree of M.A. this next Act.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Knight, of Exeter College. Dispensation for one terms' absence through illness, so that he may proceed to B.A. the next Trinity term.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Gilbert Knight, of Christchurch, of full standing for the degree of M.A., but who deferred his Bachelor's degree seven times, in hope of a scholar's place in the University, which afterwards fell not. Leave to reckon those seven terms which he exceeded in his B.A., so that he may proceed to the degree of M.A. the next Act.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Philip Fall, B.A., of Alban Hall, of more than full standing for the degree of master, but who deferred his Bachelor's degree by reason of his father's death, and other avocations which issued thereupon. Leave to reckon the eleven terms supernumerary to his Bachelor's degree, towards taking the degree of Master the next Act.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Baker, B.A., of Edmund Hall, of above eight years' standing. Dispensation for one term's absence, in order to proceed M.A. the next Act.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Meredith Reynolds, B.A. of Christchurch. Dispensation for the absence of term, due to necessary business in the country, that he may take his degree of M.A. the next Act.

1676, 12th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. William Warner, of St John's College, for twelve years M.A. Leave to accumulate the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Physics the next Act, paying the fees for both degrees; also dispensation for the exercise of Bachelor of Physics, performing that for Doctor only, in regard that for some late years he has not been resident in the University, and cannot procure classes for the performance of that exercise so timely as before the Acts.

1676, 16th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Cornish, B.A., of Exeter College, of twelve terms' standing. Dispensation for one terms' absence, due to the small-pox then raging in the University, that he may proceed M.A. this next Act.

1676, 16th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thomas Pargener, Bachelor of Divinity, of Lincoln College. Leave that one year, which was supernumerary in taking that degree, may, with the addition of the two terms more, be allowed him for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, especially as he is about to leave the University, and as yet no other hath appeared to stand in that faculty this ensuing Act.

[Undated]. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Joseph Moyle, who entered the University about twenty years ago, and applied himself to the study of physic, but, after six years' standing, he was called from the University by his father's death and forced by some extraordinary occasions to remain in the country ever since, although he has followed his studies with great industry and considerable proficiency. Leave to proceed Doctor in Physic, notwithstanding his absence, and omission of taking other degrees.

1676, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Nathaniel Highmore, B.A., of Trinity College, of full standing for the degree of M.A. Leave that one term which was supernumerary to him in taking his degree of B.A. may be allowed him so that he may proceed Master this next Act.

1676, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Thomas, B.A., of Trinity College, of full standing for the degree of M.A. last Michaelmas, but who was detained from his due residence by necessary employments in the country. Dispensation for four terms, that he may proceed M.A. the next Act.

1676, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Ludwell, Bachelor of Physic and Fellow of Wadham College, of full standing for Doctor in that faculty, and desirous to proceed the next Act. Dispensation for not reading his lectures till the term following, first giving sufficient security to perform that exercise without fail at the time appointed.

1676, 19th May. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Haotaine Morgan, gentleman commoner of Magdalen College, who was sent to travel into foreign parts, when he was designed for the University, a good opportunity then offering; and after a considerable time spent to good advantage, he returned home and was admitted into the University, where he has been a constant student now about four years. Leave to have his grace for the degree of Bachelor of Law, and to be presented after he shall have performed all his exercise and paid his fees as a grand compounder.

1676, 25th May. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Ralph Gardner, recommended by Sir Charles Cotterell, Master of the Ceremonies, as very expert in fencing and vaulting, and fit to teach gentlemen in the University.

1676, 30th May. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Henry Price, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to necessary employment in the country, that he may take his Master's degree.

1676, 31st May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of James Finny, B.A., of St. John's College. Leave to transfer the term supernumerary to his degree of Bachelor towards the taking of that of Master the next Act, at which time he will be of full standing.

1676, 6th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Morgan, B.A., of Jesus College, of full eight years' standing from his matriculation, but hindered from keeping his due residence by necessary employment in the country. Dispensation for five terms' absence, that he may proceed M.A. the ensuing Act, for which he hath already performed all his exercises.

1676, 10th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Owen Eyton, formerly of Brazenose College, where he resided for six or seven years. His father, Sir Gerard, was an active assertor of His Majesty's interest, and a great sufferer for his loyalty. His brother, Sir Kendric, serves His Majesty as chief justice of North Wales. He himself is very well beneficed in Wales, and has estate suitable to the dignity of Doctor, besides the character of a virtuous man, a good scholar, and a good preacher. Leave to accumulate the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and proceeding Doctor in Divinity the next Act, performing exercise only for Doctor's degree, and paying fees for both.

1676, 13th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Avery Thompson, scholar of Lincoln College, who matriculated one term too late, and kept his residence ever since. Leave to reckon this time for the degree of Bachelor from his first admission, and not from his matriculation.

1676, 13th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Ralph Evans, B.A., of Queen's College. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to urgent occasions in the country, so that he may proceed Master the next Act.

1676, 13th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Fox, Bachelor of Arts, of Christchurch, of full standing for the degree of Master this next Act. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to a necessary employment in the country.

1676, 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Augustin Mervyn, clerk, who “entered in Oxford in 1640, and continued in Oriel College for about five years; but, by reason of his uncle’s death (who maintained him), he was forced to accept of a small parsonage in Glostershire, where by the opposition he met with from his neighbouring independent ministers and their violent persecuton, he was brought to so (low?) a fortune as not to be able to bear the ordinary charge the taking of the degrees would cost him.” Leave to be admitted Bachelor of Divinity the next Act, performing his exercise and doing all matters requisite thereunto, “being now invested in a more considerable benefice.”

1676, 17th June. To the Bishop of Oxford.—On behalf of John Martin, now a scholar of Christchurch, that he may be made a student of the foundation at the forthcoming election.

1676, 17th June. London.—To the warden of Wadham College.—On behalf of the son of one Mrs. Lidgold, sister of Lord Ormond’s former chaplain, Dr. Hall, a woman with many children and but mean substance. That the said son may be admitted a scholar of the foundation of Wadham College.

1676, 17th June. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Morgan Jones, of St. John’s College, who has performed all exercise for Master’s degree, and is of more than full standing. Dispensation for one term’s absence.

1676, 17th June. To the President and fellows of Magdalen College. On behalf of John Adeane, now of Magdalen College, son of Mr. Adeane, late servant in the wardrobe to His Majesty, and now in very distressed circumstances. The election of the said John Adeane as a demi at the College.

1676, 20th June. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. George Owen, B.A., and some time fellow of All Souls’ College, of more than full standing for the degree of Doctor in Divinity, but hindered from taking his degree of Bachelor by reason of his constant employment in remote parts of the kingdom. Leave to accumulate the degree of Doctor in Divinity, doing all the exercise for that degree, and paying all fees for both. A special reason for the granting of this favour being the small number of proceeders in divinity this Act.

1676, 20th June. To the same.—On behalf of Richard Carter, B.A., of Hart Hall. Dispensation for one term’s absence, due to long sickness, that he may proceed Master this Act.

1676, 21st June. London.—To the Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Mr. Ogilby, His Majesty’s cosmographer, who has

with great pains compiled a book of the survey of England, and received a licence from His Majesty under the Great Seal to erect a lottery of his own books in any part of England. Leave to erect the same at Oxford.

1676, 23rd June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Sir John Powlett, Col. Paul Smith, Sir John Osborne and others who have been granted by His Majesty's letters patent under the great seal, a licence to erect in any city, town corporate or elsewhere in the realm of England, a lottery called the Royal Oak Lottery, for the benefit of such officers as served him and his royal father of blessed memory in the war, and are now reduced to a mean condition. Leave to have their lottery at Oxford under the care of Mr. Laurence Osborne and Mr. Robert Cleeter, "in hopes that from the concourse of the gentlemen to Oxford the next Act, some considerable advantage may arise to them."

1676, 23rd June. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Edward Morse, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to an employment in the country.

1676, 27th June. To the same.—On behalf of William Whittington, B.A., of Hart Hall, of full standing for the degree of M.A. this next Act. Dispensation for one term which he lost through a false suggestion at his first coming to the University, though he was constantly resident there.

1676, 26th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Edward Reynolds, M.A., and some time fellow of Magdalen College, of much more than full standing for the degree of Doctor in Divinity, but detained by employment in the country (about thirty miles distant from the University) from taking the degree of Bachelor in Divinity in due time. Dispensation for accumulating the degree of Doctor in Divinity, paying all fees as grand compounder for both degrees, and performing his exercise for Doctor the next term, and standing in the Act.

1676, 26th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Cheyney, B.A., of Magdalen College, of full standing for the degree of Master from his matriculation, but not having taken his Bachelor's degree in due time, by reason of his being a demi of that College. Leave that those terms which were supernumerary to his degree of Bachelor may be allowed towards that of M.A., standing in the next Act, as he is shortly leaving Oxford in hopes of preferment abroad.

1676, 27th June. London.—*"Whereas his sacred Majesty hath been graciously pleased by his letters bearing date the 15th July, 1672, to grant unto Henry Stiles, Doctor of the Laws, and Senior Fellow of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin, that such licence or licences of absence from the said College as shall be given under the hand of the*

Chancellor of that University or his Vice-Chancellor for the time being, shall be of force to all intents and purposes for the time so granted to execute and acquit the said Stiles, from all manner penalties, censures whatsoever. It is therefore hereby certified that licence is granted unto the said Stiles that he may be absent from the said College for the term and space of two years from the date of the letters aforesaid.

1676, 3rd July. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Dr. Clarke, President of Magdalen College. Nomination as Vice-Chancellor of the University for the ensuing year, in succession to Dr. Ralph Bathurst, who has prudently filled the position for three years. The said nomination to be communicated to the Heads of the Houses and the Convocation.

1676, 8th July. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Michael Cory, B.A., of Alban Hall, of more than full standing for M.A. Dispensation for absence of term caused by constant employment in the country.

1676 15th July. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Mr. Levins, a proctor at the University. His fitness to succeed in the moral philosophy lecture at the next election.

1676, 24th July. To Dr. John Lloyd, Principal of Jesus College.—On behalf of Wm. Bowen, that he may be admitted to the next vacant scholarship.

1676, 19th August. To Dr. Clarke, President of Magdalen College.—On behalf of Nathaniel Birch, of Trinity College, whose parents are not able to maintain him at his studies without some additional help, and therefore Lord Bridgewater desires he may be admitted a demi at Magdalen College, at the next election.

1676, 24th November. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Thomas Tippet, of Merton College, student of the civil law, and of full standing for the degree of Bachelor in that faculty. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, during which he was hindered by necessary occasions from residing in the University.

1676, 18th December. London.—To the Rev. Dr. Newlyn, President of Corpus Christi and the Fellows there. On behalf of Humphry Hody, a student in Wadham College, son of a minister in Somersetshire, who has a very large family, three of whom he maintains in Wadham College. His being chosen a scholar of Corpus Christi, at the forthcoming election of one born in Somersetshire.

[Undated.] To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of George Halsted, now scholar of Corpus Christi. Dispensation for one term, that he may take his Master's degree, and not lose the chance of a preferment intended for him by his relations.

1676, 13th January. London.—To the [Principal and Fellows of Wadham College?].—On behalf of Francis Smith, of Wadham College, whose uncle served His Majesty very faithfully under Lord Ormond's command in Ireland, and suffered much by the rebellion there. His admission as demi of the College at the next election.

1682, 20th May. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Maximilian Buck, commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, who entered in November, 1666, and continued there till July, 1670, at which time he was called thence by urgent necessities, and has discontinued his residence ever since. Leave to go out Bachelor and Master the next Act.

1682, 22nd May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Hugh Ellis, B.A., of All Souls' College, who was called from his studies in the University by the death of some relations on whom he depended. Dispensation for the loss of six terms, that he may take the degree of Master the next Act, performing the exercises and paying such fees as are usual.

1676, 6th January. *"A qualification for Mr. Samuel Synge, M.A., to be chaplain to my Lord Duke in ordinary."*

1676, 29th January. London.—To the Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Thomas Frankland, lately senior Fellow of Brazenose College, and senior Proctor of the University. Leave to be admitted *ad eundem gradum* in his mother University, he having taken the degree of Doctor of Physic at Cambridge, and being at present a Fellow and Censor of the College of Physicians in London.

1676, 29th January. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Charles Twisden, M.A., of Christchurch, of full seven years' standing next Easter term, but who, through several years' absence in foreign parts, has been hindered from taking his degree of Bachelor in Physic. Leave to accumulate the degrees of Doctor and Bachelor in that faculty, being grand compounder for both, and stipulating to answer the Doctor in the next Act, which is statuteable exercise, and reading his lectures for the degree of Doctor.

1676, 5th February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Latten, M.A., and Fellow of Wadham College, who has done all exercises required for a Bachelor of Law's degree, but not yet of full three years' standing in the law line. Dispensation for the rest.

1676, 8th February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Claridge, of St. Mary Hall, of more than six years' standing, B.A., and having performed all exercises, for the degree of M.A. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, due to necessary employment in the country.

1676, 1st March. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Francis Harding, of St. John's College, Oxford. Dispensation for one term wherein he was entered into his college before his matriculation, so that he may take the degree of B.A., determining this Lent, all fees paid and exercises performed.

1676, 8th March. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William James, of Jesus College, of full standing for the degree of B.A., and having performed all requisite exercises. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, due to necessary employment in the country, that he may take his degree and determine this Lent.

1676, 12th March. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Anthony Sanders, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of full standing for the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Leave to be admitted Doctor in Divinity this next Act, he paying his fees and performing all exercises.

1677, 4th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Grove, commoner of Pembroke College, of full standing for the degree of B.A., and having done all his exercises. Dispensation for three whole terms and part of another, which he lost through the spread of small-pox in the University.

1677, 7th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Richard Browne, fellow of Corpus Christi College, who is to go out Bachelor of Divinity this term. Dispensation from preaching his Latin sermon till Michaelmas term.

1677, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Richard Annesley, son to my Lord Privy Seal, and now M.A., and Fellow of Magdalen College. Dispensation for one term, that he may answer the Doctors in Divinity for his exercise of Bachelor in that faculty, this next ensuing Act.

1677, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Mascall, born in the bishopric of Durham, and brought up in Edinburgh, where he commenced Master, as may be seen from a diploma which he has. Leave to be entered at Oxford as Bachelor of Arts, a favour which has previously been granted to others.

1677, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Cuffe, B.A., of New Inn Hall. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, due to employment by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that he may proceed M.A., for which he hath performed all his exercises.

1677, 21st May. To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Bonnor, B.A., of Magdalen Hall, of more than full standing for the degree of Master and having done all exercises belonging to that degree. Dispensation for the loss of two terms, due to a necessary employment in the country, that he may proceed Master the next Act.

1677, 21st May. To the same.—On behalf of Christopher Smith, B.A., of Queen's College. Dispensation for two terms, lost through sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of M.A. the next Act.

1677, 21st May. To the same.—On behalf of Philip Gamage, B.A., of Jesus College, of more than full standing for the degree of Master. Dispensation for the lack of two terms, due to an employment in the country, that he may proceed M.A. the next Act.

1677, 20th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Coward, scholar in Wadham College, of more than full standing for B.A. degree. Dispensation for two terms that he omitted matriculation, by reason of the raging of the small-pox.

1677, 23rd May. To the same.—On behalf of John Bagshaw, B.A., and student of Christchurch. Dispensation for want of one term to full standing for his Master's degree, as he has been designed by one of the Proctors to do some public exercise in the Act.

1677, 31st May. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thomas Huxley, M.A., and fellow of Jesus College, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, having perfored all the exercises xcept preaching a Latin sermon. Dispensation to be admitted to that degree next term, stipulating to preach his Latin sermon in Michaelmas term.

1677, 4th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Salter, B.A., of Oriel College. Dispensation for the loss of one term, due to sickness in the country, that he may take his master's degree the next term.

1677, 4th June. To the same.—On behalf of Richard Berkeley, B.A. of Hart Hall, "who, being from his matriculation of full standing for the degree of M.A., was by a long sickness in the country necessitated to stay five terms after he had completed his time for his Bachelor's degree, before he could be a candidate for it." Leave that these supernumerary terms may be allowed and transferred to the computing of his time for the degree of M.A. the next Act.

1677, 1st June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Barzillai Jones, M.M., and student in the Civil Law, lately of Jesus College. Leave to accumulate the degree of Doctor in that faculty, performing all the exercises required, and paying the fees of a grand compounder both for that degree and Bachelor of the Civil Law. Also dispensation for the defect of time required thereunto, stipulating to read his lectures the next Michaelmas term.

1677, 15th June. To the President of Magdalen College.—On behalf of Thomas Feckenham: his father being dead, he lives with his uncle, a minister in Herefordshire,

and is recommended to the Duke of Ormond by one who served His Majesty under his Lordship's command in Ireland, in the time of the rebellion there, and suffered very much thereby. His admission as a demi in Magdalen College at the next election.

1677, 14th June. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Giles Shaw, B.A., of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for the absence of two years from the University, due to being in His Majesty's service in the Straits as Chaplain to the ship under the command of Captain Richard Travanion, that he may take his Master's degree the next Act, and in regard the time for performing his exercise then is so short at this time, he desires he may be permitted to stipulate for the performance thereof in Michaelmas term."

1677, 14th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Peter Brookes, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for one term that he may proceed M.A. this Act; although the said Peter Brookes is M.A. in another university, he again took his degree of Bachelor that he might be permitted to follow his studies in Oxford.

[1677,] 14th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Peter Terry, of New Inn Hall. Dispensation for one term that he may go out Master the next Act, being in hopes of some preferment speedily, for which a Master's degree is a necessary qualification.

1677, 14th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Samuel Synge, of Christchurch. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to service with the Duke of Ormond, that he may take the degree of Master of Arts the next Act, performing his exercise, and doing all things necessary.

1677, 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Jones, late fellow of Jesus College, M.A. and Bachelor of Law, now of full standing for Doctor, and willing to proceed in that faculty this next Act. Licence to practice physics before he takes the degree of Doctor in Law.

[1677,] 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of John Owen, B.A., of All Souls' and of more than full standing for his Master's degree. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, that were spent in necessary employment in the country, so that he may proceed M.A. this next Act.

[1677,] 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Joseph Bampton of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to necessary employment in the country.

[1677,] 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of James Fulwood, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for the absence of one term.

[1677,] 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Peter Longworth, of St. Mary Magdalen College, who, upon the performance of his exercise, had his Grace for the degree of B.A., but afterwards for some reason, he transferred his studies to the Civil Law, but did not enter in due time in the law line. Dispensation that his time may be computed towards the taking his degree, as if he had been timely entered upon the law line, that so he may take the degree of Bachelor in that faculty this Act term, being of full standing, and having preferred all the exercises thereunto required.

1677, 19th June. To the same.—On behalf of Walton Poole, commoner of Edmund Hall, of full standing for the degree of B.A. Dispensation for the loss of one term, due to the outbreak of small-pox.

1677, 26th June. *A qualification for Mr. Charles Walsh, Prebend of St. Andrew's, Dublin, to be my Lord's chaplain in ordinary.*

1677, 27th June. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of James Astrey, formerly gentleman commoner of Brazen-nose College, where he continued for some years. Leave to be admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Law, paying his fees as grand compounder for the said degree, and stipulating to perform all his exercises the next term after his admission to his degree.

1677, 29th June. [To the same.]—On behalf of Sir William Davenant. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to sickness.

1677, 29th June. To the same.—On behalf of Robert Hanbury, of Hart Hall, student in the Civil Law, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, and having performed all exercises required to that degree. Dispensation for one term, wherein he was not admitted in the law line.

1677, 1st July. To the same.—On behalf of Robert Greneway, B.A., of Wadham College, who, according to the custom of that college, was kept back four terms from taking the degree of Bachelor when he was of full standing for it, by the statutes of the University. He has now quitted his scholar's place, and the society is willing to allow him the four terms towards the taking of his Master's degree. Leave to do this.

1677, 7th January. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of Dr. Dunn, who has very good testimonials from the Universities of Aberdeen, in Scotland, Valentia in Dauphiny, and Trinity College, Dublin, also the degree of Doctor in Physic. Grace to admit him to the same degree in the University of Oxford, and signify so much under your public

seal. "Superscribed—For the Reverend Dr. Nicholas, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to be communicated to the heads of the houses and the convocation."

To the same.—On behalf of Dr. William Aglionby, recommended highly by Lord Longford, and, as may be seen from his diploma, a Doctor in Physic at Bordeaux. Grace to take the same degree at Oxford, he performing such exercises and paying such fees as in such cases are usual.

1678, 18th May. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Arthur, chaplain to Lord Longford, a B.A., of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for two terms that he may complete his Master's degree the next Act, performing his exercises and paying all fees.

1678, 19th June. Dublin Castle.—To the Bishop of Oxford.—On behalf of Mr. Richard Flood, recommended highly by the Archbishop of Tuam for proficiency in his studies when he was at Trinity College, Dublin. He is now M.A., of New Inn Hall, Oxford, "the Master whereof esteems him very deserving some encouragement in the church." The Archbishop desires the Bishop of Oxford's favour and recommendation to Dr. Clarke, President of Magdalen College, either for a chaplain's place or curateship, or some other preferment to enable Mr. Flood to continue his study in the University.

1678, 21st June. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of one Jones, of Exeter College, son of the late Captain Edward Jones, one of the captains in His Majesty's regiment of guards, who behaved very gallantly and faithfully in His Majesty's service, both in the late wars in England, and in Ireland since the Restoration. Encloses a petition which has been presented to the Duke of Ormond in Dublin.

1678, 19th November. Dublin Castle.—To the Lord Bishop of Oxford, and the rest of the delegates appointed for the affairs of Oxford University, or any of them to be communicated to the other.—On behalf of Dr. Bouchier, Regius Professor of the laws at Oxford. His nomination for the headship of Alban Hall, vacant by the appointment of Dr. Marsh as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

1678-9, 8th January. Dublin Castle.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Secretary Coventry's election on the occasion of calling of Parliament.

1678-9, 8th February. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Solicitor Finch's son, that he may be elected member for the University of Oxford, to serve in the new Parliament summoned for the 6th of March.

[Undated.] To the Lord Bishop of Oxford.]—On behalf of Mr. Richard Fitzgerald, *alias* Francklin, a kinsman of the Duke of Ormond, a youth of eighteen, now scholar in Westminster College. His admission to Christchurch College at the next election.

1679, 16th July. Dublin Castle.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Dr. Timothy Halton, Provost of Queen's College, as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to succeed the present one, Dr. Nicholas, removed to the Wardenship of Winchester.

1679, 22nd July. Dublin Castle.—To the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, "to be communicated to the heads of the Houses and the convocation."—On behalf of Mr. James Lane, son of Viscount Lanesborough. His election as member for Oxford University, in the ensuing Parliament, called for October the 7th.

1680, 30th March. Dublin Castle.—To the Reverend Dr. Timothy Houghton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.—On behalf of the Duke of Ormond's actors, who desire to play at Oxford at the time of the Act.

1680, 13th May. Dublin Castle.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor, "to be communicated to the heads of the houses and the convocation."—On behalf of Mr. John Teadle, B.A., of Queen's College, and chaplain to Lord Fitzharding. Leave to proceed M.A. the next Act, by way of creation, as he cannot with convenience leave his cure long enough to perform his exercise for that degree, or keep his proper terms.

1680, 13th May. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of the Duke of Ormond's chaplain, Mr. Thomas Hinde, Bachelor in Divinity, and unable, through his duty in Ireland, to keep his proper terms or do the exercises for the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Dispensation for the terms wanting, that he may be admitted Doctor in Divinity, only paying his fees due for that degree.

1680, 19th August. Kilkenny.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Dr. Halton, that he may continue Vice-Chancellor of the University for another year.

1681, 19th May. Dublin Castle.—To the Lord Bishop of Oxford and the rest of the delegates appointed for the affairs of the University. On behalf of Dr. Levett, his appointment—in regard of a promise made to the late Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England—as head of Magdalen College, on the death of Dr. Hyde.

1681, 24th September. Kilkenny.—To the Rev. Timothy Halton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to be communicated to the heads of the houses and the convocation.—On behalf of Dr. Timothy Halton. His continuance as Vice-Chancellor for another year.

1682, 4th May. Whitechurch.—To the Provost and fellows of Trinity College, near Dublin.—On behalf of Thomas Wilson, an industrious and ingenious youth. His admission as scholar the next election.

1682, 27th May. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Richard Brideoake, Esq., son of the late Bishop of Chichester, fellow commoner and Bachelor of Arts of Trinity College, Oxford. Dispensation for the lack of five terms, that he may proceed grand compounder and senior of the next Act, he having performed all the exercises required by the statutes for the degree of Master of Arts.

1682, 12th June. Windsor.—To Dr. Timothy Halton, etc. Having heard of the undignified proceedings and neglect of order and decency in convocation, the Duke of Ormond, acting on the precedent given by his predecessor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on a similar occasion in 1639, sends a letter to be publicly read in convocation, and then strictly put in execution by the Vice-Chancellor and proctors, also registered, that there may be no excuse for the like disorders in future times.

Enclosed.—Letter bearing date 1639, 10th July. Lambeth, signed Will Cantuar. Giving rules for behaviour in convocation, and penalties for their infraction.

1682, 12th June. Windsor.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Rowland Griffith, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for three terms' absence, occasioned partly by His Majesty's calling the Parliament to sit at Oxford, and partly urgent occasions in the country.

1682, 12th June. Windsor.—To the same.—On behalf of Farewell Perry, B.A., of Harts Hall. Dispensation for two terms' absence, partly due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford, and partly to a "fit of sickness."

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Hugh Drysdale, Archdeacon of Ossory, chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, and public preacher in the cathedral church of Kilkenny, about to visit Oxford University for the first time. Leave to be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he paying all fees, but unable through the shortness of his time to perform the exercises for the degree.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Anthony Chester, of Christchurch, son and heir of Anthony Chester, Baronet, of full standing for the degree of B.A., and having done all the exercise required by the statute "excepting that he did not answer generals and procure himself to be created senior sophister and oppose *pro termino* three terms preceding his being a candidate for his degree." Dispensation that he may take his degree the next Act.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of John North, B.A., of New Inn Hall, who by reason of some advantage in the Hall, was seven terms more than standing when admitted to the said degree, and was always resident during the said time. Leave that so many of the terms that were supernumerary may now be allowed him for the absence of five terms, that he may proceed M.A. the next Act.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Nathaniel Trewin, late of Trinity College, Oxford, now of St. Mary Hall, of full standing for the degree of B.A. last Michaelmas term, but hindered from taking his degree by reason of the Parliament's sitting at Oxford. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, as also for not answering generals, and opposing therein three terms before he is candidate for the degree of Master.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of John Birkett, B.A., of Queen's College, of more than two years' standing for the degree of M.A., who, being called away from the University by reason of an employment in the country, could not determine in Lent, as by the statutes are required. Dispensation that in lieu of the said exercise, he may be permitted to answer twice in Austins in order to take his degree of Master of Arts the next Act.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Smith, B.A., of Hart Hall. Dispensation for four terms' absence, due, partly to the Parliament's sitting at Oxford, and partly to a necessary employment in the country.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Edward Antwisle, B.A., of Brasenose, College, in Oxford, who was admitted in the year 1676, and by reason of sickness, as also through a mistake of Lent term, came too late to enjoy the benefit of his degree. Leave to proceed Master of Arts the next Act.

1682, 19th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Randolph, B.A., of St. Alban's Hall. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to necessary employment in the country, that, being of full standing, and having performed all exercise, he may proceed M.A. the next Act.

1682, 19th June. [London.]—To the same.—On behalf of James Thomas, of Merton College, who was not created senior sophister till last term. Dispensation for opposing *juramenti gratia* three times in one term, instead of three times in three distinct terms.

1682, 19th June. [London.]—To the same.—On behalf of James Gwin, of Jesus College. Dispensation as above.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of Arthur Pollard, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for one term, that he may take his degree of M.A.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of John Pollard, of Exeter College. Dispensation for one term, that he may take his degree of M.A.

1682, 21st June. To the same. On behalf of George Hardman, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation of one term, for good reasons, that he may proceed M.A. this Act.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of Robert Launder, B.A., of Pembroke College, of three terms above standing when he took that degree. Leave that one of these supernumerary terms may be transferred towards his taking the degree of M.A. this Act.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of William Lux, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for six terms' absence in the country, where he kept a school, that he may proceed M.A. the last Act.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of Hum. Smith, B.A., of Queen's College, of four years more than standing for the degree of M.A., and had determined and is performing the rest of the exercise for the said degree. Dispensation for six terms' absence, due to employment in the country, that he may proceed Master the next Act.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of Hump. Humphrys, Bachelor in Divinity, of Jesus College, and Dean of Bangor. Dispensation for defect of two terms this Act, in order to proceed Doctor in Divinity.

1682, 27th June. To the same.—On behalf of Ralph Price, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for one term, that he may proceed Master of Arts this next Act.

1682, 27th June. To the same.—On behalf of William Hughes, B.A., of Jesus College, who has been hindered at the University by reason of the sitting of Parliament at Oxford. Dispensation for four terms that he may proceed M.A. this Act.

1682, 27th June. To the same.—On behalf of Charles Libb, Bachelor of Physic, of Magdalen Hall, of full standing for Doctor in that faculty, but who did not take his degree of Bachelor of Physic as soon as he was capable. Leave to reckon his time from his proceeding M.A., and to be admitted Doctor in Physic, stipulating that he shall read his lectures before the end of next Michaelmas term, not having time to do so before next Act, on account of absence in the country.

1682, 29th June. To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Aris, B.A., of All Souls' College, of above six years' standing for degree of Master of Arts. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to employment at sea in His Majesty's service, that he may proceed Master of Arts this Act.

1682, 29th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Beynon, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for one term's absence due to the Parliament sitting at Oxford, that he may proceed Master next Act.

1682, 29th June. To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Eddenbrooke, B.A., of Alban Hall, one term above standing when he took the degree, and who has done all necessary exercise for the degree of M.A. Leave to count the supernumerary term towards his proceeding Master this Act.

1682, 30th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Hump, B.A., of Queen's College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to employment in the country, that he may proceed M.A. this Act.

1682, 3rd July. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Jo. Pooly, Dean of the cathedral church of Kilkenny, in Ireland, about to visit Oxford University at the time of the next Act. Leave to be admitted Doctor of Divinity, paying the fees, but unable, through shortness of time, to perform the exercise for that degree.

1682, 3rd July. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Dr Wm. Johnson, of Warwick, Doctor of Physic at Leyden, recommended by Lord Conway. Leave to be admitted Doctor of Physic at Oxford University the next Act, he paying all fees and performing all exercises usual in such cases.

1682, 5th July. London.—To the Bishop of Oxford, etc.—On behalf of Richard Chapman. Admission to the next vacant scholar's place at Christchurch.

1682, 1st August. Windsor.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Char. Leigh, of Brazen Nose College. Dispensation for two terms that he may take his degree of B.A. the next term, so "that he may the sooner perform his resolution of taking to his studies at the University of Leyden, to which place his friends have designed him.

1682, 17th August. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Dr. Lloyd, Principal of Jesus College. His appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in succession to Dr. Timothy Halton, who has held the post for some years, and now has urgent affairs in the country that demand his attention.

1682, 30th September. To the same.—On behalf of Robert Wynn, of Jesus College. Dispensation for one term's absence, occasioned by the sitting of Parliament at Oxford.

1682, 30th September. To the same.—On behalf of John Furneaux, of New Inn Hall. A like dispensation.

1682, 30th September. To the same.—On behalf of Richard Lidgould, of Trinity College. Dispensation for

one term, when he must be absent through urgent occasion, that he may take his degree of B.A. this Michaelmas term.

1682, 17th October. To the same.—On behalf of Char. Hawles, M.A., and fellow of Magdalen College, of more than standing for the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. Leave to be admitted to that degree as soon as he has preached his Latin sermon, upon stipulation for the performance of his other exercise in Lent term, he being now obliged to go into the country on urgent business.

1682, 28th October. To the Rev. Dr. James, Warden of All Souls'. On behalf of Mr. Leopold Finch, son of the Earl of Winchelsea, and candidate for a fellowship in All Souls College.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Elkanah Horton, B.A., of Brazen-nose College. Dispensation for one term's absence due to the sitting of Parliament at Oxford, that he may proceed Master of Arts.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Bryce, commoner of St. Edmund Hall, Dispensation for one term's absence, due to the sitting of Parliament at Oxford.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Trenchard, commoner of St. Edmund Hall. A like dispensation.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of William Hancock, commoner of Christchurch College. A like dispensation.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Davis, commoner of Christchurch College. A like dispensation.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Smith, commoner of Merton College. A like dispensation.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Kingford, commoner of St. Mary Hall. A like dispensation.

1682, 6th November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Benjamin Milward, B.A., of St. Mary Hall, of full standing for the degree of M.A., and who has performed all his exercise for that degree. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to employment at a considerable distance from the University.

1682, 9th November. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Skinner, of Balliol College. Dispensation for one terms' absence, due to the Parliament being at Oxford.

1682, 9th November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Jeanson, commoner of St. Alban Hall, a year above standing for the degree of B.A., and having performed all exercises for the same, “but being by the death of one of his nearest relations detained in the country, could not keep such residence as the statutes require nor perform part of his exercise in due time.” Dispensation for the absence of one term, as also for not being created senior sophister three terms before he supplicates for his Grace in the University.

1682, 9th November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Leigh, commoner of Brazen-nose College, who, by the death of his father in 1679, was “detained in the country from the latter end of Lent to the beginning of Act term, by which means he lost the benefit of two terms to be computed towards the taking his Bachelor's degree. And whereas he is now upon urgent occasions called into the country, and after the despatch of his important affairs there expects that he shall be immediately engaged to travel beyond seas, that he cannot without great prejudice continue longer than this term in the University.” Dispensation that the time lost by his father's death may be allowed him to enable him to be a candidate for his degree this term, he being willing to perform all exercise and pay all dues.

1682, 23rd November. St. James' Square. To the same.—On behalf of Francis Foster, of Merton College, formerly of Glasgow University, where he took the degree of Master, and now a commoner of Oxford. Leave to be admitted B.A. upon condition of determining the next Lent, in consideration of the time spent in Glasgow, and the exercise performed there.

1682, 23rd November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Phineas Elwood, fellow of C.C.C., and Bachelor of Physic, of four years more than standing for the said degree when he was admitted to it. Leave that the said time over and above that requisite for Bachelor of Physic may be allowed him and transferred towards taking the degree of Doctor of Physic, and that he may be forthwith admitted a candidate for that degree, giving caution to read his lectures the next term, as by reason of very urgent business he cannot do so this term.

1682-3, 18th January. *St. James' Square.—To the Provost and fellows of Trinity College, near Dublin.—On behalf of one Allen Cooke, an industrious and ingenious youth. Admission into a native and scholar's place at the next election.*

1682-3, 25th January. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of John Miles, of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1682-3, 25th January. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Shaw, scholar of Brazen-nose College. A like dispensation.

1682-3, 25th January. To the same.—On behalf of Rowland Vaughan, of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, occasioned by the sitting of Parliament at Oxford.

1682-3, 29th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Samuel De L'Angle, minister of the Reformed Church at Paris, who has retired into this kingdom with his whole family, intending to live here the remainder of his time. He has exercised his function for five and thirty years, partly at Rouen, and partly at Paris, and has the degrees of M.A., all that the Protestant divines in France do usually take. Leave to admit him to the degree of Doctor in Divinity of the University of Oxford, without imposing exercise or putting him to the charge of fees, "considering how low those of the Reformed Churches in France are reduced by their late persecution there."

1682-3, 30th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Hugh Lewis, B.A., of New Inn Hall, of full standing for the degree of M.A. the Act last past. Dispensation for the absence of four terms, due to a necessary employment in the country, that he may take his said degree this next term, he having performed all his exercises.

1682-3, 9th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Ambrose Rock, of the County of Salop, formerly clerk of Merton College, who matriculated in the year 1665, took his degree of B.A., but owing to private and urgent affairs in the country, was hindered from staying in the University and taking his degree of M.A. Leave to be admitted M.A. this term, paying all fees accustomed, and stipulating to perform his exercises.

1682-3, 10th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Clarke, commoner of Brazen-nose College, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to the Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1682-3, 10th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Cooke, of New College, of full standing for the degree of B.A. this term. Dispensation for not being created senior sophister three terms before he takes his degree.

1682-3, 24th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Lewis Powell, of Jesus College. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1682-3, 24th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Francis Kingston, commoner of Pembroke College. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1682-3, St. David's Day, March.—St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Browne, commoner of St. John's

College. Dispensation that not having matriculated his first term of admission, his time may be computed from his admission, and not from his matriculation.

1682-3, St. David's Day, March.—St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Dudley Hoper, of Christchurch, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Dispensation for not being created senior sophister three terms before he becomes a candidate in the University for the said degree.

1682-3, 6th March. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Conant, M.A., and fellow of Merton College, student in the civil law, but not entered on this line the full time, although of fourteen years' standing the next Act term—the utmost time required by the statutes for taking the degree of Doctor of Law. By the custom of his college, he was hindered from taking his degree of Master of Arts at the first statutable time. Leave to compute his time from his first admission to the University, that he may accumulate the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Law this next Act, performing all exercises and paying all fees.

1683, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Sam. Astley, of C.C.C., of three terms more than full standing for the degree of B.A. before it was conferred on him. Leave that two of these three terms may be transferred on him to enable him to take his degree of M.A. this next Act.

1683, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of David Burchinsha, Bachelor of Arts, of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms occasioned by employment in the country, that he may take the degree of M.A. this next term.

1683, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Giles Aylworth, student in the Civil Law, of Pembroke College, who has performed all exercises, and is above the standing required by the statutes for the degree of Bachelor in that faculty. Dispensation for not being entered timely enough upon the law line, as also for the absence of three terms, that he may take his degree the next Act.

1683, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Read, B.A., of Trinity College, of fourteen years' standing from his first admission into the University, and ten ears since his admission to his Bachelor's degree. Dispensation for the absence of three terms and part of a fourth, due to a necessary employment in the country, that he may take his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 12th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr David Williams, M.A., of Oriel College, and student of physic of full standing for the degree of Doctor in that faculty (recommended by a particular friend). Dispensation for the exercise of Bachelor of Physic, he being

willing to perform that of Doctor, and paying all fees as the statutes require for both degrees, in order to proceed Doctor of Physic this next Act.

1683, 12th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Anthony Gold, B.A., of New Inn Hall, of seven years' standing from his matriculation. Dispensation for the absence of one term and the transposition of another, in order to take his Master's degree this next Act, he having performed all his exercises in order.

1683, 12th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Walker, of New Inn Hall, of full standing from his matriculation for taking his degree of B.A. Dispensation for the absence of one term and part of another, occasioned by his being sent for into the country, upon the death of his mother.

1683, 12th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Price Williams, of Wadham College, of full standing for his degree and having performed all his exercises in order. Dispensation for the absence of one term, "by reason of some urgent affairs laid on him by his father, whose residence is beyond sea, and the Parliament sitting at Oxford," that he may take his degree this next Easter term.

1683, 17th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Joseph Spinal, commoner of Queen's College, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor, "and being created senior sophister, and having opposed *juramenti gratiâ* the last term, and designing to oppose a second time this term." Dispensation for not performing his generals, and for not being created senior sophister, three terms before his taking his degree at the due time, as also for not opposing *juramenti*, etc., a third time.

1683, 20th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Spencer, B.A., of Jesus College, of full standing for that degree at Michaelmas, 1680, but by reason of urgent occasion was deferred that degree until Lent term following. Leave that the said term which was over and above standing for the degree of Bachelor, may be transferred on him to enable him for the degree of Master this next Act.

1683, 20th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Herbert Hooke, Mr. Lingen's friend. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1683, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of German Goldston, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, due partly to Parliament's being at Oxford, and partly to the sickness of his father, that he may take his master's degree this next Act.

1683, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Leigh, commoner of Brazen-nose College.

Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to His Majesty and Parliament being at Oxford, that he may take his degree of Bachelor this next Act.

1683, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Gabriel Hastings, commoner of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, one occasioned by Parliament being at Oxford and the other by sickness; also for not being so timely created senior sophister as the statutes require.

1683, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Philip Wescott, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, two occasioned by the Parliament sitting at Oxford, "and the third by being some little time absent," that he may take his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 3rd May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Philip Jones, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to Parliament being at Oxford.

1683, 5th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Jones, B.A., of Harts Hall, who was of seventeen terms standing before he took his degree, one term more than the statutes require. Leave to be allowed this term over and above, "which he was absent by the death of his mother," that he may take his degree of M.A. this next Act.

1683, 8th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Vincent Barry, B.A., of Oriel College, of three terms above standing for his degree of Master. Dispensation for five terms' absence, "by reason of the death of his father, who left him very much encumbered by several embrangled circumstances."

1683, 12th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf, of Robert Huntington, fellow of Merton College, of above twenty years' standing. Leave to accumulate the degree of Doctor in Divinity this next Act, performing all the exercises required for that degree, and paying the fees for that and Bachelor in Divinity, the latter of which he could not take in the regular time, being employed in public service in foreign parts.

1683, 15th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Llewellyn, B.A., of Christchurch College, above standing when he took the said degree. Leave that term may be allowed him towards taking his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 17th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Prichard, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for two terms' absence, one due to Parliament being at Oxford, and the other to sickness, that he may be capable of taking his degree of Master this next Act.

1683, 17th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Morgan, B.A., of New Inn Hall. Dispensation that four terms, which were overstanding in his degree of Bachelor, may be transferred towards his Master of Arts, to enable him to take that degree this next Act, he having performed all exercises in order thereunto.

1683, 17th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thomas Bevans, of Jesus College, M.A. of twenty years' standing, and living about a hundred miles away from the University. Leave to accumulate the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity the next Act, he performing all exercises for the latter, and paying his fees for both degrees.

1683, 24th May. St. James' Square.—To the Reverend the President of Magdalen College, Oxford.—On behalf of Robert Walker, now of University College, a relation of a friend whom the Duke of Ormond is willing to oblige. Admission as demi at the next election in Magdalen College.

1683, 31st May. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Charles Vernon, commoner of Pembroke College. Dispensation for not having matriculated as soon as the statutes require, and that his time may be reckoned from his admission, not from his matriculation, so that he may be a candidate for the degree of B.A. this next Act term.

1683, 31st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of His Royal Highness' chaplain, Mr. Thomas White. Admission as Doctor of Divinity (though absent), and his diploma sent him.

1683, 31st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Dering, B.A., of C.C.C., who has urgent occasion to travel beyond sea in August next about matters of great importance, and will not be of full standing till Michaelmas term. Leave to commence Master of Arts this next Act, "which, if he should be otherwise stayed till the next following Act, it would prove very prejudicial and totally divert his business."

1683, 3rd June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of William Durham, B.A., of Trinity College, now near two years above standing for the degree of Master, but who did not keep his due residence, "by reason of his being chaplain to a lady of good quality and tutor to one of her sons, and since her death left executor." Dispensation for absence of five terms, that he may take his degree of Master the next Act.

1683, 3rd June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Baldwin, esquire, a gentleman of quality and good estate, who, on the occasion of His Royal Highness' late visit to Oxford, expected to be admitted Doctor in the Civil Law, but there was no letter of recommendation from the Chancellor. His admission to the degree of Doctor in Civil Law (though absent) his diploma to be sent to him.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Whiteing, B.A., of Wadham College. Dispensation that one of the terms that he was above standing when he took his Bachelor's degree, may be transferred and allowed him towards his Master's degree this next Act, he having performed all his exercises.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Saunders, scholar of New College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, and for not being created senior sophister in such due time as the statutes require, so that he may be a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts this next Act term.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Francis Davis, B.A., of New Inn Hall, of complete standing for the degree of Master of Arts this next Act term, and having performed all his exercises. Dispensation for the absence of four terms, due partly to an employment in the country, and partly to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Wace, B.A., of Wadham College, of full standing for the degree of M.A., and having performed all the exercises. Dispensation for the absence of four terms, due to urgent and necessary affairs in the country, so that he may take the degree of Master this next Act.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Perry, B.A., of Magdalen Hall, above standing for the degree of Master, and who has performed all due exercises. Dispensation for the absence of four terms, occasioned partly by the Parliament's being at Oxford, and partly by his father's death, when, being left executor, he was encumbered with several urgent businesses in the country, that he may take his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Horndon, B.A., of St. Mary Hall, of three terms more than standing when he took his degree. Dispensation that these three terms may be transferred and allowed him towards taking his degree of Master the next Act.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of James Eustace, B.A., of University College, of one term above standing when he took his degree. Dispensation to transfer this one term towards the taking of his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of John Triggs, of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to sickness in the country.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Timothy Hodson, B.A., of University College. Dispensation that one term may be given him, that he may be capable

of taking his Master's degree this next Act term, as he has a preferment in the country, which will oblige him to so constant a residence and diligent attendance on the same," that he will not be able to come here afterwards.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Gerard Errington, B.A., of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, occasioned by a tedious sickness in the country, that he may be a candidate for the degree of Master this next term.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the President [of Magdalen College.]—On behalf of the son of Dr. Fulham, an ancient chaplain of the King's and of the Order, a youth well qualified from his education in Eton College. Admission as demi of Magdalen College, at the next election.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of John Acton, student in law, of Hart Hall, of above eight years' standing in the University, who has performed all the exercise required for the degree of Bachelor in Law. Dispensation for the loss of seven terms, in the whole number requisite for the degree, due to unexpected travels into foreign countries, and to Parliament's being assembled at Oxford.

1683, 16th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Peter Wynne, B.A., of Jesus College, of one or more terms above standing for the degree of Master, but hindered from keeping such residence as the statutes require, by reason of an employment in the country, and by the Parliament's being at Oxford. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, that he may become a candidate for the degree of Master this Act.

1683, 16th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Marston, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, due partly to the Parliament's sitting at Oxford, and partly to an employment in the country.

1683, 16th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Cornelius Tilbourne, Chirurgeon in Ordinary to His Majesty, who has obtained His Majesty's leave to go to several cities in England, and set up his stages there, and vend his antidotes against poisons and other medicines, which have been very successful in London. Leave to erect his first stage at Oxford, for about a month or six weeks' time.

1683, 19th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Cutler, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to Parliament's being at Oxford.

1683, 19th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Hall, M.A., canon and treasurer of the church of Exeter, of full standing for the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Leave to accumulate the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, paying all fees for both degrees, and performing the exercise for the latter before the Act, or giving sufficient caution (if straitened in time) to read his lectures in Michaelmas term next.

1683, 19th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Hugh Hughes, B.A., of Jesus College of full standing this term for the degree of Master from the time of his matriculation. Leave that one term which he was above standing when he took his Bachelor's degree may be allowed him towards taking his Master's degree this Act.

1683, 19th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Humphrey Drake, B.A., of Brazen-nose College, admitted into the University in 1676, but by sudden sickness he was detained in the country so long that he lost the benefit of Lent term following. Dispensation for absence of time so lost, that having performed all his exercises, and being of full standing, he may take his Master's degree this Act.

1683, 22nd June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Francis Haselwood, B.A., of Magdalen College. Dispensation for two terms wanting in his standing for the degree of Master, that he may take it this next Act, "his father being a Turkey merchant, and having all his concerns managed at Smyrna by one of his sons as factor (who now lies extremely ill of a consumption there), and the said father being old and infirm himself, desires that the said Francis Haselwood may go over to settle his affairs and take care of his effects, and choose some faithful correspondent there, to supply his future occasions."

1683, 2nd July. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Rice Jones, of St. Mary Hall, of eight years' standing, but prevented by the sickness and death of his mother from taking his Bachelor's degree till last year. Leave that six terms may be transferred on him that he may take his Master's degree the next Act.

1683, 2nd July. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Greenway, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for four terms' absence, due partly to Parliament's sitting at Oxford, and partly to urgent and necessary business in the country.

1683, 15th September. Winchester.—To the Rev. Dr. Lloyd, Vice-Chancellor, etc.—On behalf of Dr. John Lloyd, President of Jesus College. Nomination to continue in his office of Vice-Chancellor.

1683, 22nd September. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Wm. Risdon, commoner of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to Parliament's being at Oxford.

1683, 22nd September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Kingford, commoner of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for one term, due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1683, 22nd September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Barker, commoner of St. Alban Hall, who was taken ill suddenly at his first coming to the University, with a violent sickness, which continued some time, and hindered him from matriculating his first two terms. Leave that these two terms may be allowed him, and his time computed from his admission, not his matriculation, so that he may take his degree this term.

1683, 22nd September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Joshua Powell, of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, caused by His Majesty's calling his Parliament at Oxford.

1683, 24th July. St. James' Square.—On behalf of Dr. Henry Stiles, Doctor of Laws and senior fellow of the College of the holy and undivided Trinity, near Dublin. Licence, in pursuance of His Majesty's letters, dated 15th July, 1672, of absence from the said college, for the term and space of one year from the date of these presents, and the said Dr. Stiles to enjoy immunity from all manner of penalties, and censures whatsoever, mentioned or contained in the statutes of the said college.

1683, 29th September. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Henry Parkhurst, M.A., and fellow of Corpus Christi College, who, some time since, was sent with the Bishop of London. Licence to preach in Nevis, where he officiates with good success. Dispensation that, being of full standing for the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, he may be allowed it in his absence, "and not suffer in his private concerns at home whilst he is doing public service abroad."

1683, 8th October. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Abraham Turner, of Wadham College. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to Parliament's being at Oxford, that he may take his degree the next term.

1683, 25th October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Samuel Garmston, B.A., of All Souls' College, of seven years' standing, who has been hindered from due residence at the University by keeping a school at Nuneaton, in Warwickshire, and that so successfully that he is now importuned by the chapter of Lincoln to take the post of chief schoolmaster at Lincoln, for which none under the degree of Master of Arts is capable, and which must be filled before next St. Thomas' Day. Dispensation for the absence of six terms, that he may proceed Master of Arts (performing all exercise and paying all fees) and thereby be qualified for the preferment.

1683, 30th October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—
On behalf of Robert Morse, B.A., of Merton College, of full standing for the degree of Master of Arts, but hindered from keeping such residence as the statutes require, by a necessary employment in the country. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, to become a candidate for the degree of Master this term.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—
On behalf of Henry Southcott, M.A., at Exeter College, hindered from taking his degree of Master till one term after he was of full standing, on account of urgent and necessary occasions, which caused the loss of a whole year in his regency, so that he could not be entered on the physic line as soon as he ought to have been. Leave for that year to be allowed him towards taking his degree of Bachelor of Physic this term.

1683, 15th November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—
On behalf of Nicholas Martin, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, above six terms' standing for the degree of M.A., but hindered from keeping due residence at the University, by reason of urgent affairs in the country. Dispensation for the absence of four terms that he may take his degree of Master this term.

1683, 4th December. St. James' Square.—To the same.—
On behalf of John Humphreys, of Balliol College, of several terms above standing for the degree of B.A., but hindered from keeping due residence at the University, by an employment in the country. Dispensation for the absence of three terms that he may take the said degree this term, performing all exercises and paying his first fee.

1683, 4th December. St. James' Square.—To the same.—
On behalf of Littleton Evans, of All Souls' College. Dispensation for one term, occasioned by the Parliament's being at Oxford.

1683-4, 5th January. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Francis Bragge, fellow commoner of Wadham College, of full standing, for the degree of B.A., who by reason of the Parliament's sitting at Oxford was constrained to leave the University and to enter himself at the Inns of Court, with an intention to study the law, contrary to the first directions of his friends; he has however returned to his college. Dispensation for the absence of six terms, and not being matriculated and created sophister in statutable time.

1683-4, 5th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—
On behalf of John Whitfield, of Brazen-nose College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the Parliament's being at Oxford.

1683-4, 5th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—
On behalf of Mr. Thomas Mathews, B.A., of Christ Church College, who did not take his degree until three terms after he was of full

standing, because he stood for the place of one of the students of that college. Leave that the three terms so lost may be allowed and transferred to enable him to take the degree of Master.

1683-4, 19th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Lancelot Blackbourne, B.A., and student of Christ Church College, of five terms above standing for the degree of Master, but hindered from taking his degree at the due time, by being engaged in an employment in His Majesty's service in one of the foreign plantations. Leave to be admitted to the said degree, having performed most of his exercise, and his sudden departure preventing him from doing the rest and paying all fees.

1683-4, 19th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Griffith of Jesus College, of several terms above standing for the degree of B.A., but by reason of an employment in the country, hindered from keeping due residence. Dispensation for the absence of one term for not being created senior sophister in due time.

1683-4, 19th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Samuel Musgrave, of Wadham College, of two terms above standing at the taking of his degree of Bachelor. Leave that these terms may be allowed towards his Master's degree.

1683-4, 19th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Pigott, B.A., of Wadham College, of two terms above standing when he took his degree. Leave that these terms may be allowed him for the taking his degree of Master.

1683-4, 23rd January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Obadiah Browne, commoner of Lincoln's College, of fourteen terms standing this Lent term, and in hopes of a preferment, for which only a graduate is eligible. Dispensation for the want of two terms, that he may take his degree of B.A. this term, having performed all the exercises requisite. Recommended by the Duke of Norfolk.

1683-4, 16th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Robinson, B.A. and fellow of Oriel College, who in the year 1676 kept all his terms, and performed most of the exercise for the degree of M.A., but was prevented from finishing it by being employed in His Majesty's service in Sweden. Dispensation for not performing all his exercise, that he may take his degree of Master, he paying all fees.

1683-4, 28th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Martin Lister, esquire, Professor of Physic, lately at York, but now in London, a person of exemplary loyalty and of high esteem amongst the most eminent of his profession for his excellent skill and successes therein, also author of several learned books. He has such an "affection for the University of Oxford that he hath lately presented your library with divers valuable books, both manuscript and printed, and enriched your new museum with several altars, coins and other antiquities, together

with a great number of curiosities of nature, whereof several cannot be matched for any price, which yet he declares to be but an earnest of what he further intends." His admission as Doctor of Physic as a suitable return for his gifts.

1683-4, 28th February.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Jacam, commoner of Pembroke College. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to an employment in the country, in order to take the degree of B.A. this Lent term.

1683-4, 28th February.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Wolcomb, commoner of Exeter College. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to a fit of sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of B.A. this Lent term.

1683-4, 28th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Lewis Roberts, scholar of Brazen-nose College, of two terms above necessary standing for the degree of B.A. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, occasioned by Parliament's being at Oxford, and by his living in the country at a great distance from the University, that he may take his degree this Lent term.

1683-4, St. David's Day. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Flutter, B.A., of St. Mary Hall, of full standing from his matriculation for the degree of M.A., who has ever since his first admission to the University been constantly resident, but did not take his degree of Bachelor as soon as he might have done (being hindered by hopes and expectations of some preferment in the University). Dispensation for six terms that he was above standing for the degree of Bachelor, that they may be allowed him towards taking his Master's degree this Lent term.

1683-4, 12th March. St. James' Square.—To his Grace, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.—On behalf of the son of Dr. Duncombe, enclosing a letter of recommendation from the Bishop of Winchester. His admission as fellow of All Souls' College by *mandamuri* at the next election, his Grace being visitor of All Souls College.

1683-4, 12th March.—To the Warden of All Souls' College.—On behalf of George Duncombe, son of Dr. Duncombe (recommended in the enclosed letter from the Bishop of Winchester) and B.A. of St. Mary Hall. His admission by *mandamuri* as fellow of All Souls College at the next election.

1684, 4th April. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mathew Nichols, of St. Alban Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford, that he may take his degree of B.A. this Easter term.

1684, 3rd April.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas West, B.A., of Merton College, of one term more than standing for that degree when he took it. Leave to transfer the said term towards taking his Master's degree this term.

1684, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Bainbridge, B.A., of University College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, due to travel in foreign parts, that he may take his degree of Master this term.

1684, 12th April.—To Sir Thomas Clayton, Warden of Merton College.—On behalf of Martin Hartopp, son of Sir William Hartopp (whose loyalty and service to the King have reduced his income £2,000 per annum)—and a student of Merton College. His admission as fellow of the said college at the next election.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of John Wisman, of St. John's College, of seven years' standing since his matriculation, but not entered in statutable time on the law line. Dispensation for the same that he may take the degree of Bachelor of Law this term, performing his exercise.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To the same.—On behalf of David Davids, M.A., of Jesus College, of fifteen years standing since his matriculation. Leave to transfer three terms that he was above standing when he took his said degree, towards taking the degree of Bachelor in Divinity this next term, he performing all exercises and paying all fees.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To the same.—On behalf of Solomon Wheatly, B.A., of Magdalen College, of five terms above standing when he took his degree, and constantly resident at the University. Leave to be allowed these terms towards taking his Master's degree this next Act.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To the same.—On behalf of John Parry, B.A., of Jesus College, of six years standing since his degree, but hindered from due residence in the University by employment in the country. Dispensation for the absence of five terms that he may take his Master's degree this next Act.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To the same.—On behalf of Howel Griffith, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, due to employment in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this next Act.

1684, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Perkinson, B.A., of Brazen-nose College, of full standing for the degree of Master. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to employment in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this next Act.

1684, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Paul, of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for two terms' absence, due to a fit of sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of B.A. this next Act.

1684, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Syllas Ayles, of Wadham College, above standing for the degree of B.A., but not matriculated as soon as the statutes require.

Dispensation for the same and allowance of his time from his admission, not his matriculation.

1684, 13th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Drue, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this next Act.

1684, 15th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Francis Rogers, some years since of Exeter College, of seven years' standing before he parted thence, in which time he performed most of his exercise for the degree of M.A. Having been commanded into His Majesty's service, he has spent eight years in Syria, the Mediterranean and West Indies, and though now returned is yet engaged in one of His Majesty's ships of war, whereby he is hindered from his personal appearance at Oxford to pay his duties. Leave to be admitted M.A. this next Act, dispensation for the remaining part of his exercise, paying all due fees for the same, and his diploma to be sent him.

1684, 15th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Chrysostome du Charole, who took his degree of M.A. at Avignon in 1669, and has served in His Majesty's Chapel Royal for seven or eight years past, as one of the daily Chaplains. Leave to be admitted M.A. at Oxford University.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Langford, B.A., of All Souls' College, of eight terms above standing when he took that degree, and all that time resident in the University. Leave to transfer seven of those terms towards taking his Master's degree this next Act.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Onely, B.A., of Merton College. Dispensation for one term's absence due to the Parliament's being at Oxford, and leave to be allowed three terms, which he was above standing for the degree of Bachelor, towards taking his Master's degree this next Act term.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Jonas Holme, of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the small-pox being at Oxford, that he may take his degree of B.A. this next Act.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Pilsworth, B.A., of Magdalen Hall, of full standing for the degree of Master this Act, and having performed all his exercise for the same. Dispensation for two terms' absence, due to the increase of small-pox at Oxford the last year.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Standish, of Wadham College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the small-pox the last year, that he may take his degree of B.A.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of John Cave, commoner of Lincoln College. Dispensation for the absence of

two terms, on account of the small-pox at Oxford, that he may take his degree of B.A. the next term.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. La Roy, a French Protestant minister, driven for refuge into England. The assistance of the University in helping him to acquire the English language, in order to fit himself for some employment, until he have opportunity to return to the service of the Church in his native land.

1684, 3rd June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Mathews, B.A., of New Inn Hall, above five years' standing since taking his degree, but by reason of an employment in the country, hindered from keeping his due residence in the University. Dispensation for the absence of two terms that he may take his degree of Master this next Act.

1684, 3rd June.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Smith, Bachelor of Physic, of Wadham College, of ten years above standing for the degree of Doctor in that faculty. Leave to be admitted a candidate for that degree the next Act, standing in the Act and paying the fees of a grand compounder; giving sufficient caution to read his lectures some time before the end of next Michaelmas term, since by reason of present affairs in the country he cannot perform the exercise before next Act.

1684, 3rd June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Broughton, B.A., of St. Alban Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the small-pox being at Oxford, in order to take his degree of M.A. this next Act.

1684, 4th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. William Latham, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for the absence of last Lent term, occasioned by an urgent affair which needed his personal presence in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this next Act term.

1684, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Giles Clarke, student of Christ Church College, of three terms above standing when he took his degree of Bachelor. Leave that those three terms may be transposed and allowed him, in order to take his degree of Master this Act term.

1684, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Charles James, late student of Christ College, who is now above standing for the degree of Doctor of Divinity "but being detained in the country in breeding up several persons of quality's sons (as fitting them for the University) was thereby hindered from taking his degree of Bachelor of Divinity in due time." Dispensation for the same, and leave to be admitted to the degree of Doctor this Act, paying all fees and performing all exercises for the same.

1684, 6th June.—To the same.—On behalf of Christopher Smith, of Pembroke College. Dispensation for two terms' absence, due to sickness in the country, so that he may take the degree of B.A. this term.

1684, 6th June.—To the same.—On behalf of George Nelson, B.A., of Merton College. Dispensation for the transferring of four terms he was above standing when he took his degree of Bachelor, and that they may be allowed him towards taking the degree of Master this Act.

1684, 6th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Evans, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, occasioned by a fit of sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this Act.

1684, 6th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Coles, B.A., of All Souls' College, of above nine years' standing since his matriculation. Dispensation for six terms' absence, due to attendance upon the Bishop of Sarum, that he may take his degree of Master this Act.

HOUSEHOLD CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

1ST DUKE OF ORMOND

AS

LORD HIGH STEWARD OF ENGLAND.

In the same MS. Volume that contains the "Oxford Letters" (as above)—but commenced from the other end of the Volume (reversed)—and entitled on this cover "King's Household," are various warrants from the Duke of Ormond, in his capacity of Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household.

On the first page is an entry as follows:—"James, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Ormond, Earl of Ossory and Brecknock, Viscount of Thurles, Baron of Arclo and Lanthony, Chief Butler of Ireland, Lord of the Regalities and Liberties of the County Palatine of Tipperary, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, one of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council of England, Scotland and Ireland, Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, etc."

"Londini, 13th June, 1682. Per W. WOGAN, Clerk."

The Warrants are entered as follows:—

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth. To swear and admit the bearer, John Littlemore, now groom, into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Ewry in Ordinary, void by the death of John Woodman, late Yeoman thereof.

1675, 20th April.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To instate and admit the bearer, Robert Mawer, into the place of youngest Groom of His Majesty's Ewry in Ordinary, void by the removal of John Littlemore.

1675, 26th April. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the bearer, Josiah Poulter, into the place of supernumerary Groom of His Majesty's Ewry in Ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place shall become void in that office, by death, resignation or otherwise.

1675, 24th May. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Henry Bulkeley into the place of Master of His Majesty's Household, on the resignation, death or other avoidance whatsoever of Sir Herbert Price, now Master of His Majesty's Household, according to the tenor of the enclosed warrant from His Majesty, dated, Whitehall, 9 May, 1675.

1675, 25th October. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To enter and admit the bearer, John Hay, into the place of a Wine Porter to His Majesty's household in ordinary, void by the death of Richard Harding.

1675, 1st November.—To the Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary: On behalf of Andrew Lynn, esquire.—Nomination, by letters patent under the Great Seal of the said county, as High Sheriff for the county of Tipperary for the ensuing year—making him take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to His Majesty, and give good security for the profits of the employment.

1675, 1st November.—To the Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary.—To grant to Bartholomew Foulks, esquire, the several offices of Seneschal and Justice and Chancellor of the Courts of the Liberties of the county Tipperary, during the absence of Richard, Earl of Arran, Lord John Butler, Sir William Davys, knight, and John Keating, esquire, from the said county.

1675-6, 7th December.—To [the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth].—To instate Charles Morgan as Grocer to His Majesty's Household, vacant by the death of George Townsend.

1675, 30th December. Board of Greencloth.—William Boreman, W. Churchill and Richard Mason, to the Duke of Ormond.—In obedience to your Grace's reference to us upon the petition of Robert Twiford, purveyor of oils and pickles, we have seriously considered of his pretensions therein, and find that by warrant from your Grace, dated the 24th of July, 1660, he was admitted, but not sworn, into the place and service of oils and pickles for His Majesty's use, at such rates as should be agreed by the officers of the Board of Greencloth, but without any fee or allowance, and that ever since he hath constantly served and supplied the oils and pickles and such like provisions as were spent and employed at the entertainments of Ambassadors or at the feasts of St. George, which he ought still to enjoy. But as we humbly conceive His Majesty's Grocer, being a sworn officer, and having at all times, both before His Majesty's happy restoration and since, served the oil for their Majesties' household, the same may still continue in the same course, and the rather because we find the petitioner's place was then erected and the other of ancient establishment; all which, notwithstanding, we submit to your Grace's grave determination.

1675-6, 7th January.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Sylvanus Landon into the place of Yeoman of the month in His Majesty's cellar in ordinary, void by the death of Daniel Munt, late Yeoman of the month in that office.

1675-6, 29th January.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Parks into the place of supernumerary Brewer to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, during the absence of Thomas Firth, employed on other occasions of His Majesty's service in Ireland.

1675-6, 19th January.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Barclay into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's chandry in ordinary, void by the death of Matthew Shepherd.

*1675, 10th February.—Recommendation of John Constable as a scholar in Charterhouse.**

1675-6, 14th February.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Parkes into the place of Purveyor of beer, brewer for His Majesty's household in ordinary.

1675-6, 15th February. Panton House.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To enter and admit Adrian Pearson into the places of Basket maker to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, void by the resignation of William Williams.

1675-6, 4th March. Panton House.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Richard Full into the place of youngest Groom of His Majesty's chandry in ordinary, void by the death of Matthew Shepherd, late Yeoman of the said office.

[*Undated.*]—To his Grace, James, Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of His Majesty's household.—Petition of Silvanus Landon, employed for many years in the service of His Majesty and Royal Father of blessed memory, as Page, Groom and Yeoman, and obtained warrant the 10th of January last to be sworn into the place of Yeoman of the month to His Majesty in the cellar—in which post it was customary in former times to have four months waiting in the Privy Cellar, and two in the Great Cellar.—Order to be given that he may have the turns of waiting according to his right and as his predecessors have enjoyed.

1675-6, 10th March. Board of His Majesty's Greencloth, Whitehall.—To all whom it may concern.—Certificate that Charles Morgan is sworn and admitted Grocer of His Majesty's Household, by virtue whereof he is to have and enjoy the wages, profits, privileges and advantages to the said place belonging; his person not to be arrested or detained without leave first had and obtained from this Board, neither is he to bear any public office nor be

* This entry and others printed in italics do not appear to properly belong to the series of "Household" entries.

empanelled upon any inquest or jury nor warned to attend at Assizes or Sessions, whereby he may pretend excuse to neglect His Majesty's Household, which he is constantly to attend, according to his oath and duty.

Signed : Ormond.

Will. Ashburnham.

Ste. Fox.

Herbert Price.

Wm. Boreman.

Rich. Mason.

1675-6, 14th March. Board of His Majesty's Greencloth, Whitehall.—To all persons whom it may concern.—To permit and suffer Charles Morgan, His Majesty's Grocer, or his deputy, to buy and provide all the spices, oranges, lemons, oils, pickles and other groceries for the use of their Majesties' diet and Household, in the markets or elsewhere from time to time, without molestation or disturbance; the said Charles Morgan or his deputy paying ready money upon the receipt thereof, according to the prices of the markets, or as shall be agreed upon between the buyer and the seller.

Signed : Ormond.

Wm. Ashburnham.

Herbert Price.

Ste. Fox.

Wm. Boreman.

Richard Mason.

1675-6, 15th March. Panton House.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Board of Greencloth.—Instructions to consider the above petition and send information as to what the former custom in cases of this nature was, so that those in the office of the Cellar may be settled in their respective waitings, and that there may be no further occasion of complaint.

1675-6, 20th March. Panton House.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Approval of the report printed above, and order to be re-entered as a rule "that Charles Morgan, His Majesty's Grocer now being, have and enjoy the purveyance of oils and pickles for their Majesties' household during his life or continuance in that employment, together with his other purveyances as grocer."

1676, 28th April.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Petition of Sir Francis Wenman, knight—"Sheweth that dame Elizabeth Morgan, widow, deceased, to whom your petitioner is executor did in her lifetime—that is to say about the month of September, 1674, at the Court of Great Sessions, held for the county of Carmarthen, in Wales,—recover and obtain *rationabile parte honorum* for the third part of two thousand pounds due to her, the said Lady Morgan by the custom of that country out of the personal estate of Sir Anthony Morgan, her late husband, deceased, unto whom the said Elizabeth, the lady of the said Sir James Butler, is executor. Your petitioner humbly prayeth that in regard the said Sir James Butler is one of His Majesty's Council and Steward of His Majesty's Court of the Palace of Westminster that your Grace would be pleased to order him to give an appearance for himself and his lady upon your petitioner's action in case he will not make satisfaction of the said debt; otherwise

that your petitioner may be at liberty to proceed by due course of law against them, as usual is in such like cases.”

[*Endorsed*].—Let this petition be shown to the within named Sir James Butler, who is to satisfy the petitioner or within fourteen days after notice hereof show cause in writing why the request hereof should not be granted. Ormond.

1676, 29th April. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of His Majesty's household.—(Royal warrant) to swear and admit John Thompson into the place of supernumerary Clerk of the Pastry in ordinary, in reversion to succeed and come into the actual possession and enjoyment of the said place, after the resignation, removal or death of Thos. Webb, esquire, present Clerk of the Pastry, and of Henry Gascoyne, esquire, who hath been lately sworn into the place of supernumerary Clerk of the Pastry to succeed the said Thomas Webb. Further, if any other of the particular household clerks shall happen to die, resign, or be removed after the said Henry Gascoyne shall be admitted into any the places to which he is to succeed according to our said warrants or shall die, whereby any other clerk's place shall become void, that then the said Henry Gascoyne and the rest of our particular clerks be removed according to the custom of succession, so that the said John Thompson may in the next place be admitted Clerk of the Pastry in ordinary. “And, whereas, we have allowed a pension of £50 per annum to Robert Roan, a supernumerary clerk of our house, during his life, and have by our warrant declared our pleasure that if the [said] Robert Roan die before the said Henry Gascoyne be admitted Clerk of our Pastry in ordinary, that then the said pension of £50 per annum be settled upon the said Henry Gascoyne until he be admitted in ordinary as aforesaid. And our further will and pleasure is that if the said Robert Roan shall die before the said John Thompson shall be admitted Clerk of our Pastry in ordinary, and that the said Henry Gascoyne shall die, resign or be removed or admitted into ordinary, whereby the said pension shall cease and not be payable, either the said Robert Roan or Henry Gascoyne before the said John Thompson shall be admitted in ordinary as aforesaid, that then the said pension of £50 per annum shall be settled upon the said John Thompson to hold and enjoy the same until he shall be actually admitted into the place of Clerk of our Pastry in ordinary in possession.”

1676, 10th May.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Thompson into the place of supernumerary Clerk of our Pastry in ordinary, according to the contents of His Majesty's warrant.

1676, 22nd May.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Petition of William White, to be referred to the Board of Greencloth, that such wages, board wages and other allowances as are in arrears and due to the late Henry Walthew, Sergeant of the Confectionery, may be paid to the petitioner, for satisfying the said Henry

Walthew's debt of £75, in addition to other charges incurred in administering on the goods and chattels of the said Henry Walthew.

[*Endorsed*].—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To consider the above petition, and, finding the allegations thereof to be true, to give orders for the petitioner's satisfaction.

1673, 23rd March.—Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant that the pension of £50 per annum granted to Robert Roan, supernumerary Clerk of the Household, shall, upon his death, be settled upon Henry Gascoyne, if he is not admitted in ordinary as Clerk of the Pastry, to hold and enjoy until such time as he shall be admitted in ordinary as aforesaid.

1676, 13th May.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Robert Roan, being dead, to pay, allow and pass the said pension of £50 per annum unto the said Henry Gascoyne, from the time of the death of the said Robert Roan, until he shall be admitted Clerk of the Pastry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1676, 15th June.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Petition of Eliz. Godfrey that her licence for keeping an ordinary in Scotland yard may be continued and renewed.

1676, 15th June.—To the Officers of the Board of Greencloth.—Order that the above petition shall be granted if it cause no inconvenience.

1676, 15th July.—To
To be supernumerary Child of the Kitchen in ordinary.

1676, 15th July.—To
William Taylour to be Server of the Hall in ordinary, void by the surrender of John Kyme.

1676, 22nd July.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear John Goodchild into the place of Marshal of His Majesty's Hall in ordinary, void by the voluntary resignation of Francis Whitehead.

1676, 25th October.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To admit John Hay as Wine Porter to His Majesty's household.

1676, 5th November. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Patrick Lamb, esquire, into the place of Sergeant of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, void by the death of William Astley, late Serjeant of that office.

1676, 10th November. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Patrick Lamb into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

.1676, 10th [November]. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Thomas Teild into the place of youngest Child of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, void by the removal of Patrick Lamb.

1676, 16 December. Whitehall. To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Edward Allen into the place of supernumerary Child of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, till a place become void in that office, and then he is to succeed in ordinary.

1675, 14th November.—To Sir William Davys, knight, Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the county of Tipperary.—To cause letters patents to be passed under the Great Seal of the said county, thereby nominating Andrew Lynn, esquire, to be High Sheriff of the county of Tipperary for the year ensuing, and to take care that besides the Oath of Sheriff he do take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to His Majesty, and do enter into good security to be truly accountable to us in our exchequer for the profits of the said employment.

1676, 7th November, London.—To Sir William Davis, knight, Chancellor of the Regalties and Liberties of the County of Tipperary.—“Forasmuch as we are given to understand that divers recognizances, bills and bonds entered into by several persons inhabiting within the county of Tipperary are become forfeited unto us, and that the same are issued forth in green vases to our Sheriff of the said county, by means whereof some of the said inhabitants may suffer contrary to our intentions, we have caused a commission of reducement of the said forfeitures directed to several persons therein named to be engrossed; We therefore by these presents will and require you that the said commission, dated the seventh day of the month of September last past, and signed by us, do forthwith pass under the Great Seal of our liberty of the County aforesaid—for which this shall be your warrant.” Ormond.

[1676,
A. Lynn.

1676, 25th November.—[To Sir William Davis].—A warrant for Charles Minchin to be Sheriff of Tipperary.

1675-6, 5th January.—[To Sir William Davis].—A warrant for Richard Toler to be Sheriff of Tipperary.

1681-2, 7th February, Dublin Castle.—To Edward Herbert, esquire, Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the county of Tipperary.—To nominate and appoint Giles Powell, esquire, to continue High Sheriff for the county of Tipperary during the ensuing year.*

1676, 12 September, Whitehall. To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.—Petition of John Price, Yeoman Purveyor of His Majesty's Buttery, for an annuity of £50 a year (as the rest of

* See note at p. 644 *supra*.

the Yeomen of His Majesty's Buttery now have) for his constant and long domestic service, or otherwise £50 a year as other indigent military men have, "or some other way as your Majesty in your princely wisdom shall think fit to preserve" the petitioner "from destruction."

To the Duke of Ormond.—The above petition is referred to the Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household, who is desired to consider the particulars and say what he thinks fit to be done for the petitioners' relief, whereupon His Majesty's further pleasure will be declared.

Signed : H. Coventry.

To the King.—Report on the above petition, and recommendation of John Price as a fit object of charity.—Suggestion that the pension granted to William Ramsey, lately dead, should be bestowed on the petitioner—which pension was allowed by the Board of Greencloth and paid by the Cofferer of His Majesty's household.

Signed : Ormond.

1676-7, 23rd January.—[To

To swear Abraham Smedmore into the place of Yeoman Keeper of His Majesty's ice and snow houses, void by the death of Simon Mansell.

1676, 19th December. London.—To Sir William Davis, Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary.—To cause letters patents to be passed under the Great Seal of the Court of the Regalities and Liberties, thereby pardoning and acquitting Teig Neale for the offence of felony, of which he was found guilty on the 8th of April in the 27th year of His Majesty's reign. Condemned to death and afterwards reprieved.

1676, 8th November.—To Richard, Earl of Arran, Lord Seneschal of the Liberties and Regalities of Tipperary.—Petition of Richard Moore, esquire, Sheriff of the county Palatine of Tipperary, in 1675, who has been fined £500 and threatened to be proceeded against for the escape of a criminal named Williams to direct the Attorney General of the Court of Regalities to cause a pardon of the said offence.

[*Endorsed*].—The above petition is referred by the Earl of Arran to Sir William Davis, knight, Chancellor, and Standish Hartstonge, esquire, Attorney General of the Regalities Court of Tipperary.

Report on the above petition by Sir William Davis and Standish Hartstonge.—The petitioner did nothing out of malice or intention to obstruct justice or prevent the delinquent's trial and judgment, but all was due to mistake and inadvertency: therefore he is recommended as a fit object of mercy for his Grace the Lord of the Regalities' pardon from further prosecution.*

* See note at p. 644 *supra*.

1676-7, 23rd January.—To Standish Hartstonge, Attorney of the Court of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary.—Authority to draw up a Fiant in due form of the Law containing the pardon of Richard Moore for the escape of the criminal, Williams, and from any further prosecution concerning the same, except what relates to the fine imposed on him.

1676, 22nd February.—To [].—To swear Robert Bromfield into the place of Yeoman of His Majesty's Pitcher house in ordinary, void by the resignation of Francis Gale.

1677, 4th May.—To [].—To admit Richard Jones to be Page of the Cellar in extraordinary, in the place of Philip Victory, lately deceased.

To the Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of His Majesty's household.—Petition of Henry Sclater, one of the waiters of His Majesty's hall, to obtain leave of absence from his duties for the space of two years, that he may go to Dantzic to look after his wife's affairs, which are in the hands of her uncle, Mr. Hoyer, a merchant of that city, who is in a very weak and crazy condition, being upwards of seventy-six years of age.

1677, 8th May.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Leave of absence for twelve months to be granted to Henry Sclater, that he may go to Dantzic—"without prejudice to his entertainment."

1677, 9th May.—To [].—To admit Patrick Jack to be youngest Groom Porter at His Majesty's gate, upon the death of William Mathewes.

1676-7, 7th March.—To [].—To admit Henry Collins to be wine porter, void by the death of Christopher Pound.

1677, 29th May.—To [].—To swear Thomas Whitmore as supernumerary Page of the Pantry, without a fee in that office, till a place shall fall void.

1677, 28th May.—To Needwood Forest.—For a buck—one of his Grace's fee bucks—for Captain Richard Dyett, of Lichfield, at the desire of Lord Arran.

1677, 28th June.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Harold Miller into the place of supernumerary Groom Caretaker to His Majesty in ordinary, to come into waiting upon the first avoidance or vacancy in that office.

1677, 6th June. Whitehall.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To direct, according to the Book of Establishment signed by His Majesty, to commence the first day of July, 1674—

“ a diet of seven dishes of meat, a meal in lieu of board wages, to be delivered and served in kind to any officers of the Greencloth that shall attend either the King or Queen upon removes, and particularly to Sir Stephen Fox, Clerk of His Majesty’s Greencloth, that is now to attend Her Majesty to the Bath; and with the said diet all incidents thereunto belonging in as ample manner as formerly hath been served to any officer’s diet of seven dishes of meat a meal. And for so doing this shall be as well to pass, allow and pay the same as also to abate the allowance of board wages during the time the said diet shall be served in kind.”

[*Undated*]. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear Sir Stephen Fox, Clerk of the Greencloth ever since the Restoration, into the office of Cofferer of His Majesty’s household, when it is void by the death or resignation of William Ashburnham, the present Cofferer, and Henry Brounker, who has been promised the reversion of this office.

[*Undated*].—To Sir William Boreman, knight, youngest Clerk of His Majesty’s Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Sir Stephen Fox into the place of Cofferer to His Majesty’s household, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1678, March.—To Sir Stephen Fox and Sir William Boreman.—Twelve blank warrants.

1678, 23rd July.—[].—To admit William Tozer to be General Harbinger supernumerary.

1678, 23rd July.—To [“ Lord Newport ”].—To admit Nicholas de Loch to be Yeoman Harbinger supernumerary.

1678, 23rd July.—To [].—Two supernumerary blank warrants.

1678, 14th September.—To [].—To swear — Erndle a Gentleman of the Buttery in ordinary.

1678, 26th October.—To [].—A blank warrant for [] to be admitted Harbinger.

1678, 29th December.—To Sir Stephen Fox.—Twelve blank warrants.

[*Undated*].—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit John Jennings into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty’s Pantry in ordinary, void by the voluntary resignation of Francis Cobb, late Sergeant thereof.

[*Undated*].—To the Clerk of His Majesty’s Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said John Jennings into the said place of Sergeant of His Majesty’s Pantry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

[*Undated*].—Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit William Yardley into the place of

supernumerary Clerk of His Majesty's Accatry in ordinary, the present holder of the office, Robert Fenn, being incapable of performing his duties by reason of his old age and great deafness. The said William Yardley to enjoy no wages, board wages, fees or perquisites of the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Accatry until the same shall become void by the death, resignation or removal of the said Robert Fenn.

[*Undated.*].—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said William Yardley into the said place of supernumerary Clerk of His Majesty's Accatry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1679. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Thomas Hardyman into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Silver Scullery in ordinary, void by the resignation of Edward Tomes, esquire.

[*Undated.*].—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Thomas Hardyman into the said office of Serjeant of His Majesty's Silver Scullery in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

“A warrant for His Majesty's signature for the removing of Thomas Webb, esquire, Clerk of the Pastry, to the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Scullery, void by the death of — Hubberd, and his Grace's warrant therein enclosing His Majesty's.”

“The like for His Majesty's signature, and his Grace's warrant thereon for admitting Henry Gascoigne, esquire, to be clerk of His Majesty's Pastry, being void by the removal of Thomas Webb.”

“And twelve blank warrants signed by his Grace were sent on the 27th November, 1679.”

1679, 28th December.—To [].—To swear and admit Neile Moloy to be Porter in ordinary of the Back Gate of Somerset House, to attend the Queen's Majesty; the said place being void by the death of Norris Roberts.

1676, 29th April. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant concerning the pension of £50 per annum bestowed upon Robert Roane, a supernumerary Clerk of His Majesty's House, during his life, and afterwards on Henry Gascoigne, if he be not already admitted Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary. When the said Henry Gascoigne shall die, resign or be removed, or be admitted in ordinary, whereby the said pension shall cease and not be payable to either Robert Roane or Henry Gascoigne, then, if John Thompson be not admitted Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the said pension of £50 per annum shall be settled upon the said John Thompson, to hold and enjoy until he be actually admitted into the said place of Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary.

1679-8, 17th March.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To pass, allow and pay the said pension of £50 per annum (enjoyed for some years since the death of Robert Roane, by Henry Gascoigne) unto the said John Thompson, from the time that the said Henry Gascoigne hath been admitted into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary (upon the death of Abraham Hubert, late Clerk of His Majesty's Silver Scullery) according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

168—.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Twelve blank warrants sent for England.

1679, 8th December. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit James Halsey into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Accatry in ordinary, void by the voluntary resignation of Robert Angell, late Serjeant of the Accatry.

[*Undated.*].—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said James Halsey into the said place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Accatry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1680, 24th October. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—To swear and admit Roger Andrews, esquire, into the place of Gentleman of His Majesty's Ewry in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Hugh Calberley, esquire, late Gentleman thereof. Royal warrant.

[1680, 27th November.].—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Roger Andrews into the place of Gentleman of His Majesty's Ewry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

[*Endorsed.*].—*Mem.*—This warrant for Mr. Andrews and twelve blank short warrants signed were sent for England the 27th November, 1680.

1680-1, 18th February.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Samuel Douglas into the place of supernumerary Groom Caretaker to His Majesty, without wages, board wages, fees or perquisites belonging to the said place until it become void by the death, resignation or removal of the present Groom Caretaker in ordinary, and then the said Samuel Douglas is to succeed and come into the actual possession and enjoyment of the said place, without further warrant.

1680-1, February.—Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit John Manley, esquire, into the place of third Clerk of the Kitchen in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Ralph Jackson, esquire.

[*Undated.*].—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said John Manley into the said place of third Clerk of His Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1680-1. 31st March. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear Henry Progers into the place of supernumerary Serjeant Porter of His Majesty's house, as the present holder of the office, Sir Edward Brett, cannot by reason of sickness give his attendance at His Majesty's gates so often as his place requires. The said Henry Progers is to execute the said place without any wages, board wages, fees or other allowance belonging to the said place of Serjeant Porter, until the place shall become void by the death, resignation, or removal of the said Sir Edward Brett, and then he is to succeed in ordinary, without need of further warrant.

[*Undated.*].—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear the said Henry Progers into the place of Serjeant Porter, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1681, [7th December.] Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Thomas Marshall into the place of Master Cook of His Majesty's Side Kitchen in ordinary, void by the death of Richard Pierce.

1681, 7th December.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Thomas Marshall into the said place of Master Cook of His Majesty's Side Kitchen, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1681, October. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear John Flock, esquire, into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Wine Cellar in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Richard Dalton, senior.

[*Undated.*].—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear the said John Flock into the said place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Wine Cellar in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1681, 7th December.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Twelve blank warrants for England.

1682, 13th June. Windsor.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Lawrence Ball, esquire, into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, void by the death of Nicholas Johnson, late Serjeant of that office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Lawrence Ball into the said place of Sergeant of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Edward Gray into the place of Yeoman of His Majesty's Privy Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being void by the promotion of Lawrence Ball, late Yeoman of the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Edward Ball into the place of Yeoman of His Majesty's Great Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Edward Gray, late Yeoman of the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Charles White into the place of Groom of His Majesty's Privy Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being void by the promotion of Edward Ball, late Groom of the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit William Walton into the place of Groom of His Majesty's Great Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being void by the promotion of Charles White, late Groom of the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Thomas Fenn into the place of Eldest Conduct of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of William Walton, late Eldest Conduct of the same office.

1682, 8th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Collins into the place of eldest Groom of His Majesty's counting house in ordinary, void by the resignation of Andrew Whitengam, late eldest Groom thereof.

1682, 8th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Thomas Fox into the place of youngest Groom of His Majesty's counting house in ordinary, void by the promotion of John Collins.

1682, 20th July. St. James' Square.—To the Master and Register of the Charter House.—Nomination of James Wills for a scholar's place, next after those already recommended.

1682, 25th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit James Boswell into the place of supernumerary Groom Porter at His Majesty's Gate in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place become void in the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Arthur Bedborough into the place of youngest Conduct of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being void by the promotion of Thomas Fenn, late youngest conduct of the said office.

1682, 11th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Mary Cardin into the place of Laundress of His Majesty's Table Linen extraordinary.

1682, 25th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Roberts into the place of supernumerary Child of His Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place become void in the said office.

1682, 1st August. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Richard Warden to be sworn supernumerary Child of Her Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, to be given a place as soon as one shall become void.

1682, 1st August. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth, or to any other of His Majesty's Officers of the Greencloth whom these may concern.—To order and appoint the two Clerks of His Majesty's Spicery for the time being in their several and respective waitings to make provision of all sorts of sugar, fruits, oranges, lemons, spices, etc., as belong to and issue out of the office of His Majesty's spicery as from time to time shall be needful and necessary for the expense of His Majesty's house, at such rates as shall, from year to year, be contracted with them by the officers of His Majesty's Greencloth, and to settle upon them such allowances as the late Charles Morgan, Grocer of His Majesty's Household, had enjoyed for executing the said place. The office of Grocer of His Majesty's Household is to be therefore discontinued.

1682, 2nd August. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear Walter Price, His Majesty's servant, into the place and quality of Gentleman Harbinger in extraordinary to His Majesty's Household, without fee or allowance, until a post shall become vacant in that office.

1682, 19th August. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Nathaniel Hebin supernumerary Page of His Majesty's Cellar in ordinary, until the same shall become void by the death or other avoidance of a Page now in ordinary.

1682, 19th August. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear William Brome, esquire, supernumerary Marshal of His Majesty's Hall in ordinary until the same shall become void by death or other avoidance of a Marshal now in ordinary.

1682, 9th November.—To the same.—To admit Daniel Parker, one of the Wine Porters of His Majesty's household, in the room and place of Francis Gore, lately deceased.

1682, 6th December. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit William Fatheree into the place of supernumerary Groom Porter at His Majesty's Gate in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place become void in the same office.

1682, 11th December. St. James' Square.—To the Master and Register of the Charter House.—Nomination of John King,

gentleman, to be admitted to a pensioner's place in the Charter House, next after those already recommended.

1682-3, 13th February. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of His Majesty's household.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Isabella Heuston into the place of Laundress of the Board in extraordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place shall become void by the death or other avoidance of Susanna Jennings, Laundress of the Board now in ordinary.

1682-3, 15th February. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Isabella Heuston into the said place of servant as Laundress of the Board in extraordinary, etc., according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1682-3, 14th February. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Patrick Lamb, esquire, into the place of His Majesty's Master Cook in ordinary, the same being void by the death of John Sayers, esquire, late His Majesty's Master Cook.

1682-3, 14th February. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Patrick Lamb, esquire, into the said place of Master Cook in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1682-3, 27th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Emanuel Hicks into the place of Yeoman of Her Majesty's Kitchen, in the place of Thomas Clarke, superannuated, and put to pension by his own consent.

1682-3, 27th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Leonard Welbeck into the place of Groom of Her Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Emanuel Hicks, late Groom thereof, into the place of Yeoman.

1682-3, 27th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Richard Warden into the place of eldest Child of Her Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Leonard Welbeck into the place of Groom of the same office.

1682-3, 27th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Richards into the place of youngest Child of Her Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, vacant by the promotion of Richard Warden into the place of eldest Child of the same office.

1682-3, 3rd March. A letter from my Lord Duke to call Mr. Bickerstaffe to his employment as clerk of His Majesty's woodyard.

1682-3, 6th March. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Philip Lemon into the place of Yeoman of the Field to His Majesty, to attend the Queen, the same being vacant by the voluntary surrender of Charles White.

1683-3, 6th March. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Peter La Roch into the place of a supernumerary Yeoman Harbinger to His Majesty in the room and place of Edmund Gregory, deceased, late supernumerary Yeoman Harbinger, without fees or allowance, until there become a vacancy by the death, resignation, or removal of any of the present Yeomen Harbingers in ordinary to His Majesty, then the said Peter La Roch to succeed in ordinary, without any further warrant.

1683, 10th May. Windsor.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit William Walley into the place of supernumerary Serjeant of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until that place shall become void by the death, resignation, or removal of Lawrence Ball, the present Sergeant of that office, and then the said William Walley is to have and to hold the said place of Serjeant of His Majesty's bakehouse, without any further warrant.

1683, 12th May. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said William Walley, into the place of supernumerary Serjeant of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—To swear and admit Samuel Browne into the place of eldest Groom of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Henry Adams into the place of Yeoman.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—To swear and admit William Murray into the place of second Groom of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Samuëll Browne into the place of eldest Groom.

1683, 14th June. [Hampstead.]—To the same.—To admit Thomas Field into the place of youngest Groom of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of William Murray into the place of second Groom.

1683, 14th June. [Hampstead.]—To the same.—To swear and admit Edward Allen into the place of eldest Child of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Thomas Field into the place of youngest Groom.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—To swear and Admit Thomas Herd into the place of youngest Child of the Pastry to His Majesty in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Edward Allen into the place of eldest child.

[*Endorsed*].—For these warrants of the pastry Mr. Secretary had paid fifteen guineas at my Lord Duke's house

1683, 23rd July. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Philip Bickerstaffe, esquire, now Clerk of His Majesty's Woodyard, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Poultry in ordinary, the same being void by the death of James Mungar, late clerk of His Majesty's poultry.

[*Endorsed*].—He paid Mr. Secretary at the Rumer near Whitehall.

1683, 24th July. St. James Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Philip Bickerstaffe, esquire, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Poultry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 23rd July. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Thomas Webb, esquire, now Clerk of His Majesty's Scullery, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Woodyard in ordinary, the same being vacant by the removal of Philip Bickerstaffe, esquire, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Poultry.

[*Endorsed*].—Mr. Webb paid Mr. Secretary with Mr. Bickerstaffe, etc.

1683, 24th July. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Thomas Webb, esquire, into the said place of Clerk of His Majesty's Woodyard in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 23rd July. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc. Royal warrant to swear and admit Henry Gascoigne, esquire, now Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Scullery, the same being vacant by the removal of Thomas Webb, esquire, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Woodyard.

[*Endorsed*].—Memorandum: Doctor Gascoigne owes Secretary Gascoigne for this warrant. Witness, W. Wogan, Clerk.

1683, 24th July. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Henry Gascoigne esquire, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Scullery in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 24th July.—To all whom it may concern.—At the request of Philip Bickerstaffe, esquire, clerk of His Majesty's Poultry, I do hereby give leave to the said Philip Bickerstaffe to repair into the country about his private concerns, and to be absent from the duty of his said place of Clerk of the Poultry for the space of eight months from the date hereof. Ormond.

[*Endorsed*].—I paid Mr. Secretary for this warrant 6 guineas, 29 July, 1683.

1683, 23rd July. [Whitehall].—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Joseph Cent Livres into the place of Cook and Potagier of His Majesty's Privy Kitchen in

ordinary, and to settle upon him an allowance of five shillings per diem for his salary in the execution of the said place, to commence from the day of the date hereof, to be passed and allowed as the rest of His Majesty's servants and paid by the Cofferer of His Majesty's Household for the time being.

1683, 24th July. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Joseph Cent Livres into the place of Cook and Potagier of His Majesty's Privy kitchen in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 30th July. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Giles Rose into the place of Yeoman of the mouth of His Majesty's Privy Kitchen in ordinary, the same being void by the death of ——— Wilson, late Yeoman thereof.

1683, 30th July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit Robert Foxall into the place of youngest Yeoman of the Side Kitchen to His Majesty's household in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Giles Rose.

1683, 30th July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit John Thompson into the place of Groom of His Majesty's Privy Kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Robert Foxall.

1683, 30th July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit Henry Smith into the place of youngest Groom of the Side Kitchen of His Majesty's household in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of John Thompson.

1683, 30th July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit Alexander Houseden into the place of eldest Child of His Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Henry Smith.

1683, 30 July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit John Linchcome into the place of second Child of His Majesty's privy kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Alexander Houseden.

1683, 28th August. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Shaw into the place of supernumerary Child of His Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place become void.

1683, 28th August. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Fosbrooke into the place of supernumerary Groom of His Majesty's Pitcher house in ordinary, without fee or allowance, until a place become void.

1683, 25th September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Richard Salmon into the place of a Groom Porter at the Back Gate of Somerset House in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Neale Molloy.

To his Grace, James, Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of His Majesty's household.—The petition of Chastillain, to whom Monsieur Mezandier, late gentleman of the chamber to the Duke, and now Sergeant of His Majesty's Poultry, is in debt for between three and four hundred pounds upon account. The petitioner begs the Duke of Ormond to order the said Mezandier to come to an account and give the petitioner such satisfaction as shall be justly due, or otherwise if he will not so comply, the liberty of the law to sue him for the said debt.

1683, 26th, September. St. James' Square.—Let the within-named Mezandier see this petition and satisfy the petitioner, or else within two months show cause in writing why the petitioner's request should not be granted. *Signed*, Ormond.

1683, 27th September. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Richard Dalton into the place of Gentleman and Yeoman of the mouth in His Majesty's Privy Cellar in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Abraham Smedmore.

1683, 28th September. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Richard Dalton into the place of Gentleman and Yeoman of the mouth in His Majesty's Privy Cellar in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 28th September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Richard Jones into the place of second Yeoman of His Majesty's Cellar and Yeoman of the ice and snow to His Majesty in ordinary, the same being void by the removal of Richard Dalton.

1683, 28th September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Francis Clarke into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Cellar in ordinary, the same being void by the removal of Richard Jones.

1683, 28th September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Jones into the place of Groom Grubber of His Majesty's Cellar in ordinary, the same being become void through the removal of Francis Clarke.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Thomas Landon into the place of eldest Yeoman of His Majesty's Buttery in ordinary, the same being void by the death of James Gourlaw.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Henry Cocksedge into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Buttery in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Thomas Landon.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Murray to be eldest Groom of His Majesty's Buttery in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Henry Cocksedge.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square. To the same.—To swear and admit Neal Nelson to be youngest Groom of His Majesty's Buttery in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of John Murray.

1683, 27th November. [St. James' Square.]—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Reference on the petition of John Thurston and Henry Crane.

1683-4, 23rd January. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear William Arnold into the place of Child of His Majesty's Privy Kitchen in ordinary, he having been admitted supernumerary Child in the year 1680.

1683-4, 16th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Arthur Upcott into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Ewry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the "dismiss" of Robert Maur.

1683-4, 16th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Peter Berry into the place of Groom of His Majesty's Ewry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Arthur Upcott into the place of youngest yeoman of the said office.

[Endorsed].—Paid Mr. Secretary for the above and this warrant 5 guineas in Lord Duke's dining room, 26th.

1684, 14th April. Windsor Castle.—To James, Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of His Majesty's Household.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Major Michael Arnold into the place of Brewer to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, "and to settle upon him the wages or fee of five pounds per annum, to commence and be paid from Michaelmas, 1682, with all other rights, privileges and advantages thereunto belonging, in as full and ample a manner as any other person or persons ever enjoyed the same, any thing, matter or clause in His Majesty's book signed to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

1684, 30 April. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Major Michael Arnold into the said place of Brewer to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1684, 30th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Philips into the place of Blacksmith to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, the same being vacant by the voluntary resignation of John Walker.

1684, 2nd June. Windsor.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Clifton into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Scalding house in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Jonas Clifton.

1684, 18th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit William Vuljohn into the place of youngest

Groom of His Majesty's Scalding house in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of John Clifton.

1684, 3rd July. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Mary Lamb into the place of Laundress of the Board to the Queen's Majesty extraordinary, until the same shall become void by the death or voluntary surrender of Mary Leigh, now Laundress of the Board to Her Majesty in ordinary.

1684, 3rd July.—To his Grace James, Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of England.—“The petition of Henry Wagoner, ‘landskip’ painter. In March, 1680, the petitioner took a deaf and dumb youth, Benjamin, son of John Ferrers, gentleman, as an apprentice for eight years, and the said Mr. Ferrers, in consideration thereof, agreed to give the petitioner £30—twenty pounds of which was paid down, and the remaining ten to be paid in a year's time, according to a bond given by Mr. Ferrers, who, however, has never paid the ten pounds, and moreover has now removed his habitation into Spring Garden, within the verge of the Court, so that the petitioner cannot touch him; that lately the petitioner sued Mr. Ferrers “to an outlawry of which he had timely notice and might have prevented the same, either by payment of the said money or by giving your petitioner bail to his action, both which means he slighted or neglected, and now, knowing himself out of the petitioner's reach, bid him defiance, intending to defeat your petitioner of his said just debt.” The petitioner therefore begs an order that His Majesty's writ may be executed upon the said Mr. Ferrers at his said habitation, without which the petitioner will never get his money.

1684, 3rd July. St. James' Square.—Order: “Let John Ferrers see this petition and satisfy the petitioner, which if he shall delay or refuse to do, then the Officers of the Board of Greencloth are to take care that the said John Ferrers be put out of the verge of the Court that so the petitioner may have his due course of law for the recovery of his debt.”

1684, 3rd July. St. James' Square.—“A like order of the same words and date on the petition of Dr. John Betts against Sir John Clayton, knight, for debt—the said Sir John Clayton took lodgings in Hampton Court to protect him, etc.”

1684, 9th July. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Samuel Douglas into the place of Groom caretaker to His Majesty in ordinary, the same being void by the death of — Hobbs.

1684, 16th July.—To James, Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of England.—The petition of Lewis Dehavior.—“That one Walter Butler, having much injured your petitioner and several others, and being a great offender against the laws to avoid the justice thereof, doth shelter himself within the limits

of His Majesty's Royal Palace at Westminster to the great wrong of your petitioner and others. And forasmuch as your petitioner hath no way to bring the said Mr. Butler to justice but by the aid of this honourable Board, your petitioner humbly prays that your honours will not permit the said Walter Butler any longer to reside or be within the limits of the said palace ; but give such order and directions for the apprehending the said Walter Butler (in case he be found there) that your petitioner and the other parties injured may be enabled to prosecute the said Mr. Butler according to law."

1684, 16th July. St. James' Square.—Order : " Let Walter Butler see this petition and satisfy the petitioners, which if he shall delay or refuse to do, then the Officers of the Board of Greencloth are to take care that the said Walter Butler be put out of the verges of the Court that so the petitioner may have his due course of law."

AN ACCOUNT OF
WOOL LICENCES GRANTED IN
IRELAND,
1678-1681.

AN ACCOUNT OF WOOL LICENSES DISPOSED OF, beginning the
28th of September, 1678.

No. 142.	Edward Wright, for seven hundred stone of wool from Cork, fourteen pounds. Dated the 28th of September, 1678 ...	14 : 00 : 00
No. 143.	Wm. Howell, for one thousand stone of wool from Cork, twenty pounds. Dated the 1st of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 144.	Robt. Ball, for one thousand stone of wool from Youghal, twenty pounds. Dated the 1st of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 145.	Robt. Boardman, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin, twenty pounds. Dated the 5th of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 146.	Daniel Ivy, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 12th of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 147.	Geo. Ash, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin, twenty pounds. Dated the 29th of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 148.	John Harrison, for one thousand stone of wool from Cork, twenty pounds. Dated the 2nd November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 149.	Wm. Dennis, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 2nd of November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 150.	Tho. Faux, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 2nd of November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 151.	John Murphy, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 2nd of November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 152.	Mich. Head, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 4th of November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00

No. 153.	Nath. Stephens, for four hundred stone of wool from Ross, twenty pounds. Dated the 6th of November, 1678 ...	10 : 00 : 00
No. 154.	Tho. Percival, for five hundred stone of wool from Drogheda. Dated the 8th of November, 1678, twenty ...	10 : 00 : 00
Nos. 155 and 156 (sic.)	Isaac Holroyd, two licenses, each for one thousand stones of wool from Dublin. Dated the 12th of November, 1678, forty pounds	40 : 00 : 00
No. 157.	James Burrowes, for six hundred and fifty stone of wool from Kinsale. Dated the 12th of November, 1678, twelve pounds, sixteen shillings, eight pence	12 : 16 : 08
No. 158.	Tho. Wright, for one thousand stone of wool from Cork. Dated the 14th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 159.	Geo. Ash, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 15th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 160.	Jer. Yendall, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 16th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 00 00
No. 161.	Isaac Ambrose, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 16th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 162.	John Murphy, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 16th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 163.	Wm. Vaughan, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 16th of November, 1678, twenty pounds	20 : 00 : 00
No. 164.	Robt. Boardman, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 19th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 165.	Edwd. Collier, for five hundred stone of wool from Kinsale. Dated the 19th of November, 1678, ten pounds ...	10 : 00 : 00
No. 166.	Saml. Randall, for one thousand stone of wool from Cork. Dated the 19th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 167.	Tho. Faux, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 30th of November, 1678, twenty pounds	20 : 00 : 00
No. 168.	Edwd. Hoare, for two hundred stone of wool from Cork. Dated the 30th of November, 1678, four pounds ...	04 : 00 : 00
No. 169.	Wm. Howard, eight hundred and forty stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 2nd of December, 1678, sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence	16 : 13 04

No. 170.	Geo. Ash, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 2nd of December, 1678, twenty pounds	20 : 00 : 00
No. 171.	Wm. Vaughan, for seven hundred stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 7th of December, 1678, fourteen pounds	14 : 00 : 00
No. 172.	Richard Butler, for six hundred stone of wool from Ross. Dated the 7th of December, 1678, twelve pounds ...	12 : 00 : 00
No. 173.	Edwd. Vernon, for one thousand stone of wool from Youghal. Dated the 14th of December, 1678, twenty pounds	20 : 00 : 00
No. 174.	John Murphy, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 17th of December, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 175.	Tho. Percival, for five hundred stone of wool from Drogheda. Dated the 24th of December, 1678, ten pounds ...	10 : 00 : 00
		<hr/> £593 : 10 : 00 <hr/>

NAMES OF LICENCEES.

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of December, 1678, and the 27th of March, 1679, with the total amounts of the Licencees for that quarter :—

Nos. 176-200 inclusive.

Isaac Holroyd.
 Robt. Boardman.
 Edward Hoare.
 John Murphy.
 Edwd. Collier.
 Geo. Ash.
 James Burrows.
 Tho. Faux.
 Wm. Stoker.
 Danl. Smart.
 John Sandiford.
 Jeremy Udall.
 Mich. Head.
 Tho. Percival.
 James Neale.
 John Whitmore.
 Henry Aston.
 John Boswell.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Benjamin Withrington.

Total amounts for the quarter ...	£392 : 11 : 08
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Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of March, 1679,
and the 27th of June, 1679, with total amounts of the Licencees
for that quarter.

Nos. 201 to 251 inclusive.

Thomas Deane.
Edward Vernon.
Isaac Holroyd.
Samuel Martin.
Henry Aland.
Edward Collier.
Daniel Smart.
John Harrison.
John Davis.
Thomas Holt.
William Howard.
Mich. Lincoln.
John Bowden.
Robert Boardman.
Anthony Bartlett.
Samuel Whitehorne.
Michael Head.
Richard Butler.
Henry Aston.
Jeremy Udall.
Christopher Blackwood
Nathaniel Stephens.
Edward Wright.
Edward Bagley.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Faux.
Richard Maybank.
John Leonard.
James Burrowes.
William Makan.
James Smithfield.
Matthew Spencer
Thomas Willis.
Wm. Boler.
Wm. Vaughan.
Ralph Moxon.
Christopher Crofts.

Total amount for the quarter ... £894 : 03 : 00

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 28th of June, 1679,
and the 26th of September, with the total amounts of the
Licencees for that quarter.

Nos. 252 and 339 inclusive.

William Edwards.
Michael Lincoln.
Edward Hoare.

John Newenham.
 Nathaniel Stephens.
 Isaac Holroyd.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Robert Boardman.
 John Murdock.
 Henry Aston.
 Wm. Ballard.
 Richard Maybank.
 Edward Collier.
 John Merrick.
 Thomas Holt.
 Thomas Faux.
 Thomas Michell.
 Wm. Morgan.
 Alexander Shaw.
 Thomas Willis.
 Christopher Blackwood.
 Michael Head.
 Edward Wright.
 Thomas Percival.
 John Harrison.
 John Hanbury.
 William Bussell.
 Wm. Osborne, senr.
 John Bowden.
 William Howard.
 William Field.
 Robert Rogers.
 John Sharpe.
 John Atkin.
 Edward Crockford.
 Edward Lawndy.
 James Burrowes.
 Edward Pomeroy.
 Samuel Whitehorne.
 Jeremy Berstow.
 Richard Yates.
 William Vaughan.
 James Neale.
 Lawrence Smith.
 Abraham Smith.
 Edward Bagley.
 Zachariah Foxon.
 Edmond Smith.
 Philip Cox.
 Simon White.
 Richard Carleton.

Total amount for the quarter ... £1,312 : 04 : 00

	£	s.	d.
The Quarter ending 24th of December, 1678 ...	593	10	0
The Quarter ending the 27th of March, 1679 ...	392	11	8
The Quarter ending the 27th of June, 1679 ...	894	3	0
The Quarter ending the 26th of September, 1679 ...	1312	4	0
	<hr/> 3192 : 8 : 8 <hr/>		

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of September, 1679, and the 27th of December, 1679, with the total amounts of the Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 340 and 378 inclusive.

Wm. Vaughan.
 John Bowden.
 Abraham Smith.
 Thomas Holt.
 Michael Head.
 Robert Boardman.
 Henry Aston.
 Jeremy Udall.
 John Sharpe.
 John Leonard.
 Thomas Faux.
 Isaac Holroyd.
 Lawrence Smith.
 Edward Bagley.
 Edward Hoare.
 Samuel Whitehorne.
 John Hammon.
 Edward Collier.
 Christopher Blackwood.
 Wm. Howard.
 Hugh Charnock.
 Isaac Ambrose.
 Richard Butler.
 Michael Lincoln.
 Edward Smith.
 Wm. Smith.
 Robert Ball.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Mich. Head.
 Jeremiah Berstow.

Total amount for the quarter ...	£676 : 3 : 4
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Names of Licencees between the dates of the 28th of December, 1679, and the 26th of March, 1680, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 379 and 411 inclusive.

Augustine Bodkin.
 Wm. Vaughan.

Tho. Faux.
 Edward Collier.
 Edward Bagley.
 Wm. Smith.
 Thomas Percival.
 Richard Maybank.
 Christopher Blackwood.
 Michael Head.
 Francis Atherton.
 Robert Boardman.
 Lodowick Jackson.
 John Bowden.
 Jeremy Udall.
 Thomas Butler.
 John Baron.
 Hugh Charnock.
 John Hanbury.
 Thomas Deane.
 James Burrowes.
 Henry Aston.
 Michael Lincoln.

Total amount for the quarter ...	£515 : 18 : 0
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Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of March and the 26th of June, 1680, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 412 and 453 inclusive.

Thomas Faux.
 Richard Maybank.
 Wm. Howard.
 Edward Smith.
 John Wright.
 John Leonard.
 Lawrence Smith.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Saml. Whitehorne.
 Robert Edbrooke.
 Francis Atherton.
 Christopher Blackwood.
 James Burrowes.
 Henry Aston.
 Micheal Head.
 Wm. Smith.
 John Bowden.
 Tho. Butler.
 Edward Collier.
 Henry Moore.
 John Davis.
 John Harrison.
 Isaac Ambrose.

John Vernon.
 John Bowden.
 Wm. Vaughan.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Jeremy Udall.
 Wm. Barton.
 Richard Faux.
 Michael Lincoln
 Christopher Crofts.
 Tho. Willis.
 Francis Dorman.
 Robert Rogers.
 James French.

Total amount for the quarter ...	£737 : 0 : 0
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Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of June and the 25th of September, 1680, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 454 and 567 inclusive.

Thomas Percival.
 Nathaniel Willmore.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Luke Conley.
 Tho. Willis.
 Christopher Rye.
 John Newenham.
 Richard Maybank.
 Jeremiah Berstow.
 Edward Smith.
 Robert Edbrooke.
 Wm. Vaughan.
 Robert Turner.
 Thomas Faux.
 John Leonard.
 Wm. Hickman.
 John Wright.
 John Davis.
 Thomas Preston.
 Michael Lincoln.
 Christopher Blackwood.
 Peter Crainsborough.
 Michael Head.
 Thomas Brown.
 John French.
 Andrew Browne.
 John Luxbury.
 Robert Rogers.
 Roger Turner.
 Henry Nicoll.
 William Barton.

John Hawkins.
 Samuel Travers.
 Edward Collier.
 Richard Maybank.
 William Howard.
 Thomas Butler.
 William Dennis.
 Samuel Whitehorne.
 James Travis.
 John Bowden.
 John Delap.
 Thomas Preston.
 John Moxon.
 John Sharpe.
 Robert Boardman.
 Francis Atherton.
 Isaac Holroyd.

Total amount for the quarter ...	£2038 : 11 : 8½
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	£	s.	d.
Quarter ending 26th June, 1680 ...	737	0	0
Quarter ending 26th March, 1680 ...	515	18	0
Quarter ending 28th December, 1679 ...	676	3	4

The total for the whole year ...	3967 : 13 : 0½
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Names of Licencees between the dates of the 26th of September,
 and the 28th of December, 1680, with the amounts of the
 Licencees for that quarter.

Nos. 568 and 606 inclusive.

John Bowden.
 John Wright.
 Wm. Vaughan.
 John Leonard.
 Richard Maybank.
 Mich. Head.
 Robert Boardman.
 Isaac Holroyd.
 Jerimy Udall.
 James Neale.
 Thomas Faux.
 Wm. Barton.
 Robert Edbrooke
 Christopher Blackwood.
 John Hanbury.
 Samuel Whitehorne.
 John Hammon.
 Edward Collier.
 Michael Lincoln.

Thomas Percival.
 John Harrison.
 William Dennis.
 Richard Butler.
 Patrick Moore.
 James Travis.
 John Vernon.
 Edward Smith.

Total amount for the quarter £262 : 0 : 0

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 28th of December, 1680, and the 22nd of March, 1681, with the amounts of the Licencees for that quarter.

Nos. 607 to 640 inclusive.

Wm. Barton.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Tho. Howard.
 John Vernon.
 Rich. Maybank.
 Christopher Blackwood.
 Michael Lincoln.
 Tho. Preston.
 Robt. Boardman.
 Christopher Crofts.
 Edward Collier.
 Robert Edbrooke.
 Thomas Poole.
 John Vernon.
 Mich. Head.
 James Burrowes.
 Thomas Faux.
 Fra. Atherton.
 John Hanbury.
 John Bowden.
 Richard Maybank.
 Wm. Charneley.
 Edward Smith.
 John Wright.
 Wm. Vaughan.
 Thomas Percival.
 Walter Yeadle.

Total amount for the quarter £559 : 12 : 8

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 26th of March and the 24th of June, 1681, with the amounts of the Licencees for that quarter.

Nos. 641 and 693 inclusive.

Michael Head.
 John Bowden.

Sam. Pudner.
 John Vernon.
 John Leonard.
 Christopher Blackwood.
 Robert Turner.
 Michael Lincoln.
 Thomas Faux.
 Daniel Bowman.
 Caleb Wade.
 Jeremy Berstow.
 Patrick Moore.
 Ed. Collier.
 Ed. Smith.
 Thomas Poole.
 Richard Butler.
 John Wright.
 James French.
 Robt. Boardman.
 Lawrence Warren.
 Christopher Crofts.
 Walter Udall.
 James Crofts.
 Richard Maybank.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Abraham Smith.
 Wm. Smart.
 Patrick Moore.
 Wm. Vaughan.
 Pierce Grimes.
 Henry Aston.
 John Harrison.
 Thomas Willis.
 Richard Stephens.
 Abraham Smith.

Total amounts for the quarter £946 : 2 : 6

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 2nd of July and the 30th of September, 1681, with the amounts of Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 694 and 770 inclusive

Edward Smith.
 Wm. Dennis.
 Michael Lincoln.
 Charles Brookes.
 Andrew Miller.
 Edward Collier.
 John Harrison.
 John Wright.
 Thomas Percival.
 Thomas Willis.

Thomas Preston.
 Nicholas Latham.
 Robert Ball.
 James Burrowes.
 Thomas Barnard.
 Patrick Moore.
 Robert Boardman.
 Isaac Holroyd.
 Henry Smith.
 Samuel Whitehorne.
 Abraham Smith.
 John Harrison.
 William Vaughan.
 Christopher Blackwood.
 Joseph Pike.
 Richard Maybank.
 Luke Conley.
 Nathaniel Willmore.
 John Vernon.
 John Hanbury.
 John Bowden.
 Thomas Willis.
 Anthony Sharpe.
 Robert Rogers.
 Edward Pomeroy.
 Michael Head.
 John Delap.
 Christopher Crofts.
 Charles Brookes.
 Richard Gray.
 John Sharpe.
 Jeremy Berstow.
 William Barton.
 John Leonard.

Total amount for the quarter £1,385 : 2 : 8

£	s.	d.
1385	2	8
946	2	6
559	12	8
655	0	0

3545 : 17 : 10

The year ending the last day of September, 1681.

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,

CHANCERY LANE,

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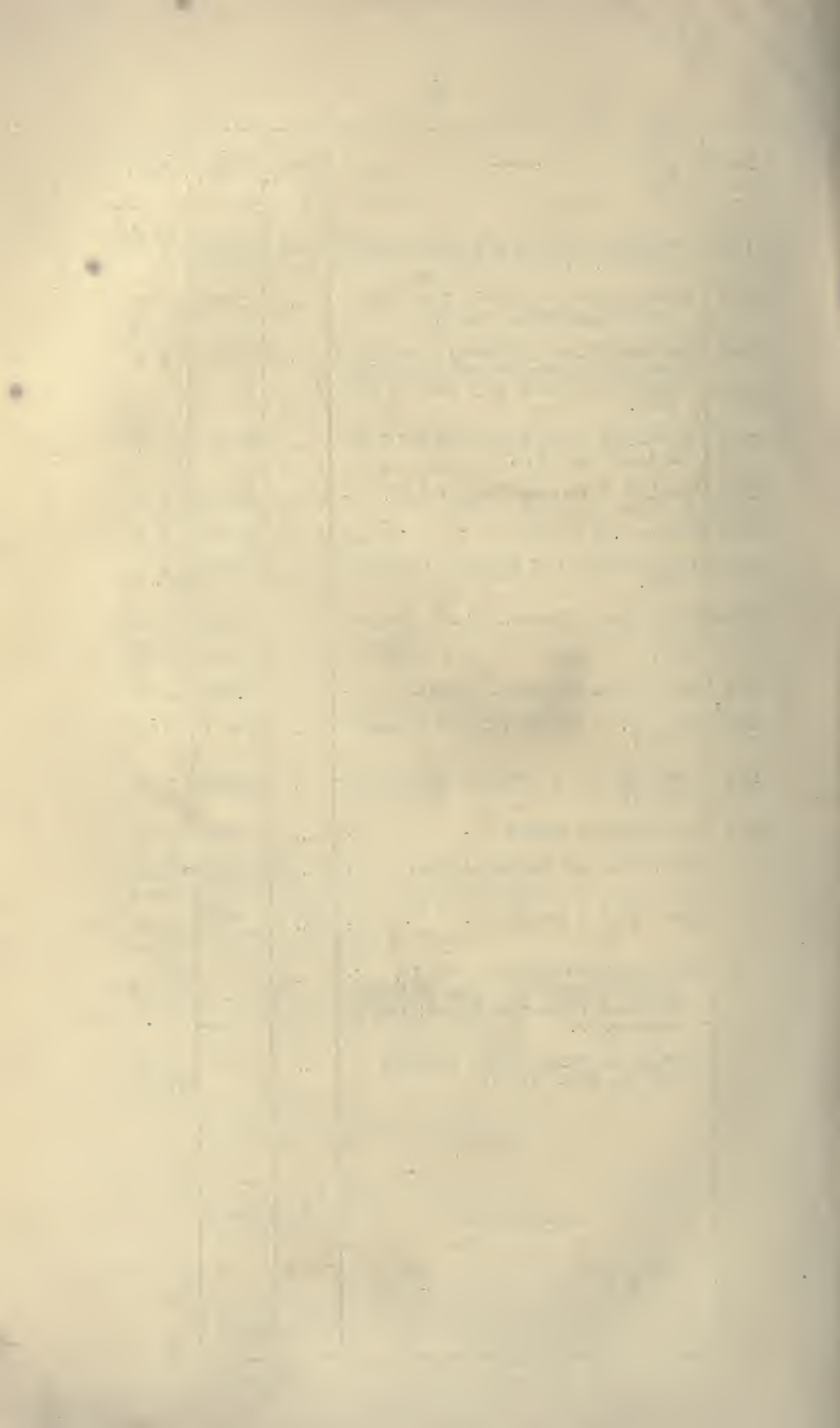
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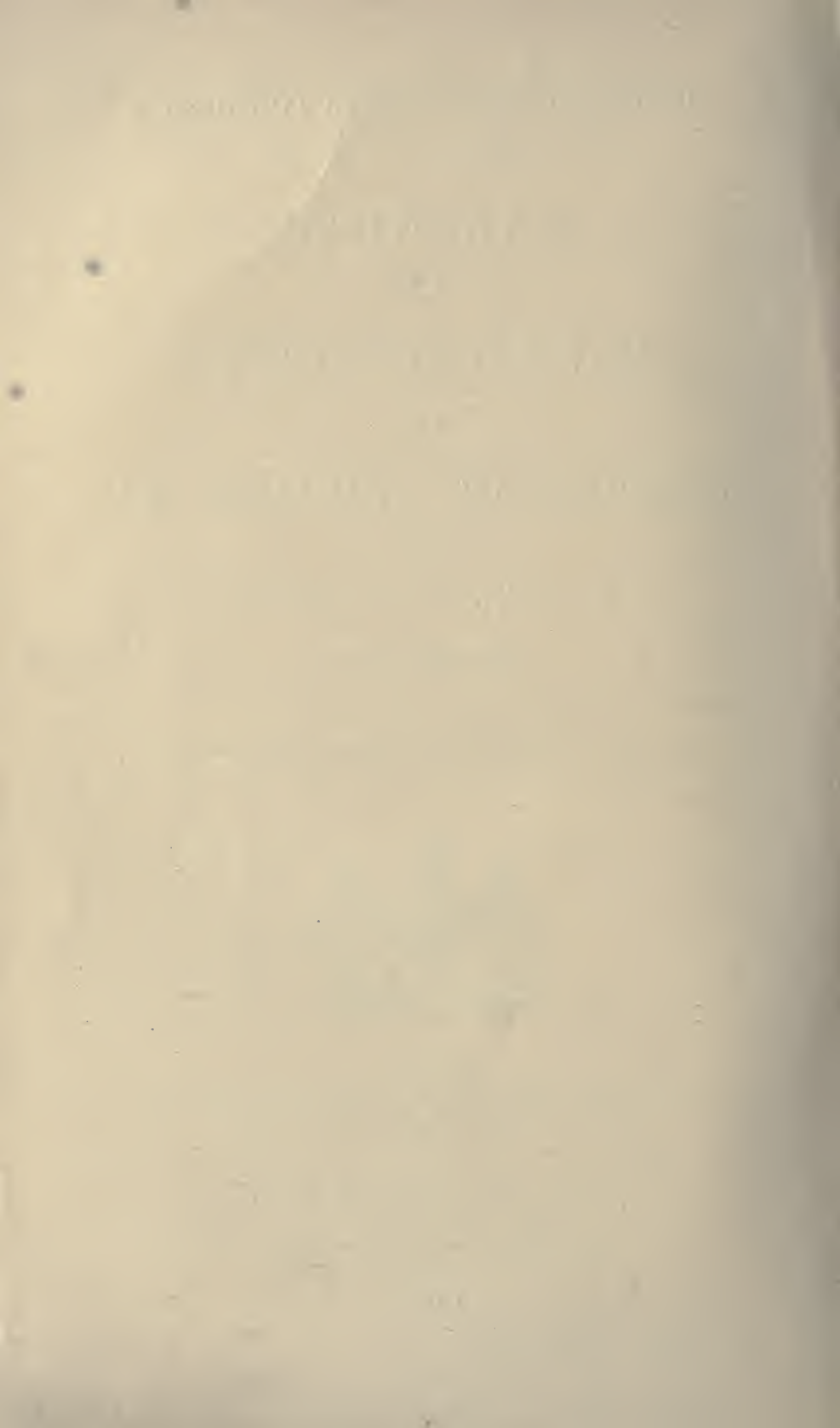


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This Report has been prepared and edited, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, M.A., M.R.I.A. The Index has been compiled by Miss M. Bradshaw, under Mr. Falkiner's direction.

INTRODUCTION.

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE, 1679-1681.

The portion of the correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond comprised in the present volume of this Report covers a period of exactly two years. For the reasons already given in the Introduction to the fourth volume of this series, the papers preserved at Kilkenny become increasingly numerous, in comparison with those relating to earlier periods, towards the close of the public career of the great Duke. Whereas in the previous volume the miscellaneous letters of a little more than three years (from January 1675-76 to March 1678-9), occupy 374 pages, no fewer than 619 pages are here taken up with the correspondence of the still shorter period from March 25, 1679 to March 24, 1680-81. And it will be found when the next volume is issued that the abundance of the Duke's letters from 1681 to 1685 is little, if at all, inferior to that of the period embraced in these pages. No one who is familiar with Carte's biography of Ormond, or is fairly conversant with the history of the time, would pretend that the last years of Ormond's third tenure of the Irish government are the most interesting in the crowded life of that illustrious cavalier—to adopt Macaulay's felicitous description of the Duke. The special prominence which these years receive in these pages is the result of the quite accidental circumstance that Carte dealt in less detail with this part of the subject than any other, and therefore had no occasion to include many of the Duke's later letters in the materials to which he helped himself so liberally.*

Ormond's principal and most voluminous correspondents in the present volume are his sons, the Earls of Ossory and Arran, whose letters are mainly conversant with the details of Irish government and with the course of politics in England; Michael Boyle, who as Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Chancellor combined in his own person the chief offices both of the Church and of the Law in Ireland;† Col. Edward Cooke, an intimate personal friend, whose letters from England detailing the movements of political intrigue at Westminster are lightened by much agreeable sporting gossip from Newmarket; Henry Coventry, whose retirement from the office of Principal Secretary of State occurred in 1680, and whose letters to Ormond both before and after that event contain a note of personal intimacy which is lacking in the communications of

* See Introduction to Vol. IV. p. v.

† The Primate defends himself against the charge that the combination of these offices in one person was improper, in a letter of considerable interest (see pp. 44-45).

other officials ; John Fell, Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, whose letters mainly relate to Ormond's grandson, and ultimate successor in the Dukedom ; Francis Gwyn, who as Clerk to the Privy Council in England became, after the resignation of Coventry, the principal medium of official communications from the English Secretary's Office ; the Earl of Longford, whose voluminous and verbose epistles relate mainly to the management or mismanagement of the Irish Revenue ; and Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of Orrery, whose death in the autumn of 1679, removed a somewhat querulous critic of Ormond's administrative manners and methods.

In so far as these letters throw light upon the personal history of Ormond, they are chiefly valuable for the references they contain to his eldest son, Thomas, Earl of Ossory, whose premature and universally deplored death took place on July 29, 1680, and is referred to in terms of obviously sincere grief by several of Ormond's correspondents. Ossory died of a malignant fever, probably typhus, on the eve of his intended departure from England to take up the command of the troops at Tangier. This disorder is described in the report of the physicians attending the patient,* among them Ferdinand Mendaz, the physician of Queen Catherine, and in a certificate signed by the doctors who made a *post mortem* examination of the remains,† as well as in a letter from Richard Mulys, Ossory's private secretary, to Henry Gascoigne.‡ The symptoms suggest the worst form of typhus fever. The letters of condolence written to Ormond on this occasion by Charles II., and by Queen Catherine, to whose service Ossory had been particularly attached as her Chamberlain, have already been published in the first series of this report.§ Others here printed are from Arlington, whose close intimacy with Ossory was strengthened through the marriage of the two men to two sisters ; Sir Arthur Forbes, Viscount Granard, the head of the army in Ireland ; Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who, as Dean of Christchurch, had charge of the education of Ossory's son, afterwards second Duke of Ormond ; James, Duke of York, afterwards James II. ; Primate Boyle ; Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham ; Sunderland, the statesman ; and Sir William Temple. The tributes paid to Ossory in the correspondence now printed exhibit him as a personage fully worthy alike of the sonorous eulogium passed by Dryden in *Absolom and Achitophel*, and of the unaffected sorrow exhibited by Evelyn. Perhaps the particular condolence which sets Ossory's character in the highest light is the remarkable language of Henry Coventry, one of the Secretaries of State, who in conveying to Ormond a very genuine expression of sorrow

* pp. 354-5.

† pp. 361-2.

‡ pp. 355-56.

§ Old Series, Vol. I. p. 30.

observed that "it is a very strange thing in so very bad an age to see so good a man lamented by so many of all sorts."* The somewhat chill philosophy of Sir William Temple's condolences is tempered by a feeling allusion to his own then recent loss of his only daughter.†

The education of Ossory's eldest son, James, afterwards second Duke of Ormond, which is referred to several times in the letters printed in Vol. IV., continued to absorb much of the old nobleman's attention. The Bishop of Oxford continues to report pretty frequently on the lad's demeanour at Oxford; and several letters from the lad's governor, Dr. Drelincourt, and others, are occupied with the same topic. The reports of the young Oxonian's conduct were not uniformly favourable; and occasionally the authority of tutors and governors had to be reinforced by the direct admonition of Ormond himself. A letter‡ dated Sept. 27, 1679, addressed by Ormond at Kilkenny to his grandson at Oxford, is an admirable example alike of the style appropriate to such a relationship, and of Ormond's stately conception of the obligations of a great position. After indicating a somewhat sardonic scepticism of the fine sentiments expressed in a letter lately written by the lad:—"I was glad to receive yours of the 9th, and would be gladder if I were sure it were of your own dictating, and that you did not send it to prevent just complaints of your miscarriage," Ormond goes on to reprove the vice of "laziness, and long lying abed" as "the thing in the world the most abhorred by me, having never seen any youth so addicted ever come to any good." He concludes with laying down this excellent rule of conduct for a lad with such prospects as his grandson's:—"I am further to warn you that if anybody shall go about to flatter you with your parts, birth or fortune, that you look upon them as your greatest enemies, and that you still remember that though you may be above some in these things, yet there are many that are your equals, and many more that are above you; and that if there were not, yet all those qualifications are but trappings that will the more expose you to contempt unless you fit yourself to them by civility, humanity and affability to all sorts of people, according to their degrees and merit."

Several letters bear witness to Ormond's personal tastes, and particularly to his fondness for field sports. His friend Col. Cooke, whose frequent letters describing the course of politics at Westminster are among the most interesting in the volume, was enjoined not to omit reference to sporting topics from his communications on more serious matters; and in more than one of his many letters he took his patron at his word. Thus, writing on March 29, 1679 from London, Cooke

* p. 365.

† p. 376.

‡ pp. 214-215.

occupies much of his space with an answer to "those material questions proposed in your (Ormond's) letter of March 20 concerning hawks, hounds, and horses"; giving a faithful account first of his sport in Gloucestershire with "a single goshawk and a single quarry of pheasants,—so cruel a pheasanter that we were fain to oblige ourselves not to kill above four brace in a day, that we might lengthen out our sport all winter." Cooke goes on to describe a day with the hounds in the same county; and concludes with some anecdotes of his horse-racing exploits which may perhaps provide a hint for the historian of the turf:—"I have the famous beautiful *Burnett* in my stable, who serves but to pick up Gloucestershire plates (of which we have abundance) and get foals finer than which never any stallion yet got. He is allowed by all his Newmarketarians as the handsomest horse now in England, comes eleven, and is sound to all intents and purposes."* It seems a pity that this *Saint Simon* of the seventeenth century should have no place in the stud book. This is by no means the only reference to sport which Cooke's letters contain. The last letter in this volume describes Charles the Second's enjoyment of a race run at Burford, near Oxford, for one of the King's Plates; as well as a day spent by the monarch in hawking at Oxford.† Coursing was another form of sport in which Ormond and his correspondent were interested; and another of Cooke's letters gives a capital account of a day's coursing at Hampton Court in presence of the Sovereign.

The purely political portion of the correspondence is occupied mainly with three topics, viz., the measures taken by Ormond and the Irish Privy Council to safeguard Ireland from the dangers apprehended as likely to result from the Popish Plot; the proceedings of Charles the Second's third Parliament, including more particularly the impeachment of Danby; and the fierce controversy provoked by the Exclusion Bill. Incidentally a good deal of light is thrown, in the course of the discussion of these topics, on English constitutional procedure. The first of them occupies a relatively small space, the anxieties of Ormond and his principal correspondents being concerned mainly with that ebb and flow of the political tide in England by which their own fortunes were dominated; and it receives attention chiefly as an item in the frequent indictments which Ormond's enemies at Court were wont to frame against him with a view to procuring his dismissal from office. An elaborate memorandum dated April 5, 1679, addressed by the Irish Privy Council to the Principal Secretary of State, recapitulates in considerable detail the measures taken by Ormond from the moment of "the discovery of the Plot in England" in Sep-

* p. 7.

† p. 617.

tember, 1678, and shows that the King and his chief advisers steadily adhered throughout the difficulties of this trying time to the policy which naturally commended itself to Ormond's own judgment, viz., the maintenance of order, and the steady enforcement of the measures enjoined by royal proclamation in England, coupled with a mild and discriminating lenity.

In "An Account of the Present State of Ireland presented by the Lord Butler of Moor Park to the House of Lords, March 31, 1679,"* Lord Ossory deals with the same topics, giving in detail a summary of the various proclamations and orders issued by the Irish Government. In this statement, as in almost every letter and document of this period in which the difficulties of the Irish administration are explained or referred to, stress is laid on the neglect of Ministers in England to concur in the calling together of the Irish Parliament, a step which from the moment of his accession to office in 1677 Ormond had earnestly desired and constantly advocated. After asserting that the defences of the country were upon the whole in a satisfactory condition, the memorandum proceeds as follows:—"The forts are in as good a condition as the stores and the revenue of that kingdom will allow, and perhaps somewhat better. But it is manifest much more is needful in every kind, in case of foreign attempts. And therefore seeing the charge of the Government and the income of the revenue are so nearly balanced by a settled establishment that it is not in the power of the Lord Lieutenant to alter the same, and that no money can be raised from his subjects except by Act of Parliament, therefore the Lord Lieutenant hath been long endeavouring to have a Parliament called; and to that end several bills were transmitted the last summer by the Lord Lieutenant, and now remain at the Council Board here, together with a large representation of the state of accounts depending with the Lord Ranelagh and his partners, who were late undertakers for the Revenue of that kingdom. And until there be leisure (which since the discovery of this horrid Plot there scarce hath been) to send back those things with the mature consideration they deserve, there is no visible means left for the raising and augmenting the public revenue to such a proportion as may put that kingdom into a sufficient posture of defence as to arming, fortifications and stores, in case of any powerful invasion. But for the present all things are there in full peace and quietness."†

Ossory's concluding remark was thoroughly justified by the facts. Indeed nothing is more noticeable in the voluminous documents bearing on the state of Ireland during the period of the agitation about the Popish Plot than the absence of

* pp. 15-20.

† p. 20.

any serious evidence of the existence of anything in the nature of a Roman Catholic conspiracy in Ireland. Carte's observation is indeed fully justified, that it was "a terrible slur on the credit of the Popish Plot in England that after it had made such a horrible noise and frightened people out of their senses in a nation where there was scarce one Papist to an hundred Protestants, there should not for above a year together appear so much as one witness from Ireland (a country otherwise fruitful enough in producing them), to give information of any conspiracy of the like nature in that kingdom, where there were fifteen Papists to one Protestant."* Several of the papers in this volume relate to the plot which for convenience may be called David FitzGerald's Plot, a conspiracy which was represented by Shaftesbury and the organizers of the agitation in England as having been contrived in concert with the conductors of the English Plot. But there is certainly nothing in them to substantiate any of the suggestions which were founded at the time on FitzGerald's unsupported and self-contradictory testimony. Ormond in his private communications with his son Ossory, who until his untimely death remained his chief agent and assistant in England, was at no pains to conceal his opinion that the supposed plots were manufactured by the agents of his own political enemies for no better object than to procure his dismissal from the Irish Government. "I do not so much wonder," he wrote in April 1680, "at the scandals cast upon us now as that it was not done sooner. But it was necessary to amuse the people, as with new plots so with new actors in them; and we were not forgotten but reserved to the last. The discoveries now on foot in the north and west of this kingdom can come to nothing by reason of the extravagant villainy and folly of the discoverers, who are such creatures that no schoolboy would trust them with a design for the robbing of an orchard. My Lord of Essex's tool is a silly drunken vagabond that cares not for hanging a month hence if in the meantime he may solace himself with brandy and tobacco. Murphy is all out as debauched, but a degree wiser than the others. The other fellow brought by Lord Shaftesbury to the Council broke prison, being in execution, and now the sheriff or jailer are sued for the debt. This is their true character; but perhaps not fit for you to give of them. If rogues they must be that discover roguery, these must be the best discoverers, because they are the greatest rogues."†

Ormond's letters at this period show that he was fully alive to the gravity of the attacks made upon him by the ultra-Protestant party in England, supported by the leaders of that interest in Ireland, of whom Lord Orrery and the members of the Boyle family were perhaps his most formidable opponents. But though in several passages he exhibits a

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, ii. 495.

† p. 302.

certain weariness of the perpetual anxiety and conflict to which his position exposed him, a weariness natural to his advancing years, he also shows a fine determination not to be drawn by intrigue or obloquy from a situation in which he honestly believed himself capable of rendering useful service to his Sovereign. The trend of his personal inclinations at this time are frankly stated in a private letter to his friend Henry Coventry, who had just retired from office, and so was "in some degree gotten out of the storm." In it Ormond frankly states the nature of the considerations which obliged him to retain his place :—"I will not conceal from you the reasons that keep me in it, when a few lines importing a desire to retreat could help me out of it. My first reason is that methinks the Crown and Monarchy and my bountiful Master are too apparently threatened for a man that pretends to honour and gratitude to make a voluntary resignation, at least while he has vigour or vanity enough to persuade him he can contribute considerably to serve an interest he is obliged unto. The next is that I have a little stomach left yet that rises at the thought of giving some men their will just where they would have it of me. And in the last place it may be thought that the grandeur and emolument belonging to the station may be of force; and I will not deny but it is. But if I know myself it would not prevail against the quiet of body and mind that it may reasonably be believed I wish for at these years and might hope for in a retreat."* Nevertheless so little confidence had Ormond in being sufficiently supported to enable him to hold on, and so probable did it seem that "this place and I must part," that he concludes this letter by begging his friend to look out for a suitable residence for him within reach of Coventry's own lodge.

In the religious strife of the times, and in his attitude towards the rival clerical factions, Ormond occupied throughout his whole career a middle position to which, notwithstanding that his was the usual fate of the peacemaker, and that he continuously drew upon himself the maledictions of all the combatants, he adhered steadily to the end. How great were his difficulties, and of what nature they were, very clearly appears in one of his letters in the present volume. Defending himself in a letter to the Earl of Longford against the charge reported to him by his correspondent of not having exhibited sufficient activity in the suppression of the Plot and its sympathizers, he makes the following vigorous protest against the campaign of calumny with which he was assailed :—"Why should I wonder to find Papists and the worst of Protestants agree in their endeavours to destroy me? It has been my lot ever since I came into business, and I believe will be till I am out of it, and of the world

* p. 304.

“too. When the actions of a man’s life who has been in Government in difficult times are taken to pieces by a malicious observer, all the circumstances that can be taken against him singled and insisted, and those that make for him omitted, no doubt but he will make a strange figure. And if he should be put to refute all that should be thus collected and thus scattered, he would find work enough, and perhaps create himself more than he finds, by drawing on replications and new calumnies; and all the while beat the air as men do in the dark when they see no enemy.”*

The changes and developments of the British Constitution for which the reign of Charles the Second was remarkable are illustrated in several of the letters in this volume, notably in those of Col. Cooke and Henry Coventry. Thus a long letter from the first-named of these correspondents, dated April 22, 1679, is taken up with an account of the change in the composition and functions of the Privy Council which was accomplished at the instance of Sir William Temple:—“Sunday the 20th, was a day of great surprises. The King summoning his Privy Council dissolved them; declared he took no exceptions at any man, but thanked them well for their services; told them he was resolved for the future to have no Cabinet Council, and to reduce the Privy Council to the usual number of thirteen, besides a President, when there should be any, and the Secretary of Scotland when here, and those of the blood, as Prince Rupert.”† The letter goes on to describe in detail the *personnel* of the new Council, and concludes with the statement that “there is great expectation of great advantage from this change.” Several other letters refer to this important constitutional experiment; and it is of interest to learn from two among them that it was intended to reform the Irish Privy Council on somewhat similar lines. The Irish Council had long been admittedly unwieldy; Ormond, in one of his letters, writing thus:—“I have resisted several importunities to recommend persons fit enough to be Privy Councillors here—the number being, in my opinion, already greater than is needful or well consisting with the respect that ought to be incident to the dignity, and would be paid to it if fewer had it.”‡ The Viceroy could not therefore have been opposed in principle to the proposition which, following on the reform of the English Council, was communicated by Coventry:—“I suppose your Grace did, upon the news of the reduction made in the Council of England, foresee that something of that nature would follow in Ireland. His Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your Grace that he will proceed in the same method there; and therefore doth expect from your Grace a list of the present Councillors,

* p. 80.

† pp. 55.

‡ p. 326.

“and likewise what those officers are that you judge fitting should be Privy Councillors in Ireland by virtue of their places. His Majesty proposed the reducing the number of Privy Councillors in Ireland to twenty. I humbly offered my opinion that would be too little in respect several occasions did draw some members of them into this town always, which would leave few to supply the several Committees of Council the affairs of that kingdom require. However, I suppose there will be no resolution taken till His Majesty hath heard from your Grace.”*

But though Ormond was willing to concur in a reduction of the numbers of the Council, he had evidently other objections to the proposal, with which a suggestion communicated by Sir Cyril Wyche, to the effect that under the new system it was intended to place the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland in commission,† may have had something to do. His criticisms are not formulated in any of the letters here printed; but it appears from a letter written him by Sir William Temple‡ that Ormond had indicated them in a conversation with that statesman’s brother, Sir John Temple, and in a letter to Temple himself, in which he pointed out that a reduction of the number of the Council was inopportune in view of the then contemplated meeting of the Irish Parliament.§ Temple’s own plan was so short-lived, and his influence in the royal counsels so quickly shattered, that the delay occasioned by the hesitation of the Viceroy was sufficient to prevent the application of his system to Ireland.

Other constitutional questions which are canvassed in the course of this correspondence are the relations between the two Houses of Parliament, as illustrated by the frequent conferences between Lords and Commons concerning the arrangements for the impeachment of Danby, and the trial of the Five Lords. The many letters relating to these topics show how great was the strain on the working of the constitution at this period. Among the most hotly contested points of procedure were the right of the Lords spiritual to sit and vote on such occasions, a question which, however, was left unsettled when the sudden prorogation of the Parliament in May, 1679, followed by the unexpected dissolution in July, put an end to the controversy.

The principal topic of political discussion in the latter part of the volume is provided by the Exclusion Bill; and the Duke of York makes a frequent figure in the correspondence. Most of Ormond’s relatives and friends were, like himself, warmly attached to the heir presumptive to the Crown; and Ossory in particular, who had served with James in the sea-fights with the Dutch, was devotedly attached to his person. A letter

* p. 65.

† p. 59.

‡ p. 91.

§ p. 109.

from one of Ormond's intimates, Sir Thomas Wharton, gives an interesting account of the progress of the Duke of York and his Duchess from London to York in the autumn of 1679, on their way to Scotland, to which kingdom James had been bidden by his royal brother to retire. The progress occupied ten days, the journey being broken each night at a different point. The first night was passed at Hatfield, the second at an inn in Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, the third at Huntingdon, the fourth at Stamford, the fifth at Grant-ham, the sixth at Newark, where they stayed over Sunday, the eighth at Welbeck, the ninth at Doncaster and the tenth at Pontefract. If the writer is to be relied upon, the Duke and his Duchess were the objects all along the road of striking demonstrations of loyalty and affection. Part of this letter may be quoted, for the picture it gives of the conditions of a journey through England by members of the royal family in the seventeenth century:—"At Tadcaster (eight miles from this place [York]) the Archbishop of York kissed the Duke and Duchess's hands in their coach, and so waited on them hither. The Sheriffs of the city were about three miles off; and after the Duke alighting, the Dean and Prebends first, and a little after my Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, presented themselves in their formalities, and the Deputy Recorder made a speech in which he complimented the Duke, who himself brought them to kiss the Duchess's hand. My Lord Marquis of Athol came from London with the Duke, and his lady in the Duchess's coach, which troubles some left behind at London, as I am credibly informed. My Lady Roscommon has that honour too, and the Duke likes the company in the coach so well that he has not been on horseback all this journey, but sometimes walks a mile or two when the day is good The Duke's retinue is but small, my Lord Roscommon and a few of his family, and my Lord Lumley, a volunteer. One single troop came hither; and my Lord of Sackville's marches along from hence, and the other returns."* The contentions of which the Duke of York was the centre have an important place in the correspondence, several letters from Cooke, Gwyn and others dealing with the debates on the Exclusion Bill. One from Gwyn, dated Nov. 16, 1680, describes the concluding debate in the Lords when that measure was rejected, giving the name of the principal peers in favour of it, and mentioning Halifax as its most powerful and impressive opponent.†

Several letters in this volume have reference to affairs in Scotland in 1679, when the murder of Archbishop Sharp and the movements of the Covenanters gave occasion for the strengthening of the military forces in the north of Ireland.

* p. 235.

† p. 488.

An Order in Council, dated June 13, 1679, directed Ormond "to give immediate order for the marching towards the north of Ireland of so many of his Majesty's forces there, as well horse as foot, as his Grace thinks may conveniently be spared without hazard to the peace and safety of that kingdom, there to remain and attend further orders, if occasion shall be for their being employed in the assistance of his Majesty's subjects of the kingdoms of Scotland for suppressing the Rebellion there."* Lord Granard was despatched to Charlemont, and some Irish troops were certainly despatched to Scotland in pursuance of this order, though no particulars of their number or services are given in the correspondence on the subject, which is chiefly interesting for its references to Graham of Claverhouse; whose reported death is thus communicated by one David Maxwell:—"We had news yesterday that the Laird of Clavers, an honest gentleman in Scotland, captain to a troop of horse, who hath done good service against the rebels, was killed by them; but these gentlemen affirm the contrary."†

The Duke of Monmouth, who is mentioned with approval in connection with his humane treatment of the Covenanters, is less favourably spoken of later in the volume in relation to his pretensions to the succession. The attachment of Ormond and Ossory to the Duke of York was too ardent to suffer them to give the slightest countenance to the young Duke's pretensions; and when, at the height of the young Duke's brief popularity in 1679, all the courtiers were vying with each other in attentions to him, Ossory wrote to his father that "all the world now visits the Duke of Monmouth; but considering how affairs now are between the King and him I consider it not respectful in me towards his Majesty to make that compliment"‡—an attitude which Ormond cordially approved. A letter from Col. Cooke to Ormond, dated Dec. 2, 1679, gives an account of the removal of Monmouth from all his civil and military appointments, and of the state of public feeling regarding him.

The present volume is not as abundant as some others in occasional communications from persons of eminence or distinction on topics lying outside the general scope of the correspondence. An exception is, however, supplied by a letter addressed by John Evelyn to Lord Ossory with reference to a negotiation for the purchase of Chelsea House by Ormond, which was strongly recommended by the writer. The advantages of Chelsea House as a residence are thus depicted by the author of *Sylva*:—"I am extremely sorry for my Lord Duke's sake, but especially for your Lordship's, that you reject the opportunity is presented to you for the

* p. 129.

† p. 126.

‡ p. 246.

“purchasing of that sweet place at Chelsey upon so easy terms. . . . I have previously acquainted your Lordship with the particulars, that besides a magnificent house capable of being made (with small expense) perfectly modish, the offices, gardens and other accommodations for air, water, situation, vicinity to London, benefit of the river and mediocrity of price, are nowhere to be paralleled, I am sure, about this town or any that I know in England. There are with it to be added as many orange trees and other precious greens as are worth 500*l.*, the fruits of the gardens are exquisite, there is a snow-house—in a word, I know of no place more capable of being made the envy of all the noble retreats of the greatest persons near this Court and city; so that it ever grieves me your Lordship should not be master of it.”*

Evelyn’s encomium was supported by “A Particular of Chelsey House,”† furnished by Sir Stephen Fox, in which the mansion was represented as in perfect repair, and the grounds as comprising “sixteen acres of ground with several large gardens and courts all walled in and planted with the choicest fruits that could be collected either from abroad or in England.” “For this particular with the addition of all orange trees and other greens, fruit and flowers of all kinds with seats, rollers, tables and all garden utensils; also within the house all fixed necessities, as grates, chimney pieces and wainscot, the billiard table and a pair of marble tables and house clock, there will be paid 5,000*l.*” Evelyn evidently considered the place dirt-cheap at this price. Ormond, however, though not usually economical, was at this period somewhat embarrassed by the many expenses of his family, and he declined this offer of what a modern house-agent would term a highly eligible residence; causing Ossory to be informed in language of somewhat tart reproof that “as to the house at Chelsey, how good soever the bargain may be, the purchase is not agreeable to his condition, and he (Ormond) wonders that he hears nothing of your lordship’s affairs in Holland.”‡

The Editor desires once more to acknowledge the assistance rendered him in the work of transcription by Messrs. J. F. Morrissey and T. J. Morrissey of the Irish Record Office.

C. LITTON FALKINER.

* *p.* 279.

† *p.* 280.

‡ *p.* 289.

THE MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE
MARQUESS OF ORMONDE, K.P.,
KILKENNY CASTLE.

VOL. V.

EARL OF OSSORY to DUKE OF ORMOND.

1679, March 25. London.—I received your letter of the 20th of this month and showed it to the King when he was at the House, just after a long speech of my Lord of Shaftesbury's representing the dangerous condition of the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland. He touched most upon two particulars, the Lord Dumbarton's regiment and the multitude of Papists in towns. I replied that the Duke of Monmouth being General could answer, as I averred he undertook that all the officers and soldiers were Protestants and had taken the oaths. As to the other things relating to the security of that kingdom, I promised them on Monday next that they should according to their desires have an account of what care had already been taken. The King read your letter with attention, but I find him so very thoughtful of things nearer hand as I believe he was pleased with your not immediately pressing him upon anything which might withdraw his thoughts from what is doing here. I fail not to let persons know that the recruits you desired were to be of English. This day my Lord Marquess of Winchester dined with me ; and upon my entreating to know what the designs were of his friends to pick at you, he told me they believed you were placed in the post you are by the Duke, that at Bedford's house it was observed you had held long and private discourse with my Lord Arundel of Wardour, and that upon that score they were jealous of you. I replied that I thought your past service might secure you from such suspicions, and that I hoped that neither reflections would be made nor aspersions laid upon you without some colourable grounds. Though my Lord of Essex is doubted for his sincerity with that party, and that the King has spoke severely on him, yet I believe his aim is to succeed you. I doubt not but you hear of the great credit the Duke of Monmouth is now in, and how vigorously he opposes against the Papists.

I only asked my mother's and your permission for my wife to live with you if there should be appearance of any disorders here, or that I could not hope to have wherewithal to keep her in this place by being disappointed of my salary ; my sincere endeavours being to live according to the rules of morality in not hazarding to ruin others or myself in contracting debts unlikely for me to pay.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, March 25. London.—According to the orders I received [in yours] of the 20th I shall for the future in my acting an intelligencer's part leave out both prologue and epilogue, and begin and end with news. The enclosed votes will show that these two days have been busy ones, debates growing higher and higher in both Houses. It is said the King sent commands in writing to confirm the authority of honourable messengers to command the Earl of Danby to depart. Within an hour after the Black Rod closely searched his house at the Cockpit, and also at Wimbledon, but returned a *non est inventus*. The Commons (as appears by the votes) gave no other answer to the Lord's proposal of a Bill for those five particulars (in my last mentioned) which the Lords delivered unto them in a conference on Saturday, but a re-demand of justice upon the Earl of Danby, his sequestration from Parliament and commitment into custody. The two great businesses at present are the detection of the Plot and proportioning punishments for those crimes the two Houses are convinced the Earl of Danby was guilty of. Yet the Lords go on with the more moderate Bill for his being removed from the King's presence, incapable of employment, sitting in the Lord's House, in particular any pension or further title of honour. The Commons seem to go further : either he must appear or be impeached, and there the case now stands.

As for the Plot, it daily becomes more and more apparent. Yesterday there then appeared before the Lords, Madison, Bradshaw and Adamson, for saying that my Lord Shaftesbury must be killed, because so violent an enemy and so great a disturber of the Papists, and were committed to prison ; as also one Mons. Gossene, who declared he would kill the King and twenty heretics more, if he had him in France. Also one Turner, who one Needham accused to be a confederate in the Plot, he having taken his oath at his examination before the Committee of Lords, made this declaration that he was both priest and Jesuit, yet did not believe that now he had taken his oath before a lawful authority, which he owned his lordship to be, he was bound to tell the truth ; and that it was not in the power of the Pope and Conclave, nay not of the whole Church of Rome to dispense with him if he should say otherwise than true ; and then absolutely denied that he

ever heard of the Plot. But some replied he might just as well be dispensed with to say this as to do what he was suspected for : he also was committed. The Committee is very industrious in drawing up charges against the Lords in the Tower, and say clear evidence appears against three of them, and too much against Powis and Petres. This ends with Tuesday night.

EARL OF LONGFORD TO ORMOND.

1679, March 29, London.—The scene of affairs is so shifting here, that he must be a much wiser man than I who is able to give your Grace a true prospect of the event of matters depending in Parliament. The Lords on Wednesday sent down a Bill for the banishing of the Earl of Danby, which was but a transcript of the Earl of Clarendon's Bill ; and the Commons reading it the next day the first time, and not judging banishment sufficient, upon the question for the second reading rejected it, because they had projected another severer bill of their own, wherein they assign him a certain day for appearing and coming in to his trial, and in case of failure to attain him and forfeit his honours and estate. This Bill was carried up to the Lords this day, but what success it will have there, or whether the Lords will not resent this rejection of their Bill by rejecting of it, is very uncertain. But it is certain unless the Commons have satisfaction in the point of the Earl of Danby they will give no money ; and what the consequence of that is like to be your Grace can very well judge in the present circumstances of His Majesty's affairs.

I have sent your Grace the enclosed speech of my Lord Shaftesbury,* that your Grace may from thence see how necessary it is to look about you. I am told that upon it my Lord Ossory has undertaken by Monday or Tuesday to give the Committee of the Lords an account of what your Grace has done there since this discovery of the Plot for the security of the Protestants, which is a matter well to be considered before he gives it in. It has been my misfortune to be now a prisoner since my wife has fallen ill of the smallpox, the danger whereof, though I thank God it is over and she is in a fair way of recovery, yet for decency sake I am prohibited from going abroad for a day or two ; and believing that I might have heard from my Lord Ossory in this affair I have put all my papers and letters in order to assist him, and I went last night to Mr. Secretary Coventry to discourse him in it, to which my Lord Ossory has made him as great a stranger as me hitherto ; and so the work be well done, which I hope it will be, by Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Cyril Wyche and Colonel Vernon, whom I understand my Lord Ossory has called to his assistance, Mr. Secretary and myself

* See Carte's *Life of Ormond*, Vol. ii ; Appendix p. 90.

shall be very well satisfied, though we think the part my lord has undertaken is very nice, because the state of Ireland is desired by some not so much to receive satisfaction from your Grace's proceedings there as to find an occasion of carping at them to prejudice your Grace. And we are the rather induced to believe this, because it is said my Lord Shaftesbury yesterday moved that the Government of Ireland might be put into Commission, which is a very quick way of judgment by condemning you before you are heard. Upon the whole matter it is Mr. Secretary's opinion, with which I do also concur, that your Grace should immediately send away my Lord Arran, who having been upon the place, and an eye-witness of all transactions, will be able to give a more authentic state of things, and can answer any objections that shall be made better than any upon the place here, or any other you can send from thence, because of the place he has in the House of Lords, and a title to be with the Committee when he pleases. And in this no time is to be lost, for your Grace's envyers are mustering of their forces, my Lord Roberts being expected in town this week. Besides my Lord Arran has good credit with the King, and has the ready method of finding opportunities to speak to His Majesty, and preventing the impressions that may be made by misrepresentations of things. And though it may be inconvenient to his own affairs to come hither at this conjuncture, yet I am sure he will sacrifice his own interests to support your Grace's, which now require speedy assistance to obviate the intrigues of your enemies. I do not apprehend any mischief from the House of Commons, where I am sure your Grace has many faithful friends and servants who will be the more confirmed in their resolution by discoursing with my Lord Arran, for (my lord) it is not libels only which he must contend with.

Sir Thomas Chicheley was with me yesterday, and seemed to be concerned that objections are made in Council against the notes which he sent of the stores and arms sent thither from hence, which he protests are the very same which the King allows here, and, if the goodness of them are considered, above the value of the arms, powder and stores the merchants would bring in. He is confident there can be no objection. For all the arms and powder he sent are paid, and the materials for the match they buy here at easier rates from France; and therefore he says if your Grace would have such commodities as are good the price must be accordingly.

Sir Robert Southwell yesterday justified himself with great applause and satisfaction to the House of Commons, in a complaint [which] was made against him by one Chetwynd, as if he had suppressed some paper of Dugdale's evidence, and when the House were considering of the punishment ought to be inflicted upon his false accuser, he in great generosity interposed for their passing it by.

My Lord Ossory has just now by Sir James Butler desired me tomorrow morning to attend him about the representation he designs to make to the Lords on Monday. And I am also told that the Bill against my Lord Danby will not be carried up to the Lords till Monday, though it passed the Commons this morning. And because the Secret Committee should have time to prepare their report, it is believed the Commons on Monday will adjourn for two or three days.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, March 29.—You will hear from our worthy friend Sir Robert Southwell that on Monday next I am to give the Lords' House an account of such things as have been done in Ireland relating to the Papists. My Lords of Shaftesbury and Halifax, I hope, will be satisfied that others are zealous as themselves in what concerns the safety of religion and the interests of the King. This evening I brought my Lord Cavendish to Court, the King having done it at my request. I hope I have already acted according to the advice you gave me in the letter Mr. St. Leger gave me from you this morning, and that I shall have the grace to so behave myself as not to be guilty of any unjust or partial vote.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1679, March 29, Saturday, St. James's Square.—Mr. Secretary having not been able for some days to go out of his house, and the unsettled condition of the Treasury, my Lord Treasurer going off the stage, and five Commissioners entering, have been the reasons why your four letters lately transmitted have not yet been despatched.

The Lords have thought fit to inquire into the Government of Ireland, and my Lord Ossory it seems is to bring them in an account of what proceedings have been made for the security of that kingdom in this imminent danger since the first discovery of the Plot, and this day I received a note from Sir Robert Southwell to meet him at my lord's lodgings tomorrow morning. I will carry along with me all the proclamations I have received, and letters that brought any knowledge of these matters, and give his lordship all the information I can. But the best account his lordship will be able to give will be but an imperfect one, and therefore not such as will be fully for your Grace's service; so that I think it necessary to desire his lordship to pray time to send to your Grace for a perfect narrative, which will at once satisfy their lordships and clearly answer all those scandalous libels or false reports or malicious interpretations which have filled the town, and your Grace has from other hands heard of. 'Tis some time ago since I remember I humbly moved this thing to your Grace, which would then have been of great use to prevent these misunderstandings, and is now expected.

EARL OF STRAFFORD to ORMOND.

1679, March 29, London.—Your Grace's letter of the 8th instant in answer to one of mine I received but a few days since, and have not upon it any further occasion to add to the trouble I gave you before, only to say this much to that part you are pleased to mention, that I may be confident what I said could not be justly interpreted to reflect upon your Grace; nor indeed was there anything to be excepted against by those that are of the contrary religion, though my aim was and shall be to do my duty the best I can, and not otherwise to study being acceptable. If your Grace had perfectly heard how that matter was, you would not have thought me to blame for not saying anything of you, as you still seem to imagine; but that I might have expressed what I did in many respects much better I do not at all doubt. Yet I believe your Grace may easily call to mind that few of us are so clearly masters of our language in Parliament as not to make greater suspicions than those you have conceived of me; and though I cannot deliver myself by far so well as many others, yet I think for missing to say what I ought in relation to any particular person I cannot truly be taxed for much greater defect at any time to them than they to me, without excepting any lord in the House, for I am very strictly careful to answer all the obligations I have to the best of my power.

All things relating to Ireland are very speedily to be brought before the Lords, and then I hope it will not be long before they have cause to be fully satisfied with all you have done, and that your Grace will understand there can be no wrong impressions received of you by them, and for my part I shall never go about to give wrong to them nor any else of anyone. My lord thus much I have not been well able to forbear to write, and it is all I have to say.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, March 29, London.—I delay writing so late to you on post days out of greediness after news, and staying for the votes of the House of Commons, that I often write in an illegible hurry for fear of losing the opportunity of the post, so that I had not time by the last to assert the truth of the Clancy-Whitehead's papers, which I can boldly assure you is literally true. Now for those material questions proposed in your letters of March the 20th concerning Hawks, Hounds and Horses. As for the first I have reduced myself to a single goshawk, and her to a single quarry of pheasants, because since I have lived with my brother that country is full of unpassable brooks, and of partridges that by the hawks going out at them we often lost the day's sport and her too for some time, and that taught other hawks to pout. This I have now is so cruel a pheasanter that we were fain

to oblige ourselves but to kill above four brace in a day that we might lengthen out our sport all winter; which we did, till my brother's being chose for Gloucester removed us to London, and her into the mew. As for hounds I never had or saw sixteen couple of better chase hounds, nor ever any man did improve a bad winter to so much sport. I went out with a hurdle of old finders no further than my brother's park, and if they did but challenge on a drag of a fox, I presently uncouple 12 or 14 couple of staunch buckhounds, with assurance that when they have first but touched of a fox they will not that day trouble the deer, though they never so often carry their chase through all the herds in the park. Then after I had sealed or earthed I coupled up my finders and bestowed the rest of that day's light a hare-hunting with all the same hounds, nay if I missed of a fox (which is very seldom) if I can find a barren doe single, or can but so, I run her whole in the park, and not a hound will so much as look after a male deer, who in the summer scorn to touch upon a rascal deer, and that chase ended I hasten to hare-hunting all the day after, and all this with the same hounds, who I find fitter to hold each chase for being habituated to all. Lastly for horses, I have kept 12 at house all this winter, some in heats, some for hunting and some for haglings. I have the famous beautiful *Burnett* in my stable, who serves but to pick up Gloucestershire plates (of which we have abundance) and get foals, finer than which never any stallion yet got. He is allowed by all the Newmarketerians as the handsomest horse now in England, comes eleven and is sound to all intents and purposes. Also a flea-bitten gelding who cost fifty guineas, is exactly sound and the pleasantest beast under one a-hunting I ever crossed for months, easy-going, safe and sure leaping. He hath but one fault, (which is no great one to me, considering the number of beasts I have to relieve him with), two days a week is the utmost he will endure and keep his flesh tolerably. I have a famous brown gelding cost fort guineas, and several others, so that if a small officer be wanted when the French assault Ireland I am ready mounted to attend the summons, and willingly do it with more delight than ever I went a fox-hunting, or to victuals after it. If I have transgressed by usurping upon time by so enlarged and unprofitable a discourse, be pleased to see the danger of provoking a man at his own weapon.

I observe one other part of your letter mentioning French and Papists, two terms of art in every malicious mouth, completing revenge on whomsoever either can be pinned, and considering the easy credulity of this uncharitable age, it seldom fails to stick on whomsoever it is thrown. In a short time I fear jealousy on one hand or other will leave us no Protestants; for the Papists have of late so interwoven

themselves with all sorts of Dissenters, that not to conform to our Church gives supposition *ipso facto* of conformity to that of Rome, and they again from the decency of our disciplines which they nickname superstition call all who do conform, Papists. So that were Our Saviour himself on earth again there would be those who would brand even him with that fashionable calumny of Papist, and if Papist Frenchman too; which is but natural enough, for he that is the former must endeavour the propagation of his heresy, and no expedient is so proper to carry on that great damnable work as that lawless prince and his irresistible power. I confess I cannot recal my pity from him that is withdrawn who (to my knowledge) hated both Papist and French, and was sufficiently hated by them, and yet (in a great measure) suffered as their patron; who thereby have an opportunity to insult over him, and are not mealy-mouthed in making use of it.

Now to the work of the day: our proceedings in both Houses since Tuesday. Wednesday the 26th the Lords sat morning and afternoon to finish a sharp bill to cut off all capacities in England of pensions or honours and be banished for ever. This bill is absolutely the same as that of my Lord Clarendon *verbatim*, with the addition only of revoking all grants since the time of the attainder. This was more expeditiously despatched because they would anticipate the Commons bill, which is a summons by a day to appear, or in default *ipso facto* attainder to follow, which they on Thursday were only to read a second time. To prevent which, the Masters in Chancery had the Bill that night to clap into the House as soon as prayers should be ended. Some interlocutory passages happened in the afternoon remarkable enough. As that of the zeal of my Lord Shaftesbury for public safety, who revived the objections of last session against Sir John Robinson, for letting the Popish prisoners come together, for which the Duke of Monmouth was then entrusted to discourse His Majesty, in order to Sir John's removal. The Duke answered that the King did intend to turn him out, only wanted money to pay him off. My Lord also complained of several Papists in the Tower. The Duke answered (that is the Duke of Monmouth) that there was but one there that had refused the oaths and tests, and he only had a fortnight's time given him to dispose of his concerns. The Earl made answer that many were known to be Papists, and though they had done all that could be legally required, yet we must not suffer ourselves to be legally outdone, and stretched his complaints yet further to the Fleet and Garrison, particularly Portsmouth, urging it was well known who had put all officers in, and that our safetys were so much affected in their removal that till they were changed the Commons would never give money. My Lord Cornbury answered for the

Governor of Portsmouth, honest George Legg, that he, his father, mother, nay grandfather also, had ever been Protestants; but their discourse begun too late to be finished that night. The Commons rose early, having only what the votes of that day expresses before them; only extraordinary was the eloquence of many in that matter of the Earl of Danby, but the stream ran one way. There hath yet been but one division of that House, and that was about the Chairman of the Committee of Elections, when Sir Thomas Merces carried it but by six voices against one, Mr. Treby of the West. The information against Sir John Robinson is from Mr. Oates, that he hath long known and concealed the Plot. That order for a Committee to inspect temporary lots chiefly aims at the Irish Cattle Bill. Sir Robert Southwell's information was from one Mr. Chetwynd, as if Sir Robert Southwell had stifled Mr. Dugdale's evidence; who being asked at the Committee of the Council whether he knew anything of Sir Ed. Berry Godfrey's death, announced Yes, he heard of it, and immediately complained to Father Evers of it as what would greatly reflect on the Papists, who answered no, that he had been a great persecutor of bawdy houses, and it would be thought some of those streeters had taken revenge. This much he evidenced, but after being gone from the Committee, recollecting himself, remembered that the account came in a letter from Green's or Pickering; that that night they had despatched Sir Ed. B. Godfrey, which expression appropriated it to the priests, who seem to renounce the guilt. But it will appear he said this after he was gone, not while he was at the Committee of the Council. They talk much of the provisions made in the bill for regulating elections, to prevent all debaucheries and undue practices, which will be a very good work (I am sure a very difficult one) Great also is the commendations of that bill for the better discovery and conviction of Popish recusants, sent down by the Lords.

On Thursday March 27 as soon as the Commons were sat, the Masters of Chancery presented the Bill for the banishment of the Earl of Danby, and at last had only these two additional clauses, one to detect all purchases made by him in other names, with severe penalties to such as shall conceal them; the other to prevent all pardons but by Act of Parliament. This those who loved him least in the Lords' House thought punishment enough, and most who loved him best submitted to it to prevent worse which they understood was designed him by the Commons. The Commons resisted the reading of the Bill, though the Masters of Chancery emphatically desired their concurrence; and fell upon those lesser things confined in the Votes; then read their own Bill of Impeachment against him a second time and committed it, and when they had read over the

Lords' Bill for banishment by vote rejected it *nemine contradicente*. So that if the Lords serve their Bill of Attainder so too, the work might stand still. And though the Commons have ordered the Lords' bill for the better discovery and easier conviction of recusants a second reading, yet it is supposed they will never so much as commit it, as being less than they intend. The Commons rose early this morning, because the Committee of Secrecy was to sit in the afternoon to draw up the charge against the Lords in the Tower. The Lords also rose early and did like, only they had Captain Spaulding before them, the Deputy Governor of Chepstow, who was before imprisoned by the Lords, and was indulged to be at liberty on bail; which he construed a discharge and returned to his command, which was one part of his crime: another that he beat one of his soldiers, indeed a servant of his, for he was his falconer, who it seems had heard him say that had he known Bedloe would have been such a witness he would have stopped his mouth when he had him in his Castle; for all which he was recommitted, and his employment disposed of.

Yesterday March 28, was almost an idle day; the Commons doing little, the Lords less. The enclosed Votes will show the transactions of the former, with this paraphrase: that letter mentioned in the second paragraph was delivered by one Mr. Cole to the Speaker; he received it by the post. It was subscribed by one Christopher Boynton: its contents, to bespeak great care, else this month would expire the King; the Parliament and the Tower would be in great danger. This the London members were to trace out, to detect it if a trick and prevent it if a plot. The accusation of Sir Robert Southwell brought his entries of all the examinations before the House, when they appeared so very methodical and such that he gained great applause, and his accuser no rebuke, because it appeared to be the result of his zeal, not ill will. The Lords sat late and rose early having despatched some trivial petitions, and resolved into a Grand Committee for religion, debated some heads for the securing Popish children's education, and so adjourned. The reason the Commons rose so early was in favour of the Committee of Secrecy, who have much work on their hands.

This day the Lords having adjusted some complaints about breach of privilege, again returned themselves into a Grand Committee, and renewed the consideration of Religion, extending their zeal against Popery to the deprivation not only of Papists themselves from all places of profit and trust, but also all such persons who for the future shall intermarry with Papists, nay and comprehending under that motion (places and offices of profit and trust) all Colleges and Societies, as physicians and lawyers, nay even to Heralds also, and many others too numerous to mention. The Commons after they had given directions in some scrupulous disputes

about elections, and sworn some fresh members, those four who serve for London gave an account that searching after the author of that letter which warned the Speaker lest ill befel the King, Parliament and Tower of London, they had met with another verbatim duplicate of that letter, but directed to another person, yet wrote like the same hand; whence they inferred this to be but a false alarm, but possibly only calculated to beget security when there should be a true one. Then was reported the Bill of Attainder against my Lord Treasurer with all its amendments and alterations, with which the House concurred. The 10th of April is the last day for his coming in. Then the consideration of the disbanding of the Army took place; but because that day was spent, the debate (as appears by the votes) was adjourned till Tuesday morning, to which time the House adjourned that the Committee of Secrecy might leisurably draw up the charge against the Tower Lords. Our old acquaintance Sir Robert Walsh appeared this day before the Commons, brought in by [Every]* who accused Sir John Robinson of having known the Plot four years since and stifling it, and imprisoning him lest he should discover it. Sir Robert was called to justify that he told him of the Plot so long since, Sir Robert did testify for it, adding he could tell him no more than he knew before, whereon he was asked whether he knew anything of the Plot, answered yes, possibly more than had yet been discovered, and that he was ready to discover it when asked. He is referred to the Committee of Secrecy; he only yet mentioned Bishop Talbot.

ORMOND to COLONEL EDWARD COOKE.

1679, March 31, Dublin.—Though I have nothing to return but my thanks in recompense for the pains you take to give me information, yet it is fit you should know you do not absolutely lose those pains. The last I had or could have from you by this post were of the 22 and 25 of this month. It is true I had from other hands something more than you writ of smart glances at me, such as the author is a great master at, which I neither wonder nor grumble at. I have the luck to be in this way and I must take my chance. Yet it is observable that the same man who helped to heave me out of this place once before is now lifting at me again, but in very different company, and for very opposite reasons. What the reasons of my first remove were, I will not mention, nor trouble you with refuting the latter. Let time and opportunity work.

REV. HENRY ALDRICH† to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1679, March 31, Christ Church.—I am extremely sorry the first address I am to make to you is upon so ill an occasion,

* This name is indistinctly written. Possibly John Every, who sat for Bridport in the Parliament of 1679 is intended.

† Rev. Henry Aldrich (1647-1710) afterwards Dean of Christ Church.

and though it is a hard matter for a man in my position to write sparingly upon so copious a subject, I shall endeavour to shorten your trouble as much as I can, and give you a bare account of matter of fact in a business wherein the great esteem the world has of you makes me glad you are so nearly concerned. I must only beg leave to trouble you with some circumstances which perhaps may appear impertinent till you have considered the whole story, and allege in my excuse that I omit an incredible number ; that is all the odious ones. I have the honour to be recommended to the service of my Lord Ossory, and think myself so far qualified for it as a due sense of his descent, his quality, his great and noble actions, and a particular esteem for his person can make me. I do with all respect and gratitude acknowledge the obligation I lie under in being trusted with so considerable a charge, especially because my Lord James his good understanding and singular good nature make my business a great pleasure as well as a reputation to me. I am likewise honoured with the care of Mr. Berkeley, son to my Lord John Berkeley, whom my father served many years before his death, and is still of the family. This Mr. Berkeley during the two years he has passed among us has had either the merit or the good luck to be very well esteemed and beloved in the College, and I must do him the justice to profess that besides his many others good qualities he has been as well tempered and tractable as any youth I ever knew. Yet it seems by some misadventure he had a difference with my Lord James Butler, which if no children but themselves had interposed in would have proved no great matter, but being well husbanded bred a great deal of disturbance. I must accuse myself of being [*obliterated*] to my Lord James that though I had then reason to believe and can now prove that Mr. Berkeley was much innocenter than he was represented, yet I obliged him to wait upon my Lord to acknowledge that he had behaved himself very rudely to his Lordship, that he was ashamed and sorry for it, that he begged his pardon, that he sued for a reconciliation, and promised never to give any occasion to any future difference. Upon this submission they were very good friends to all appearance, and likely so to continue, till, I know not how, last night there grew another quarrel, wherein I know so well who was faulty that I desire somebody else may tell. And besides I am content for the present to let Mr. Berkeley lie under as great imputation as can be fixed upon a child, and shall hereafter endeavour to clear him from the aspersions of Mr. Drelincourt, who has taken great pains to put a most foul and odious character upon a young nobleman who had a clear and unblemished reputation till he came to Christ Church. This last rencounter Mr. Drelincourt resented so nearly that he came to Mr. Berkeley's chamber with a deep

design to find the child there alone and beat him. Finding him not at home he went, as himself owns, on a Sunday night to all the alehouses in town in quest of him ; but still missing him resolved to waylay him as he came from nine o'clock prayers. It was my fortune (having had some notice of the young gentlemen's bickering) not to go home with Mr. Berkeley as I use to do, but to step up to my Lord James to hear what complaint in order to giving him all the reparation in my power. By this accident Mr. Drelinecourt found Mr. Berkeley without me going home, and laid hold of him, and when he had run him up to the wall, he asked me why he had abused my Lord James. Mr. Berkeley told him he had not. Mr. Drelinecourt's answer was, as some tell me, "you lie, you dog," another "Sirrah you lie," as himself owns "you lie," with some other harsh word, but not dog ; and he accompanied it with four or five hearty boxes on the ear, such as might well pass for a handsell. You will easily understand that this nettled some of the young scholars that were passing by, and immediately came about them, when by good fortune Mr. Thynne in his way home took notice of the scuffle and parted them. These [obliterated] ill circumstances I omit, because they cannot be formally related, and would look like a libel upon any that was out of long clothes ; and this much will be sufficient to give my Lord Ossory and yourself a taste how extraordinary hands my Lord James is fallen into, and how great obligation Mr. Drelinecourt puts upon all persons that have been careful to recommend, entertain or countenance him. I shall not trouble you with the unanimous [obliterated] of all in this place that have knowledge of the affair, nor anyways pretend to prescribe my Lord's resentment nor yours, but rest altogether satisfied that my Lord is a person of that worth and honour that he will take better notice of it than we can suggest to him. I must only beg my Lord's pardon and yours, as I must all gentlemen's, that having so foul a story to tell I am able to do it with so much patience.

ORMOND TO EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, March 31. Dublin. You tell me in yours of the 22nd that I have the effect of my memorial by the sending of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment. It is not now the time to dispute that, but if the governor of the place shall call for ammunition and I should only send him bullets he would hardly think his desire complied with. The men are not yet landed, that is they were not on the 28th of this month, and if my Lord of Shaftesbury's remarks (which he seldom lets fall to the ground) shall be pursued, perhaps it may come to an address that they may be stopt, in which case they will surely think it fit to send some other in their place if the danger of this Kingdom be really believed to be as great as

has been represented and as in truth it is. That the noble lord likes not the management of affairs here I easily believe, or that he ever will as long as I am in the Government. He was of the same opinion once before, but for a quite opposite reason. Then I was not Frenchman enough, nor satisfied with the commission set on foot by Colonel Talbot's negotiation in favour of the Irish Papists and to the ruin of the English Protestant interest in Ireland, of which commission he was; and of all the Council I only opposed till the Parliament thought fit to address against it; but now the shaking of his head seems to import I am too indulgent to the Papists. There is no possible or positive answer to be made to such kind of insinuations, nor do I understand what kind of account it is that you undertook to bring in the Monday following, by whom it was required or how you will perform it, of all which I wish you had written more distinctly; but I presume you have not bound yourself and much less me to what you can then produce, as I guess it must be some narrative of what has been done by me here in order to the securing of this Kingdom, which how you will collect and put together I know not. If it be put in writing it is exposed to the objections of witty men resolved to dislike it beforehand, and for a discourse it must be too long. What it is and what the success of it I must expect to know by letters of the 1st of April, for it is now too late to advise on the point.

I am obliged to the lord that told you what it was that provoked his friends to glance at me, but both the particulars are no better than surmises, and if those pass with them for such truths as to found prejudices upon I had rather they were any man's friends than mine. That the Duke placed me here is really more than I and certainly more than they can know. That he placed one of those friends in the Lords' House I have very good reason to believe, and that he afterwards did help to put him from the Council and another friend out of a great place they believe and have shown they well remember it. Till I know what steady forms the affairs shall be put into I conceive it will be in vain to represent the state of things there or rather to mind them of what has been represented. In the state things are I should think they cannot long continue. When you wrote concerning my Lord of Essex, his aim to come hither again, I suppose you did not know he was designed to be one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, which is such a step to be single in it that I think he will not quit it for this Government at such a time as this. If you had inquired of Mr. Secretary Coventry what I writ to him of the Chief Justice's place you would have been satisfied that I had fairly done my duty and no more, and to that I must now refer you. When the Irish bills shall be taken into consideration it will be time enough to satisfy my Lord Burlington that there is no preference

given to the nominees, and that there can be no danger that the English interest can receive any hurt by them, though they should be sent over as they are, and not mended as they may be there at Council.

EARL OF OSSORY'S MEMORANDUM ON THE STATE OF
IRELAND.

An Account of the Present State of Ireland presented by the Lord Butler of Moor Park* to the House of Lords, March 31, 1679.

An extract of some Letters, Orders, and Proclamations which have come from Ireland, some to the Council Board and some to particular hands, which in part show what hath been done since the discovery of the Plot and how things stand there in the general, referring for full and exact information unto such account as by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of that kingdom will doubtless be given when required thereunto.

1. That when news of the discovery of the Plot, and His Majesty's orders of the 1st of October last came to the Lord Lieutenant, which was about the 7th following, his lordship was then at Kilkenny, newly returned from a progress made by him into Munster to view the forts and places fit for fortification, and in particular from seeing the new fort begun by his order the March preceding for the defence of the harbour of Kinsale, which work hath since gone on, and upon which is already expended about the sum of £5,000, it being a work of great importance to the safety of that Kingdom, and the security of all ships resorting to that harbour.

2. But according to the said Order the Lord Lieutenant did presently issue a warrant for the seizure of Peter Talbot and of his papers, and he was accordingly seized and made close prisoner in the Castle of Dublin where he now so remains ; and the examinations taken were transmitted to His Majesty in Council, and from thence to the House of Lords the last Parliament, together with a paper writ with his own hand, being an account of treason laid to his charge by one Sergeant, which paper 'tis he desires should be found ; for no other papers of moment could be found either in his chamber or in his trunk, he having had time enough to put all out of reach by the tidings it is likely he and many other Papists did receive of the discovery of a Plot by Mr. Oates at the Council Board on Saturday the 20th of September and the intelligence sent away that night. The Lord Lieutenant did also according to his orders secure Mr. Butler, a son of the Lord Mountgarret ; but that Lord himself being of extreme age and infirmities was and lies still bedrid ; and Colonel Richard Talbot was also committed to safe and close custody

* The title by which Lord Ossory was called to the House of Lords,

as soon as ever the orders and accusation were transmitted into Ireland, and so he still remains.

3. The Lord Lieutenant also hastened to Dublin, and coming there the 11th of October he presently called up the Council, and they met from day to day and did issue from time to time several proclamations and orders as follows :

14 October 1678. A proclamation strictly requiring all officers and soldiers to repair to their respective quarters, and not to depart without license.

16 October 1678*. A proclamation requiring all titular Archbishops, Vicars-General, Abbots and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the Pope, as also all Jesuits and other regular priests to depart the Kingdom by a day limited, and that all Popish societies, convents, seminaries and Popish schools, should dissolve and separate themselves under the penalties therein mentioned. All persons were forbid to harbour them, and all magistrates commanded to inquire, punish or certify the disobedience therein; and that persons so commanded to leave the Kingdom might not pretend want of convenience for transportation.

6 November 1678†. Another proclamation issued, requiring all owners and masters of ships bound to parts beyond the sea to set up notice in writing in the most public places of the time of their departure; and they were required to take on board all such ecclesiastics as should desire to go with them, and the officers of the customs were commanded to stop all ships that did not give such notice of their departure.

2 November 1678.‡ Another proclamation issued, commanding that no Papist in the Kingdom should thenceforth presume to ride with, carry, buy, keep or use any arms whatsoever without licence; that within twenty days after the date thereof or seven days after the receipt of such arms they were required to deliver them up to certain of the most noted Protestants for that purpose named in the several counties, who were to take such arms and give receipts for what they took; that the Justices of the Peace and the officers of the army should after the time expired search for and seize the arms of unlicensed persons, or if they found more arms than were reported with those that had licence they were to bind the delinquents over; and all merchants and other retailers of powder were required to send in an account of their stores, if the same exceed above one pound, and of any powder which they might afterwards receive.

* This Proclamation is printed in full in Report on the Ormonde MSS., First Series, Vol. 2, pp. 350-352.

† Printed in full *ibid*, pp. 355-6.

‡ Printed in full *ibid*, pages 352-5.

20 November 1678.* Another proclamation issued forbidding Papists to come into the Castle of Dublin, or into any fort or citadel of that Kingdom; appointing also that the fairs and weekly markets of certain places, viz., Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal, and Galway to be thenceforth kept without the walls of the said garrisons, and that Papists be not suffered to continue or reside in the said towns, or in any towns or corporations where garrisons were kept unless they had for the greatest part of twelve months past inhabited in such town. And that no person of the Papist religion anyways armed be suffered to come into the said fairs or markets; and also strictly requiring all Papists to forbear any unreasonable or night meetings, or in great or unusual numbers in any part of the Kingdom; and commanding all officers civil or military to be careful to prevent and dissolve all such meetings, to commit the principal offenders to prison till they find good security to answer the same at the next Sessions; and to return an account of their proceeding therein, with the names of such as occasioned or countenanced the same, to the Council Board.

20 November 1678† Another proclamation issued the same day promising a reward of 10*l.* for every commissioned officer, 5*l.* for every trooper and 40/- for every foot soldier to such as should discover any of them to have been perverted to the Romish religion, or heard mass who had formerly taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and the like to the discoverer of any that should afterwards be perverted. Besides that it was a rule begun in the present Lord Lieutenant's first government after the King's Restoration, and ever since continued, that the Muster-Master should check the pay of every officer and soldier of the Army who does not produce certificates from the Bishop or Minister of the place of his having received the Sacrament, according to the Church of England, twice every year.

2 December 1678. That being informed that several of the titular bishops and regular clergy had not obeyed the proclamation of the 16th October last for their departure, there issued a circular letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council, whereby all Justices of the Peace are commanded to make diligent search after them, to commit them to prison, and to return the names of their receivers and harbourers that they might be proceeded against according to law.

12 December 1678‡ Another proclamation issued highly resenting the slackness of the Justices etc. in executing the late proclamation for searching after and seizing of

* Printed in full in Vol. ii., First Series, pp. 356-7.

† Printed in full in *ibid.*, p. 356.

‡ Printed in full in *ibid.*, pp. 357-9.

arms, requiring therefore a further search, and proposing a method for preventing of forged licences, and to look upon all that should be remiss in their duties as contemners of the King's authority and proceeded against as abettors of those who disturb the peace.

13 December 1678* Another proclamation issued taking notice of a letter scattered in the streets of Dublin Lieutenant, promising protection and 200*l.* reward to the intimating a conspiracy against the life of the Lord discoverer. And it afterwards appeared that one Jephson, a young man perverted from his religion by some Irish priests; his abettors therein were taken and put into custody and the examinations committed to the Council and from thence sent to the House of Lords.

There were two great questions among others under serious debate of the Lord Lieutenant and Council from whence much ill grounded reflection hath arisen. The one about securing the principal heads of the most considerable clans or families of the Irish who have lost their estates; some supposing that it might conduce to the safety of the English if such heads were in restraint,† and that their fellows would not then presume or adventure to rush into rebellion. But upon serious consideration it was thought that such a proceeding might rather quicken a rebellion than prevent it; for the numerous followers who depend only upon their master's interest and authority for the support of themselves and families, being angered or affrighted at the ill-usage of their principals, and being loosened from all dependencies, might rather put themselves upon some unlawful way of living by turning Tories than entrust themselves to the pleasure of the Government; and in the quality of Tories they would be equally mischievous, and especially to the English dispersed in their remote dwellings, as a small rebellion. Besides this further reason did dissuade the taking up of their chief men as hostages: for if their followers were but few they would not do the English much hurt as they are; but if strong and numerous it would be easily in their power to surprise so many English gentlemen living remote and scattered in the country as would soon redeem such hostages, and thereby render all the charge and care of such an undertaking fruitless and only sure to breed ill blood. So that the Lord Lieutenant hath in some nature steered a different course by showing civility and giving good words to such of the heads of the Irish as come near him, whereby he finds out early what is doing among their dependants, and hath observed this method of obviating dangers more easy than either by rigour to compel them and their followers to live always in conjunction, and to talk of their

* Given in full in Vol. ii., First Series, p. 359.

† See the Earl of Orrery's letter to Ormond, dated 28 Feb., 1678-9 (Vol. iv., p. 336) and Primate Boyle's letter to Lord Orrery, dated Mar. 8, 1678-9 (Vol. iv., p. 352).

misfortunes, or by imprisonment of so many of the nobility of a kingdom without crimes objected or commands from thence, incur the censure of arbitrary proceedings which are neither safe nor fit for him to bear.

Another point that hath been under consideration before the Lord Lieutenant and Council was a proposal for draining the Corporations (especially those that were garrisoned) from the number of Irish Papists that live among them, in order to prevent any surprise or private conspiracy. But when it was reflected on that notwithstanding the general orders and proclamations that have from time to time been issued from the Government for the expulsion of Irish inhabitants and servants from the towns and garrisons, and that very few in respect of the numbers complained of were licensed to return, it was manifest that it was the English themselves who did in most places receive them in again for their own advantage not knowing well how to live without them. They wanted servants, and tenants and tradesmen, for of such are the numbers in the towns constituted, and the Irish Papists supplied with such; and the English did not conceive this sort of people to be so dangerous as beneficial unto them. So that the Lord Lieutenant and Council do only forbear their expulsion in whole or in part but for conveniency and gratification of the English. However it is certain there can never be a true remedy herein as to the security and improvement of that kingdom, unless by a large accession of English and Protestants there. And until that shall happen all other trials upon these sort of Irish will be in a manner but to lay some towns and very much of the land of the Protestants quite waste and untenanted. And yet it so falls out that many on this side, not considering the disposition of the Irish to the English, nor the difference of the laws there as to capital and pecuniary mulcts from what they are in England, do think many things are defective because they are not there executed as they are and may be executed in this kingdom. Upon these and other reasons of weight the two propositions before mentioned were thought impracticable. But the principal and present security of that kingdom consisting in the balancing the numbers of Irish with a superiority of strength and leaving them naked and the English in arms, the Lord Lieutenant and Council did think fit to receive the Commission of Array, so that the militia of that kingdom hath been raised in all parts, and is now found in a better condition than ever it was known to be. And to supply the defect of arms for such militia there were not only appointed some merchants as public undertakers to bring in arms from abroad, but withal, not wholly to depend upon their performances, the Lord Lieutenant procured a supply out of His Majesty's stores here of powder and arms to the

value of 13,000*l.*, which are now actually landed in Ireland, and for payment of which he himself stands engaged to the office of Ordnance here, until a Parliament do meet in Ireland to make provision for things of this importance. But surely to have proceeded with any degree of precipitation while the English were so unfurnished had not been very prudential.

As to His Majesty's forces in that kingdom, they are well disciplined and well paid. And it hath pleased His Majesty lately to send over a reinforcement of about 1200 men ; and the army is [so] distributed as that the cities (which are the garrisons of that kingdom) are secured as well as it is possible for the proportion of such a militia and such an army to make them.

There is all the discountenance given to Mass-houses in all places which the laws of that kingdom will bear. Nor is there licence for arms given to any but such as need them, and for no more than is necessary for their security against Tories in their remote and scattered habitations, and for whose loyalty and peaceable behaviour the Lord Lieutenant is not first sufficiently certified by some Protestant of note.

The forts are in as good a condition as the stores and the revenue of that kingdom will allow, and perhaps somewhat better. But it is manifest much more is needful in every kind in case of foreign attempts. And therefore seeing the charge of the Government and the income of the revenue are so nearly balanced by a settled establishment that it is not in the power of the Lord Lieutenant to alter the same, and that no money can be raised from the subject but by Act of Parliament, therefore the Lord Lieutenant hath been long endeavouring to have a Parliament called, and to that end several bills were transmitted the last summer by the Lord Lieutenant and now remain at the Council Board here, together with a large representation of the state of accounts depending with the Lord Ranelagh and his partners, who were late Undertakers for the Revenue of that kingdom. And until there be leisure (which since the discovery of this horrid Plot there scarce hath been) to send back those things with the mature consideration they deserve, there is no visible means left for the raising and augmenting the public revenue to such a proportion as may put that kingdom into a sufficient posture of defence as to army, fortifications and stores in case of any powerful invasion. But for the present all things are there in full peace and quietness. And for further account of the present state of that kingdom, and for what hath been done in further reason of the particulars here mentioned, or of any other thing which may have been left undone, there is no doubt but full satisfaction will be given by the Lord Lieutenant and Council when such particular inquiries and demands are made as shall be thought convenient.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 1.—In my last I gave you an account of my being commanded by the Lords to inform them of the state of Ireland; wherein I obeyed them, giving them those public orders which you issued for the security of religion and the English interest: a copy whereof I here send, in which Sir Robert Southwell showed that concern for you which he ever does in things relating to you or yours. They now are upon making acts here for the governing of Ireland. By the journals you will see their proceedings, which are no ways pleasing to the King. I find great animosities are against my Lord Chancellor: I hope they will do nothing hastily against him. The motion concerning Colonel Fitzpatrick was very quick and impossible to prevent. My Lord of Anglesey showed me a paper of my Lord of Tyrone's complaining much of the hard usage he has had. I will endeavour to send you a copy of it. I wish your Secretary had informed me, that I might have known what to say, and that he would upon the like occasions give me speedy information of things. I have not made any hasty steps or done anything without advice of your and my friends.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND

1679, April 1, St. James's Square.—I need not trouble your Grace with an account of what passed yesterday in the Lords' House upon occasion of the narrative which my Lord Ossory thought fit to give in of what had been done since the discovery of the Plot for the security of that kingdom. How that their lordships have ordered that your Grace should be further desired to prohibit Colonel Fitzpatrick to come within twenty miles of your Court, and all other Papists without distinction from coming to Court; that a Bill should be prepared to disable Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament, according to the example of what has passed here; and that those of that religion should not be permitted to live in maritime towns of note which are to be more particularly enumerated: these and other things of this kind which have passed, your Grace will no doubt have an exact account of from my Lord of Ossory himself. But what would be of great service to the country, when so many inhabitants are like to be removed from so many places of trade, were the providing a supply of industrious hands. And in order to that, having acquainted Mr. Brisban with the opinion your Grace was pleased to honour me with, in answer to the queries I humbly prepared from him for soliciting the transplanting some French Protestants thither, I have a return from him to this purpose, that he conceives it impracticable for a multitude to agree among themselves in any such resolution, and in deputing any persons from them

to treat upon terms; and that if that difficulty could be overcome, the execution of such a design would meet with invincible opposition there from public authority. That he therefore desires to know what one may upon good grounds promise to single persons and families, as, for example, what security for religion, facility of naturalisation, exemption from foreign duties, privileges in exercising trades in Corporations, equality of justice etc. What cannot be effected at once by any common agreement at first, may in some time be obtained thus by a multitude of particulars, and the experience of a few will quickly invite many others. The things he desires to see resolved in seem to me chiefly to terminate in the means of being naturalised, and the permission of following manual trades. There is a law that admits strangers into Corporations for 20/-; but how far that extends, whether only to the King's natural subjects, or further, I cannot tell. If your Grace thinks it fit that upon these points of law I might receive the opinion of one of the King's Counsel to be communicated to him, the constitution of things at present abroad seem to promise some good effects of it.

CAPTAIN JOHN ST. LEGER to HENRY GASCOIGNE.*

1679, April 1. London.—Upon a mistake, my Lord of Ossory sharply replied to my Lord Shaftesbury yesterday†, and as I heard this day from my Lord Shaftesbury's own mouth, and he protested to me, 'twas a misapprehension of my Lord Ossory's, for he did not mean His Grace, nor that the reflection was intended to touch the Duke; and being pressed to explain whom he meant he declared that it was Colonel Fitzpatrick, and he told me he called him a single person which could not be understood to be the Duke, and I believe it was not.

The Bill of Attainder was carried this day to the House of Lords, and this day the Parliament voted all the forces in England illegal, nor is there any exception of the Guards. 'Tis thought this will not be very welcome to many of the Lords; they go on some say with too much heat; but I hope in a little time there will be a perfect understanding between both Houses. As yet they do not differ.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, April 1, Whitehall.—This post will bring your Grace the letters for the successive promotions occasioned by the death of my Lord Chief Justice Povey. They are in the fashion I apprehended they would be after my second discourse with His Majesty about your Grace's letter; for at first he seemed inclined, if not resolved, for Sir William

* Secretary to the Duke of Ormond.

† See Carte's Life of Ormond, Vol. ii., App. p. 90.

Davy. But some obligation of promise he had made for one in the lowest rank of the preferred made him enter upon new considerations, and at last ended in the resolutions I send you.

My Lord of Ossory will acquaint your Grace with the particulars that passed yesterday and to-day in their House, and particularly concerning Ireland, and I cannot yet be well enough with our House to prognostic whether they will mend, but at present it looketh very uncomfortable, though there are that think it will mend. But whether they are too sanguine or I too melancholy I know not. Only I can say we have made a shift to spoil a good Parliament, but whether we have the art to make a good one is what I doubt. The General Peace is on all hands believed nigh making, the F.K. [French King] will then be at leisure to employ his thoughts I fear more upon us than we shall have reason to thank him for. For whether it be the number of our diseases, or that of our remedies (which we pretend to employ all at a time) that will destroy us, I know not. But I do truly think the latter as likely as the first.

Our new Commissioners pretend to great diligence and integrity, and they have need of both to do much upon their stock, they finding but 27s. and 3d. in the Treasury (besides appropriated money) at their entrance.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT and COUNCIL to HENRY
COVENTRY, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY of STATE.

1679, April 5. Dublin.—As we did immediately after the arrival of me the Lieutenant hither apply ourselves among other things to look into the state of His Majesty's revenue, and by letters both from myself apart and from this Board unto you and to the late Lord Treasurer directed did send over early accounts of our proceedings therein and of the defects which we observed to be prejudicial to the carrying on of His Majesty's necessary affairs, and which for want of a sufficient fund were not able to be remedied; so, as soon as we received advice of the Plot, we did dispose our thoughts in the best manner we could for securing His Majesty's Government in this kingdom from the dangers thereby threatened against it: And therefore we did then and have since held frequent councils upon that subject, where we did not only put into execution the several particulars which by orders from that side we were required to do, but have also acted divers things besides which we conceived necessary to be done in such a conjuncture: And to the end His Majesty may be satisfied what steps we have made for the furthering the said service and so have them before him to make such supplements to them as in his royal judgment may be thought proper and practicable for the future security of this his Kingdom, we have here enclosed to you for that purpose

distinct particulars of our said proceedings which we desire you humbly to offer to His Majesty's consideration: And remain from the Council Chamber in Dublin the 5th day of April 1679

Your very assured loving friends,

ORMOND.

Michael Armach, C., Jo. Dublin, Arran, Blessinton, Granard, Lanesborough, Hen. Midensis, Rob. Fitzgerald, Ca. Dillon, Chas. Meredith, Jon. Davys, Ol. St. George, Geo. Rawdon, H. Ingoldsby, Wm. fflower, Tho. Newcomen.
[Encloses the narrative next printed.]

MEMORANDUM of the IRISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland since the intimation to them from His Majesty of the Discovery of the Plot in England.

By order of His Majesty in Council dated this 30th of September 1678, which was received here the 7th of October last, the Lord Lieutenant was in particular to use effectual means to compel all the titular bishops and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome to depart the kingdom with all possible speed, and to cause Peter Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin, to be seized and taken into custody, and in general to provide such speedy remedies for the obstruction of those evils informed of as should be thought fit; upon receipt of which order Peter Talbot was immediately seized by direction of the Lord Lieutenant and committed to the Castle of Dublin, where he still remains and was several times examined.

On the 14th of October 1678, a proclamation issued from the Lord Lieutenant commanding all officers and soldiers of the Army to repair to their respective garrisons, there to remain and not absent themselves without particular and express licence from the Lord Lieutenant.

On the 16th of October 1678 a proclamation issued from the Board, commanding all titular Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Abbots, and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by authority from the Pope or see of Rome, and all Jesuits and other regular priests, to depart the kingdom by the 20th of November next, and that proclamation did also require that all popish societies, convents, seminaries, friaries, nunneries and popish schools should be forthwith dissolved and thenceforth utterly suppressed, and on the 6th of November another proclamation requiring all owners and masters of ships bound for foreign parts to receive the said popish clergy on board and transport them accordingly.

On the 19th of October 1678 letters were sent from the Board to Mr. Secretary Coventry giving an accompt of the seizing of Peter Talbot and of the issuing of the aforesaid

first proclamation, with which letters were sent copies of the several examinations of Peter Talbot and other persons, and a printed copy of the said proclamation. And on the 23rd of October another letter was sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry relating to Peter Talbot.

On the 2nd of November 1678 a proclamation issued commanding that no persons of the Popish religion in this kingdom should ride with, carry, buy, use, or keep in their houses any arms without licence, and within twenty days after that date to bring in all their arms to particular persons named therein to be sent by them to His Majesty's stores; and after the expiration of the said twenty days all justices of peace were to search for, seize and secure such arms as should not be brought in, and to bind over the offenders to the next assizes or sessions of the county to be there prosecuted for their offence. And the said proclamation required all persons of the Popish religion, and all merchants, shopkeepers and retailers, as well Protestants as Popish, within twenty days to make return of the quantities of gunpowder in their possession; in pursuance of which proclamation several returns have been made of seizing of arms, and some few of gunpowder in the hands of some merchants and others.

The Lord Lieutenant having notice of one William Ryan to be Superior of the Jesuits in this kingdom, thought fit to have him secured and examined and his papers seized, which accordingly was done by Captain Robert Fitzgerald, a member of this Board, in pursuance of several letters from the Board of the 5th and 8th of November 1678, and the said Ryan was brought up with a guard and committed to the Castle. On the 5th of November letters were sent from the Board to Mr. Secretary Coventry giving an account of the proceedings against Ryan and one Richard Bourke, another Jesuit, with the examinations of the said Ryan and Bourke, in which mention was made of one thousand pounds given by one Hughes, a Jesuit, to a College of Jesuits at Poitiers in France, which thousand pounds was said to be lodged in the hands of Daniel Arthur. And there appearing nothing against Ryan in reference to the Plot he was by order of the Board dated the 26th of February 1678 put aboard a ship bound from the port of Dublin to some foreign parts, in order to his transportation, according to the proclamation for that purpose.

On the 12th of November 1678, letters were received from His Majesty, dated the 5th of November 1678, for apprehending of Colonel Richard Talbot, the Lord Viscount Mountgarret's eldest son, and the Viscount himself, and one John Peppard, a Colonel, and causing them to be examined upon the points mentioned in the said letter. Colonel Talbot and Richard Butler, Esquire, the Viscount's eldest son, were accordingly apprehended and examined and continue

prisoners in His Majesty's Castle of Dublin. On the 22nd of November 1678 by letter from the Board an accompt of the proceedings against them was sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and giving him notice that the said Viscount Mountgarret was not in a condition of health to be removed from his habitation, being above eighty years of age and bedrid, and no such person as the said Colonel Peppard was to be found or heard of in this kingdom though diligent inquiry was made for him.

On the 28th of January and 11th of March 1678 letters were sent from the Board to the Commissioners of Array in the several counties of the kingdom for making return of the state of the Militia and of the men and the condition of their arms, and returns were made accordingly. On the 16th of November 1678 other letters issued from the Board to the said Commissioners of Array in the several counties to quicken the officers of the said troops and companies of the militia to be in readiness and good posture for the safety and security of the country, and that they should appoint particular places of rendezvous for the militia if there should be any sudden occasion, and to consider and propose by what ways and means the militia may be so ordered as to be rendered useful upon any occasion for the security of the country.

At a meeting in Council the Lord Lieutenant acquainted the Board that what directions came out of England concerning Peter Talbot, Colonel Talbot, and Lord Mountgarret's son, and commanding the Popish clergy out of the kingdom, were observed and put in execution, and accompt thereof given to Mr. Secretary Coventry. And for the general direction for obstructing of the evil informed of and mentioned in the aforesaid order from His Majesty and the Lords of the Council, order had been given for disarming of the Papists and settling the militia and securing the garrisons, and desired the advice of the Board what was further to be done. And thereupon several matters were debated concerning the turning all Papists out of corporate towns, and securing persons who might be suspected to be dangerous. And it being considered that if all Papists were prohibited coming to the towns there would be no markets, and the inhabitants and garrisons would be in danger of want of necessary provisions; and if leading men or suspected dangerous persons were taken up, how and where they should be safely kept or maintained; upon the whole debate it was at last unanimously resolved that at present nothing should be done in that matter.

On the 20th of November 1678 a proclamation issued that none of the Popish religion or so reputed should come into the Castle of Dublin or any other of His Majesty's forts or citadels without special order from the Lord Lieutenant, and for keeping markets and fairs without the walls of

Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal and Galway, and that no persons of the Popish religion should be suffered to reside in the said towns or any other of the Corporations, who had not for the greatest part of twelve months past inhabited therein, nor to come to any fair or market with swords, pistols, or any other weapon or fire arms, and to forbear meeting by day or night in any great or unusual numbers.

On the 20th of December 1678 letters issued from the Board to the Sheriffs of the several counties to be communicated to the Justices of Peace, taking notice of their neglect in not apprehending such of the Popish regular clergy as did not transport themselves according to the proclamation, and therefore requiring them to be more diligent and to apprehend such clergy, and not only to return their names but also the names of their receivers, relievers and harbourers, that they may be proceeded against for their contempt of the proclamation.

On the 9th of December 1678 letters issued from the Board to the Commissioners of Array in the several counties of the kingdom with new commissions and instructions, many of the former Commissioners being dead or removed out of the country, the said letters requiring that all persons of what state, degree, dignity or condition soever be equally charged with furnishing men and arms and supporting them on the muster day, and all persons arrayed to take the oath of supremacy.

On the 12th of December 1678 a proclamation issued requiring all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and officers of the Army to be more diligent in putting in execution the proclamation of the second of November for seizing of arms, and to return the names of the persons licensed and of their servants who are licensed to carry arms and prosecuting all persons at the Assizes or Quarter Sessions who have not delivered in their arms according to the said proclamation.

On the 13th of December 1678 a proclamation issued taking notice of an intended conspiracy against the life of the Lord Lieutenant, and giving a reward of 200*l.* to such persons as shall make discovery thereof.

On the 18th of December 1678 letters were sent from the Board to Mr. Secretary Coventry concerning the conspiracy against the Lord Lieutenant, with several examinations relating thereunto, and on the 9th of February 1678 letters were received from the Lords of the Council, dated the 31st of January 1678, concerning the conspiracy against the Lord Lieutenant, with the examination of Stephen Dugdale enclosed ; and in answer thereunto letters were sent to the Lords of the Council from the Board, dated the 29th of March 1679, concerning Owen Byrne and the manner of proceeding against him concerning the said conspiracy. Within the time

aforesaid several letters were sent to Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, officers of the Army and others, concerning the militia, the Popish clergy, the seizing of arms, in answer to their letters to the Board.

It being observed by several returns from the Commissioners of Array that many arms are wanting in the troops and companies of the militia and that if they could be furnished they would pay for them, the Lord Lieutenant made application into England to have arms and ammunition sent thence; and some merchants in this kingdom, viz., John Rogerson and John Castleton of Dublin and George Macartney of Belfast did propose to bring in several quantities of arms and ammunition, and to place the same into His Majesty's stores, or to sell or dispose of them in such manner as the Lord Lieutenant and Council should appoint at reasonable rates, and accordingly licences were signed for them, and the said Macartney took out his licence; but the officers of the Ordnance in Ireland proposing to bring arms and ammunition out of his Majesty's magazines in the Tower of London, and to furnish the kingdom with such proportions as the Lord Lieutenant should think fit at as reasonable rates as any others would do for as good serviceable arms, the other two licences were stayed, not having been called for by the said Rogerson or Castleton before the said proposals of the said officers of the Ordnance.

On the 3rd of March 1678 letters from the Board issued to the Commissioners of Array in the several counties giving them notice of the expectation of the sudden arrival of arms and ammunition out of England, and that they should certify to the Board the quantity and the quality of the arms they would have occasion to buy for the use of the militia and to have the money ready to be paid upon delivery of the arms. On the 11th of March 1678 letters were sent to several persons at Galway and Boffin to be diligent in searching and seizing on any arms should be brought in there, intimation being given that arms were at Brest put on board two fly-boats belonging to Galway and of which the masters were Papists. And directions were given to the Farmers of the Revenue to write to the officers of the several ports in the kingdom to be very diligent in searching for and securing all arms and ammunition which should be brought into the kingdom.

On the 26th of March 1679 a proclamation issued against Tories and robbers, and, for the reasons therein expressed, for seizing their nearest relations, that is to say the wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters of such of them as shall be out upon their keeping, that is not amenable to law, and committing them to close prison until such Tory shall be killed or taken, and also for seizing and committing the respective Popish pretended parish priests and transporting them beyond seas, unless within fourteen days after

any robbery, burglary or murder committed within the said parishes the persons who are guilty shall be killed or taken, or discovery made within that time, or that such offenders may be apprehended and brought to justice.

On the 26th of March 1679 a proclamation issued for reward to such persons as shall apprehend any of the Popish regular clergy who have not transported themselves according to the former proclamation (*viz.*) for every titular archbishop or bishop, and every Jesuit, ten pounds, and for every other person commanded by the said proclamation to depart, five pounds.

On the 31st of March 1679, an order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council was sent to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of Dublin for dissolving and dispersing the meetings in several mass-houses in the city and suburbs of Dublin, and not to permit any Popish services to be celebrated in the said houses or other public places within the said city or suburbs, and to apprehend and commit to prison such as shall offend until they shall find security to answer at the Quarter Sessions.

Letters sent from the said Board in order to the removing all Papist inhabitants out of Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel and Drogheda, except some few trading merchants, artificers and others necessary for the said towns and garrisons, the same being the principal in the kingdom, where the Papists are most numerous.

Letters sent from the Board to the chief magistrates of the several Corporations of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, Youghal, Clonmel, Galway, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Kinsale, Athlone and Ross for suppressing the assemblies of the Papists, and prohibiting the celebration of their Popish services within and without the walls of the said Corporations.

Signed

ORMOND.

Mich. Armach, C., Jo. Dublin, Arran, Blessinton, Granard, Lanesborough, Hen. Midensis, Rob. Fitzgerald, Ca. Dillon, Char. Meredith, Jon. Davys, Ol. St. George, H. Ingoldsby, Geo. Rawdon, Wm. Flower.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 5, London.—By the Journals of our House you will be informed how they proceed in the Irish affairs. I wish I had notice what numbers of Popish families are in the town of Dublin, as well as in other seaports of the kingdom. One Mansel, that was cashiered, I find very great with my Lord of Shaftesbury who employs all manner of creatures to find him matter of complaint. I think it were not amiss if you sent me the reasons for the proceedings against him*, as all things of this nature, that I may know what to answer when objections are made. If I thought it necessary to tell you

* For the proceedings against Mansel, see Vol. iv., pp. 113, 121, 125, etc.

the many reports about the town, I would not spare my pains, though they would prove voluminous. But of all things of moment, you may be sure I will not omit giving you information.

ORMOND to CAPTAIN GEORGE MATHEW.

1679, April 5. Dublin.—My son Ossory upon my Lord of Shaftesbury's speech, either undertook or was required to bring in some account of the proceedings in Ireland for the safety of this kingdom since the Plot. But I rather think it was his voluntary offer than any injunction, and that he was induced to do it out of a belief that he had authentic instances to give of my care, such as would satisfy the House. If it was voluntary he was too forward, and might have expected my directions; and if it was required, he might well have desired time to inform me of the pleasure of the House, and desired that I being most concerned might have some knowledge of what was expected from me, and have time to prepare and transmit it to them; and this I hope he will desire in the conclusion of anything he shall have brought in to stay their stomachs. It is written by some that it is projected that the Government of this kingdom should be put into Commission, as I think it was in Cromwell's time and at the King's first coming in. I should not like it as to the public, because it looks too like a Commonwealth; but as to my particular I had rather give up the sword to many than to one, and had rather stay here under such a Commission than under any one man like now to be sent. My Lord of Essex is where he would be, first in the Commission for the Treasury, which is a good step to his being Treasurer.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, April 5.—This begins Wednesday, 2nd. The Votes of that day herewith enclosed will show there doth need but little comment on them, nothing of moment being transmitted that day, that of most, relating to Irish cattle, being adjourned till Tuesday.

The Lords were long taken up about the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Danby sent them up; whether it should be read the second time cost some debate, but much more whether it should after be committed or rejected. It is said that an Earl should say we have now shot one rook, but there are a whole flock that will still endanger devouring our corn; therefore I am for hanging them up to affright others, and that my Lord Northampton should reply he had a rookery which his predecessors had been very fond of, but on complaint that they devoured his neighbours' corn he gave consent for their destruction; but after the corn was devoured worse than before, for there was a little grub at the root that devoured

more than the rooks had done. But at last my Lord Culpeper proposed this expedient that the word Attainder might be left out, and so the Bill be committed ; which was closed with, though it seemed a contradiction that there should be a Bill of Attainder without the word Attainder in it ; but it being late they adjourned the debate till next day.

Thursday the 3rd. I must be a little the more elaborate about this, having lost the Votes of this day. The Commons began with a long-long bill brought in by Sir Thomas Clarges against Popery, of so prodigious a length that the very reading of it lost above an hour, and the reporting or summing of it up by the Speaker spent above half an hour more. It contained all the severities of all laws in force and all bills that were proposed last Parliament, with yet more penalties therein added. The length of the bill gave so great discouragement that no time was appointed for a second reading. But Sir Henry Capel chanced in the nick of time to surprise and amaze the House with an unusual motion that all the doors, as well those that lead to the Speaker's Chamber as that of the House might be immediately locked and the keys brought in, for that within that circumference was a person who ought to be secured. It was accordingly immediately put in practice ; and one Mr. Reading, a lawyer that oft pleads before the Commons in cases of controverted elections was the man, who was got into the Speaker's Chamber to listen (as it seems he used to do) and observe the speeches and the speakers, especially on the occasion of this Popish Bill. But that was not his crime at this time. Mr. Bedloe accused him for having offered him great rewards to suborn his testimony on behalf of my Lord Powis, Lord Stafford, Lord Petre and some other gentlemen that are imprisoned on the account of the Plot. To make this out Mr. Bedloe is justified by Prince Rupert and my Lord of Essex that he above a month since acquainted them that Reading had begun such a treaty with him, but he besought their direction how he should behave himself in it ; who encouraged his proceedings and promised if Mr. Reading designed to trepan him they would be his compurgators. He thereupon proceeds, and at the close of the agreement gets two credible witnesses, so concealed that they could hear and could not be seen ; who gave this testimony, that Bedloe was to have 300*l.* per annum out of my Lord Stafford's estate at Thornbury in Gloucestershire, and sums of money from all others he should save ; in order to do it, agreed on the very words he should say on the day of the trial, such as should not only not hurt them, but should also as to their particulars invalidate Oates his testimony also ; all which he hath under Reading's own hand. But it is remarkable that Reading only treated for his clients, exposing all the rest, saying that he thought 'twas fit to sacrifice my Lord Arundel

and Lord Bellasis to assuage the fury of the people, as if those who were united in the crimes could be severed in the proofs. But he was delivered into the hands of the Committee of Secrecy. Next Mr. Treby, Chairman to the Committee of Secrecy, made a report of the heads of the charges of High Treason they were drawing up against the five Lords, and above forty more, some imprisoned and some not yet taken. I shall not mention them because I hope to send a copy of the charges at large ; only one remarkable passage I shall add that the House, finding Sir George Wakeman left out of the calendar of the criminals, he had the honour to be added by a special order. Next they read a bill sent from the Lords to oblige each member hereafter, ere he sat in the Convocation, to take the same oaths and test as all members of either House do : and lastly read a bill for the regulation of future elections, and in both cases ordered a second reading.

The Lords spent the whole day, and yet rose late too, on the Earl of Danby's Bill of Attainder, and in Committee of the whole House, and almost licked it into the shape of their first Bill, only adding a clause that he should not be pardoned but by Act of Parliament. Which made my Lord Garrett declare, if not swear, he would not own a King if he had not power to pardon. I will relate one passage, because I would obviate reports. Mr. Bedloe's brother in a drunken quarrel at the *Palsgrave Head* tavern was run through the body by one Hayden who never saw him before in his life, and that without any declared quarrel to him. Bedloe was much the soberer, yet only hurt.

Friday, April 4. The Votes I have enclosed, and therefore need say the less. Only the Commons rather chose to graft upon the Lords' short bill than dock their own long one against Popery, and so having read it a second time committed it ; with instructions to have a clause added to prevent all future intermarriages between any of the Royal family and Papists ; that Mr. Brent mentioned in the Votes was a Papist who officiated in the Treasury Office, a very dexterous man in that employment, but a very dangerous Papist. His crime was employing some to tamper with Mr. Dugdale, particularly to sift what he had to say against my Lord Stafford. The conference there mentioned between the two Houses was managed on the Lords' part by my Lord Privy Seal, who first cajoled the Commons by telling them the Lords thought it more obliging and satisfactory to deliver the Bill and the amendments at a Conference than by messengers. The greatest alteration was that they made it only a conditional Bill of Attainder, if the Earl of Danby should be found in England after the 1st of May ; otherwise only banishment with those penalties expressed in the first bill they sent down ; that the King was a gracious sovereign and we happy that he was so ; that he took delight to

pardon and that in compliance therewith they could not extend the punishment further; that what was done was enough to secure their fears for the future. The Commons instead of complying adjourned the debate, and ordered the Address to His Majesty. The Lords rose early.

This day the Lords did very little, only one Sedway found them discourse, who told a story that being some three or four years since at Rome, Cardinal Howard with others expressing great hopes of the speedy establishing their religion in England, he argued its impossibility from the zeal of the Bishops. They answered that several of them were favourers of it, naming the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells; and that when he came over, having often waited on the Bishop of Ely, at last he acquainted him with his resolution of exchanging Popery for Protestantism, and that the Bishop should seem to discourage him, saying that his own was a better religion than it was generally believed to be, and, he being a scholar, advised him to read St. Augustine and other of the Fathers. But being asked whether he knew the Bishop, tremblingly answered he did. But being asked by my Lord Shaftesbury whether that was not he (this part was at the Committee who sits almost all morning on the Plot) said no, tho' it was. It will be I suppose thought fit to repair the Bishop and punish the informer, though some thought to make great matter out of it.

The Votes speak all I can say about the Commons: only it is said old fellow-falconer, Mr. Winwood, hath supplanted Sir John Ernley of his burgess-ship at Windsor. I find Mr. Reading this evening hath given but little satisfaction; so that the Commons hath resolved on an address to be drawn against next Monday for a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to try Mr. Reading. I have enclosed my Lord Shaftesbury's speech in relation to Ireland and Scotland. I presume I need not send my Lord Ossory's answer. I have also sent the Articles of Attainder, and they will tell against whom they are calculated.

ORMOND to the EARL OF ESSEX.

1679, April 7, Dublin.—I very really congratulate His Majesty's choice of your lordship to serve him in the Treasury, and do not think there is any man that wishes well to the Crown and the kingdoms belonging to it that is not of my mind. It may be too early to give your lordship the trouble of calling for any return to those despatches sent from hence to the Privy Council there, and to Mr. Secretary Coventry, concerning the revenue of this kingdom, divers of which were in the late Lord Treasurer's hands. Those which related to the Commission by which the Commissioners and Farmers now act will I think be henceforth useless, Mr. Ryder and his officers having come to an agreement; so that what is

now to be taken care of in that matter is only that the King's security may not be lessened by that accord. The last despatch from the Council here concerning the Lord Ranelagh's accounts was put into my Lord Treasurer's hands. If it is not in the Treasury Office Sir Cyril Wyche can give you a copy of it, whilst an authentic duplicate is in preparation here. I need not tell you how much the King's service in the satisfaction of his Army and other subjects depends upon a fair conclusion of these accounts.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, April 7, Dublin.—The paper you gave in to the Lords' House could not be composed to more advantage, nor anything added to it but what has been lately done, of which Mr. Secretary Coventry has an account from me and the Council, and will let you have a copy if you desire it, as you should. I saw it from Jack St. Leger and from another hand that my Lord Shaftesbury professes he had no intention to reflect on me in what he said concerning Ireland, which if the copy of his speech which I have seen be true can hardly be believed. Yet if he has a mind it should be believed, I know not at this distance why he may not be gratified in it. My Lord Longford says that upon this occasion some lords made favourable mention of me, and it is given out here that the Bishop of Rochester said something in my defence. I would be glad to know to whom I have any such obligation, that I may own it to them. I have not yet the copy of the information given upon oath against my Lord Tyrone, but you shall have it by the next post; and then it will appear to my Lord Privy Seal that I could not have proceeded otherwise than I did.

ORMOND to the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1679, April 7, Dublin.—I have received His Majesty's commands concerning Colonel John Fitz Patrick's returning to his own home and keeping himself at 20 miles' distance from me unless I happen to come within that space of his house; and then I immediately sent for him and laid His Majesty's commands upon him, to which he most humbly submits and promises to yield punctual obedience, which if he should not perform I shall not fail to inform His Majesty of it. But he hopes it will not be interpreted a breach of the injunction laid upon him if (having no house of his own in his possession fit for a gentleman to reside in) he stays with some of his relatives till he can fit a house on to his own estate, keeping still at the distance required from Dublin.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 8, London.—I received your letter of the last of March and doubt not but by this time you have been

informed and I hope satisfied that the information I gave the House was done with care as to you and upon sufficient grounds. You will also see that you were no more concerned to justify it further than the recital of some acts of Council which satisfy all but those that are resolved not to hear or allow of reason. I was told Captain Fitzgerald did intend to desire my assistance toward getting him made Commissary-General of the Horse, and I believe to-day my Lord Ranelagh writ to him to that purpose, but he never spoke of it himself to me, at least to my remembrance. Sir Theophilus Jones made the same address to me by my Lord Granard. My answer was, and I intend the same for the future, that I would not meddle in a thing of that importance without your knowledge and approbation. I wish some very good officer had that command, to stop the pretensions of those who can plead nothing for it but quality. Considering the general officers of your army I am afraid you would have but little assistance from most of them if you were in action.

I have received two proclamations by the last post, one concerning Tories and the other allowing money to search or bring in either Bishops or regulars. I shall make the best use of I can of them when occasion offers. We have been morning and evening sitting at the House. I have not anything of moment now to impart unto you. My Lord of Essex's being one of the Treasury was several times diversely resolved, and when I writ it was in the negative.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, April 8, Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 31 March I have received and at the same time one from Mr. Attorney, earnestly deprecating the promotion intended by the letter. I have likewise showed the King yours relating to Sir W. Davys* and though it may have set him right in His Majesty's opinion, yet he is not inclined to promote him at this time. Neither will he force Mr. Attorney† so much against his will. The promise that I mentioned in my last that His Majesty was put in mind of was for Mr. Keating,‡ and my Lord Feversham is the person that minded him of it. But yet His Majesty thinketh it too sudden a leap from the Mr. Attorney to be Lord Chief Justice; but thinketh that if Judge Reynolds§ were advanced to be Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Keatinge were made Judge in his place it would be

* Sir William Davys, Prime Serjeant 1675, became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland on the next vacancy in the office in 1680.

† Sir William Domville was appointed Attorney General at the Restoration, and held his office until removed by James II. in 1687.

‡ John Keatinge became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in succession to Chief Justice Povey, promoted to the King's Bench. He was removed by William III. in 1691.

§ Evidently Sir Richard Reynell is meant. He was at this time a Puisne Judge of the Common Pleas. He was made Lord Chief Justice by William III. in 1690.

generally satisfactory. But whether Mr. Keating would accept a puisne place is more than any can tell; so His Majesty will take no resolution till he hear again from your Grace, who can best judge of the matter. I have this day your letter with that for Sir N. Armorer's patent, which I shall get despatched by the next post. The business of the Bill of Attainder maketh no progress, and because of that, at least as is pretended, nothing else of public good moveth.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, April 8, London.—Your Grace's of March 31 I have received, greatly to the encouragement of my duty and diligence in my constant advertisements, acceptance being the greatest reward I can propose to myself. I confess for two reasons my pen flagged in registering the stings that waspish person endeavoured to stick into your Grace's conduct of Government. But the steel of a clear reputation so obviated them that they were ineffectual. I left the ungrateful reputation to others who he had less provoked and knew more. What else I know of moment I shall fully report. As yesterday my Lord Lovelace began in the Lords with a complaint against one Robert Hicks, a farrier and gamekeeper at Woodstock, having a vindictive woman's deposition (who had threatened to do him a mischief) that he said he hoped my Lord Treasurer would yet show as honest a face as those that stickled against him. None thought it worthy the bringing into that House; but when 'twas there overruled his being brought in custody to that bar by four votes. Then came up my Lord Russell from the Commons with their impeachment against the five Tower Lords, which was further referred to the Committee of Privileges (and they to sit that afternoon) to consider the method of proceeding in such cases, and to report them next morning to the House. Next one Sydway was brought to the bar, who had aspersed three reverend bishops with the scandal of Popery; but he was so far from making anything like truth appear against them that whereas he pretended he derived his knowledge of it from Cardinal Barberini and Cardinal Northfolk Howard some three or four years since at Rome, yet gave contrary accounts of both the Cardinals, and a very mistaken one of every part of Rome itself. Yet because he was called the King's evidence, and was ushered in by an eloquent Earl, it was carried but by five voices for his commitment. To close that day my Lord Essex made a self denying motion that he might have leave (it being so extraordinary a case, else it had been needless, everyone having an inherent liberty to offer what he should think fit) to bring in a Bill to inhibit all future Lord Treasurers or Commissioners of the Treasury to make directly or indirectly, by sale of under offices or otherwise, any other benefits or advantages than their mere salaries. This my Lord Shaftesbury diverted by proposing rather a Bill to

prevent any person being Lord Treasurer for the future ; it being of too great an importance and influence for any one subject : instancing in himself who (he pretends) once stood fair for that staff, in the misjudging eye of others tho' not in his own thoughts. At which time he saw such an unexpected reverencing behaviour at Whitehall towards him that he was amazed till my Lord Clifford (his worthy good friend) unriddled it to him. He inferred from the influence of this groundless supposition how much more the possession of that staff will operate, and concluded the unreasonableness of any one subject having it. However my Lord Essex was left to his discretion what bill of that nature to bring in, and so their Lordships adjourned. He added also that it might extend to the Lord Lieutenants of Ireland.

On the particular bills of the Commons that need it I shall paraphrase the best I can. John Blythe mentioned was a constable who refused to guard Mr. Reading after the Commons had committed him. The complaints against Sir John Robinson was that he had indulged the imprisoned Lords with unjustifiable liberty, as coming together when they ought not, nay even sometimes permitted to be out of the Tower ; all which he denying, the examination of the truth was referred to a Committee. But however he is not long to stay in, for my Lord Arlington is forthwith to be Lieutenant and Tom Cheekes to be his deputy. This report of Mr. Secretary Coventry's concerning Mr. Reading's letter to Mr. Chiffinch was ushered in by this story, which I think not fit to be omitted ; that Mr. Reading having baffled the Committee's expectation of his considerable confession after he himself had raised it, was committed close prisoner, and such great anathemas denounced against him, that his cunning, humorous wife found this stratagem to convey her counsel to him ; sending him two caps, one thick within a thin one, between both put a scrap of paper which advised him not to fool away his life by delaying his confession too long or making it too short. This the careful Serjeant at Arms found, but considering its useful contents returned it between the caps, and delivered them : whereupon he pressed for the allowance of pens, ink and paper, that he might (for the better method's sake) digest his evidence into writing, which being allowed him, in the foul shirt sent to his wife he conceals a letter to Mr. Chiffinch, wherein he pretends what great discoveries he could make, but desired that he might first whisper them into the King's ear ; who according to the Vote transmits all over to the Commons, who construed it firstly a great evidence of the King's favour to and confidence in them, for which they returned their humble thanks (your Grace's old acquaintance Colonel Birch greatly haranguing on his sacred Majesty's gracious goodness), and Mr. Secretary did write accordingly to the King's name to Mr. Reading.

The delay of the report concerning the army till Wednesday was occasioned because the day was far spent, and this day was designed for the debate concerning Irish cattle. What this new design of improving the militia will amount to I confess I cannot yet imagine, tho' many of the wisest I perceive are brimful of it. It is these amendments of most consequence that the Commons disagree with the Lords about in the Earl of Danby's bill. Yet the most violent of them conclude him not worthy of death, even my Lord Shaftesbury's Mr. Bennet himself owned as much, and that all he wished was that he was well rid of him by banishment, concluding him all this while doing mischief here; as that he was advising the King to sell Tangier for 600,000*l*, (how he came to fancy it, I know not) and Jamaica for so much, and then he would not need the Parliament giving any money. Whereupon my Lord Cavendish moved that Tangier being of so great importance to the trade of the nation might by Act of Parliament be annexed and fixed to the Imperial Crown of England, and that a Bill ought to be brought in to that purpose, which was ordered accordingly.

This day in the Lords' House, on the motion of the Lord Lovelace himself, the criminal Robert Hayes was released. Next the Committee of Privileges reported the terms and methods previous to the Lords' trial, as that the King ought to be addressed to make a Lord High Steward who was to be Speaker *pro tempore*. (Accordingly His Majesty has been addressed to, and has promised to commission one, but not yet named him). Then the Lords must be brought to the Bar, and there kneel; and after standing up hear their charge and answer the dismal question Guilty? or not Guilty? If the latter, the Commons must be ready by such a day to make good their charge. The Lords are ordered to be at the Bar tomorrow morning, so that in a short time the secrets of the Plot will be revealed. Next the Commons sent up their reasons to the Lords why they could not concur to their amendments; which the Lords immediately took into consideration, and after a long debate whether to adhere to their own amendments or concur with the Commons, a middle way was found out that the Lords should intercede at a Conference with the Commons. In order to this the Lords sent down to desire a Conference, whereupon both Houses sat this afternoon. The Lords finished their reasons, or rather permissive arguments to induce the Commons to decline that harsh word Attainder. I here enclose a copy of the Commons' reasons why they could not comply with the Lords, but those from the Lords must be wrapped up in my next letter, the Houses rising so very late. The Votes of the Commons I also enclose for the morning, but cannot hope for them of this night till tomorrow, nor can they signify anything when they come; for the Lords only had the report of their reasons made them, and approved of

them, and demanded a Conference when they delivered them, and so adjourned, as did the Commons also, as soon as the report of them was made. Only this afternoon the Commons sent up their first Bill to the Lords, save that of Attainder against the Earl of Danby; it is a kind of enlarging *Habeas Corpus*. The time hinders me. Pardon this hurry, my next shall endeavour to make amends.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, April 8, Whitehall.—I write this to yourself to let you know the true state of affairs here. Never were the King's necessities greater, nor the confidence and complaisance of Parliament less. Every action and promotion of men is scanned with much rigour, I would I could always say with as much justice. I doubt not my Lord of Ossory hath acquainted you what has passed in the Lords' House concerning Ireland; and I have several advertisements there are intentions of bringing in complaints into our House. Their open complaints are against my Lord Chancellor, but you have your share by consequence. Amongst their complaints none is aggravated more, and that by men of consideration, than his endeavouring to engross the great charges of Church and State in his own family. They think Primate in the Church and Chancellor in the State to be too much in his own person. And if to this the prime place of judicature in the law be given to his son-in-law, the whole government of spirituals and temporals is his. So that the present advancement of Sir W. Davys would make that flame that already smokes, and it is the opinion of all your friends here it will be of great prejudice both to my Lord Primate and your Grace. And for this reason I told you in the enclosed note upon this subject some posts ago, I do not think the King in a disposition to agree to his promotion, though you should persist in it. But else I believe whoever you shall nominate will take place, though at present he approves of the two named in my letter. My Lord of Essex is not only Commissioner of the Treasury, but is of the Cabinet Council, and seemeth to be in very good grace.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1679, April 9, London.—Having now acquainted myself in some measure with my Lord James, I presume it may not be unreasonable for me to assure your Excellence that I find him sufficiently receptive of the improvements of knowledge, and persuable to everything that is proposed to his advantage. As to Mr. Drelincourt, he seems to be a very sober, diligent and honest man; and tho' a little accident happened which has cast some blemish on his prudence, he will I doubt not approve himself not only faithful to, but also sufficient in his trust. When anything of moment occurs in reference to

my Lord James, I shall take the boldness to represent it, thinking it more eligible to fall under the charge of being impertinent than of being careless and negligent. I am now by a particular occasion drawn to town, where I find much more endeavour to prosecute private hatred and ambitions than to promote the public peace. And although the exigence of the nation require all our cares, we are at leisure to debate the administration of Ireland. Almighty God who has wrought miracles for our preservation hitherto, will I hope even against our merit and endeavours continue to preserve us, and continue your Excellence a blessing not only to the kingdom over which you preside, but this most distracted country: which is the earnest and daily prayer of your Excellence's, etc.

Postscript.—Whereas your Excellence mentions a desire which the Vice-Chancellor has expressed of being released from his employment, by the nomination of a successor; he is very early therein, it being not usual for a new Vice-Chancellor to enter on his office till Michaelmas. And I humbly conceive that since in this interval many accidents may intervene, it will not be advisable to nominate any person at so great a distance of time before the resignation is to take place.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 12, London.—I have nothing worth your knowledge which the journals and gazettes will not inform you. In the latter I am careful to have inserted those things done in Ireland in order to let the world see your care for preventing any mischief from the Irish. I perceive my Lord of Essex did value himself much upon his care in getting the young Lord of Clancarty to be educated in our religion, and my Lord of Shaftesbury pressed much to have an account of what minors were so bred up since that law passed which I think appoints that those children whose parents left them minors should be entrusted to those nearest akin that are Protestants, in order to their being brought up that way.

The porter's place of Somerset House being void, my Lady Dorset pretends it in her disposal as house-keeper. The right is in you. But I find the Queen has a mind to a fellow that now exercises the office. I imagine you will not dispute it with her, but I desire your directions as soon as may be.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, April 12, Dublin.—All I can write from hence is that yet the Regiment is not landed and that I fear some disorder is happened amongst them, or some misfortune, for that your mules that made the same or a longer voyage are come, and that in sixteen days from Rotterdam. There are but four of them, and I wish they may prove worth what they

will cost me with their trappings and all, of which they say you have the most useful parts, as trunks and hampers, fitted to the saddles at London.

There happened some disorder at and after the suppressing one of the mass-houses in this city. One of the Lord Mayor's officers struck a priest as he was kneeling at the altar in his ordinary clothes, but the officer being ignorant that other vestments are necessary to say mass in, thought he was then saying one, which provoked him to that rudeness to the priest. The blow provoked the priest to say that if Christ were Christ he would avenge the abuse, or words to that effect. In short that night when it was dark the officer was assaulted by four or five men, and much bruised and wounded, and we are by proclamation and reward endeavouring to find out the persons that did it. This account I give you of that affair because it may be otherwise represented by letters hence. Another business concerning one Newterfield, a Jesuit, is much misunderstood and repined here where the matter passed, and therefore may more easily there. But that passage will be at large sent drawn up by the Clerk of the Council. These things, as light as they are, may make noise there as everything does, and therefore I send accounts of them.

SIR STEPHEN FOX to ORMOND.

1679, April 12, Whitehall.—I acknowledge myself so much obliged to your Grace's favour in your generous concern for my being put out of my place that I think it my duty to acquaint your Grace of my being restored to it and His Majesty's countenance again. And without presumption I do believe I shall never be out of it as long as I live for any undutiful action or thought; which assurance I give your Grace and my most humble thanks for your great goodness to me, wishing it was in my power to show my affectionate zeal for your Grace's service.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1679, April 12. St. James's Square.—I have used all the industry that can be, and cannot yet find any hopes of recovering those two papers—the state of the Revenue and your letter from the Council. Mr. Bertie tells me he will write to my Lord Danby about them; but what success that may have with a man under his circumstances, and in what time they may be retrieved, if at all, is uncertain, and how soon there may be use of them none can tell. So that it were certainly advisable (as your Grace I perceive by yours was thinking) that duplicates were sent over to be ready when wanting.

One of the four letters is approved by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, that about the Archbishop of Tuam. Against the other three there are some objections

which I am directed to acquaint your Grace with. To the letter for making a fund for erecting a Hospital for un-serviceable soldiers etc., it is said that being a work of charity and for people who will be very necessitous, there ought to be as little diverted as can be, and the whole design should be managed with all possible thrift, so that the clause about an allowance to be made to a receiver ought to be further considered. It is now without any limitation or certainty, and therefore may end in erecting an office too considerable for so charitable a purpose. Whereas the King having a surveyor of works there, who has now a convenient salary, and this building being like to be near Dublin, the erecting it may very well be under his oversight, and there will be no need of a receiver till the house is finished; after which, if such an officer shall be thought necessary and that the duty cannot be well performed otherwise, it is conceived that the fees allowed him should be particularised in the letter, not to exceed such a sum as shall be moderately thought convenient.

The letters for allowing some warrants for money laid out upon occasion of the Northern expedition meets with this obstruction that some of the particulars of expense mentioned are of the nature of such contingencies as are by the establishment to be defrayed out of the Concordatum money. And it is being required by the establishment that an account of concordatums should be every three months certified over hither, it is at least necessary that before these sums are allowed such an account should be accordingly transmitted.

The last letter which is for appropriating the overplus of the revenue to public uses is looked upon as a very good and necessary work; but before it passeth it is thought for His Majesty's service that some way of discharging the arrears of the last quarter of the year '75 be first found out. The Farmers were willing, about the time my Lord of Essex left that Government, to have undertaken the payment of this arrear, if they might have been secured out of their rent in case they were not reimbursed by my Lord Ranelagh by a day limited. But other matters intervening, this agreement was not perfected. It is now desired that either the same (if the Farmers will agree to it) or some other expedient be made use of for paying these poor men, who have been so long out of their money, while this overplus, not being fixed, is capable of being a security.

PRIMATE BOYLE to LADY RANELAGH.*

1679, April 4, Dublin.—I am infinitely obliged to your ladyship for the honour of your ladyship's of the 8th instant, which I received yesterday, wherein you have been pleased

* Elizabeth, daughter of Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, 1st wife of Richard, 3rd Viscount and 1st Earl of Ranelagh.

to give me the greatest argument of friendship that is expressible, by letting me know what in these busy times those who have no kindness for me have been pleased to speak to my disadvantage.

To what your ladyship writes of Col. FitzPatrick, I must not deny that I have a respect and kindness for him. He was a near relation to my wife*; he is one whom I have long been acquainted with, and who hath been civil to me by many obligations. I must acknowledge that he had an extraordinary interest in this country and especially upon his own countrymen; but I must inform you that he hath ever had disagreements with the titular Archbishop Talbot and his partizans, and (as I believe) shocked them more than anyone of his persuasion did in the whole kingdom. Affairs standing thus between them, why it should not be reasonably supposed that I might make as good use of him for the advancement of the Protestant interest and for His Majesty's service as he should influence to their prejudice, I cannot readily assign a reason. But that occasion of offence is now removed, for near a week since he hath quit this place upon the commands which His Majesty sent over for that purpose upon the address from the House of Lords.

As to the Bills that were sent on or preparatory for a Parliament here, which your ladyship are pleased to tell me have some reflection on me, I answer the whole Council that were in town signed them as much as I did; every paragraph and line of them were argued with all the freedom that was desired, as well at a Committee as at the Council Table; and when they were transmitted hence, they were submitted to such amendments and alterations as the King and Council of England should think fit. And how the Protestant interest in this kingdom should be designed to be prejudiced by these Bills is beyond imagination. They were to pass a Protestant Council here, a Protestant Council in England, a Protestant Parliament in this kingdom, and what is more a Protestant Parliament whose fortunes were for the greatest part of them made up by the new and forfeited interests in this country. And how under the test and trial of all these it could possibly be supposed that Bills designing the prejudice of the Protestant interest should pass seems to me a kind of riddle which I cannot resolve. Perhaps indeed there may be differences and by consequence mistakes in opinion; and some may think one way best for the settlement of the interest which others do not approve; but that there could be any design or intention to wrong the Protestant interest cannot be well conceived.

I must acknowledge that times are much changed and the face of affairs altered since these Bills were sent away.

* Archbishop Boyle was twice married; 1st to Margaret daughter of Dr. George Synge, Bishop of Clogher; 2nd to Mary daughter of Dermot 5th Baron Inchiquin. It was to the latter lady that Col. FitzPatrick was related.

We had then no knowledge or supposition of any Plots or conspiracies by the Papists; and therefore those measures which might have been thought convenient at that time to perfect the final settlement of the English interest may be very reasonably rejected now; and this lies still before His Majesty and Council to consider. But why this should have any reflection upon me, or upon any other single person of the Council I cannot apprehend. But I find by some letters out of England, as I find by the honour of your ladyship, that I am discoursed of there by very many that I am a great favourer of the Papists (whether it be on the occasion of those Bills or no I cannot say, or upon what other reason I cannot guess). Truly I cannot recollect how the Papists have deserved any such kindness from me, unless it be by having been as great a sufferer by them from the beginning of the Rebellion as they could make me. But as to the objection: if by being a favourer of the Papists they intend that I am a favourer of their religion, it is a scandal which I disdain to answer, since my whole life, conversation and profession from my youth until this day hath been a constant and uninterrupted testimony against it to the utmost of my capacity. If they mean that I am a favourer of those interests in this kingdom, it can imply no less than that I am a traitor both to my religion and to my country, which is more uncharitable and severe than the former. For to the former imputations this must likewise be added, that I am a madman too. Few sober men design against their own interest. That little fortune which I have is for the greatest part of it upon the new interest. I have many children and relations and friends, and these not very inconsiderable, whose being and subsistence depend upon the Act of Settlement and Explanation. And for me at this time of day (being above 64 years old) to decline the consideration of myself, my children, my friends and relations for nothing but a vain, airy and impossible supposition that I should expect a better provision for myself and them under an Irish-Papist interest than I now enjoy, must needs conclude that I stood more in need of hellebore to cure my madness than of any other conviction or reproof. Besides those who know how far I have been publicly engaged against the pretensions of the Irish interest before the King and Council in England, in my attendance upon the Act of Settlement for the Protestant interest in this kingdom (whereof my Lord of Ossory is a competent witness), for I then was employed by the Lords Justices (whereof his lordship was one) upon that service, must conclude that I who went so far and was so successful against them in the greatest concerns that I had in the world (*viz.*, their fortunes and estates) ought never expect any safety, much less advantage from their favour.

Another objection which I am informed is taken up against me, is that my two employments of Primate and

Chancellor are inconsistent in one person. As to the Primacy I must confess it was not ambition that put me upon it, nor any particular benefit, for I was well enough before, and my advantage was not considerable thereby, but for reasons referring to the public it was thought fit that I should be recommended to the see, which I submitted to, tho' perhaps with greater reluctance than is supposed, or will be believed by some. But as to the inconsistency of them together, there is doubtless no other argument than for the inconsistency of the Chancellorship with the Archbishopric of Dublin, against which I heard no objection all the time that I was Archbishop of that see—nor is there any difference in the matter. For there lie appeals equally from both unto the King in Chancery. And it ever hath been so while the Great Seal hath been committed unto either of those Archbishops, which hath been very frequent. And this satisfaction I have to myself in that particular of appeals to the delegates (for the appeal is not to the Chancellor himself, but to such delegates as shall be appointed for the cause, who are usually constituted of some of the judges and some eminent divines and civil lawyers, and these are to be named by the consent of both Chief Justices, and the Master of the Rolls and the Vice-Treasurer, or of any two of them, whereof the Vice-Treasurer to be one) that ever since I had the honour of serving the King in the condition of Chancellor, which is now about ten years, I never yet had any complaints against the proceedings of the delegates, for all the matters of this nature are managed by persons of quality, of public employment, and in public places.

Madam, I am much out of countenance that I have drawn this letter into such a tedious length, but I preferred to do it for your ladyship's satisfaction, and for the satisfaction of such as shall discourse to your ladyship upon that subject, and I cannot doubt but, since your ladyship gave me the occasion for it, your abundant charity will pardon it.

Endorsed in the Primate's hand "A copy of mine to my Lady Ranelagh."

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 15, London.—This morning my Lord of Shaftesbury brought into the House a copy of Col. Fitzpatrick's grant, casting many reflections upon it and upon the person, all which were seconded very vigorously by my Lord of Essex. I averred with much truth that I was ignorant, at least did not remember the particulars of it; but at the desire of the Committee I promised to inquire how the matter stood, and would speak of it with my Lord of Longford, in whose name this grant for Fitzpatrick was passed. Just now my Lord of Longford was with me, who will discourse with Secretary Coventry and consider what is to be answered. It will be difficult to give satisfaction in this point, so great is the

prejudice which is generally conceived against this gentleman, for whom I have appeared as far as the rules of discretion and my friendship for him would go, and for the future shall endeavour to prevent his having any injustice done him.

The clearing towns from Irish Papists I find the House is very fond of. As I am sure both in them wherein you have an interest as well as in all your estate you have endeavoured to get English Protestant tenants, so I would be glad you would furnish me with some instances to prove this truth. I find many very much exasperated against my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and great noise made against the decree in favour of St. Leger. I doubt not he will be able to justify the integrity of his actings, if right and not violence take place. My Lord of Burlington told me as a friend that it was taken notice of that there was not a day set apart there of humiliation, as was here. I think the case differs much, but however I thought it proper to give you this hint. I am told my Lord of Danby has writ to the Black Rod to let him know where he will be this evening.

REV. HENRY ALDRICH to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1679, April 11, Christ Church, Oxford.—By advice from Mr. Percival I understand with how great honour and generosity my Lord Ossory was pleased to resent the late unhappy error of his servant. I am obliged both in Mr. Berkeley's behalf and my own to acknowledge his lordship's great goodness in it, and to return our humble thanks to you for the trouble you received and the favour you did us in making a fair and equal representation of the whole thing to my lord. Mr. Drelincourt is since so very sensible of his error, and hath made so fair an acknowledgment to Mr. Berkeley, that I am sure he will not only repair an injury but gain a friend by it. I humbly request that when he comes to make testimony of this to my lord you will be pleased to countenance him, and join with his intercession that my lord will be pleased to honour the reconciliation by a share in it, and to receive Mr. Drelincourt into his good opinion again. And I doubt not that as his lordship has laid a great obligation upon us in receiving an unwilling complaint, so he will infinitely add to it by accepting this address, which is much more suitable to our inclinations to make, and more welcome to your charity to assist.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1679, April Oxford.—I should have long since answered your letter of the 12th of the last month ; but I having nothing to write but the returning of thanks I thought it needless to trouble your honour with an empty letter, especially in such busy time, and among the weighty affairs you are taken with in Parliament. Mr. Mulys I suppose, Sir, hath informed you of the order his Grace the Duke of Ormond hath given about

money to serve my Lord James' occasions. His lordship is very well, and goeth on in his studies as I wrote to you heretofore. It is no easy matter to persuade my Lord Courcy into learning of French. He gives me fair words about it, and daily puts me off from week to week. I'm very ready to do him any kindness that lieth in my power. When I took the liberty to acquaint your honour with my design of keeping weekly accounts of my lord's expenses in the College, I did it thinking it not inconvenient, having received advice here to do so, and that from more than one student of this house; and even my lord bishop told me something towards it, the day after our arrival here.

I would not make bold here, Sir, to trouble you with the reading of an idle story, did I not think you have heard of it afore to my great disadvantage and discredit, and that it may make some ill impression in your mind concerning me. The thing is, in short, Sir, that my Lord James, having been several times abused here by one Mr. Berkeley, and that having brought his lordship to such sad humour and discontent that he was pressing me day and night to write to my lord Duke and my lord of Ossory for to get him out of this place (or at least of this College), so that I had very much ado to persuade him to put on his gown any more, or to eat in the hall as he used to do, or even to bring him to his studies. Seeing my lord bishop (by whose means only we might hope to receive any satisfaction) was not here, that no redress could be made in his absence so as to satisfy my lord, being mighty sensible to see my lord in such condition, and finding no other way to content his lordship and to bring him to a better temper of mind, and in order to prevent also his fighting with the sword, Sunday last was sennight the quarrel having been renewed at supper, I went after to look for Mr. Berkeley, and having met him I asked him the reason of his continually abusing my Lord James, which boldly and straightly denying I answered him he did not say true, since he done it that very night; and since he was so apt to forget and to deny it, I went so far as to give him (though very softly and only upon his hairs) a little box. Thus I confess, Sir, I have done and no more indeed; though it be from hence very maliciously reported with many strange additions and exasperations, at purpose to make me forfeit my lord's illustrious friends' favour. It would be the greatest trouble in the world to me if they could obtain their end. I hope, Sir, you will be pleased to put a better construction upon this fault of mine, which I have not committed at first, but upon several provocations, when my lord bishop was not here, when I could no otherwise satisfy my lord when he daily complained to me of my suffering him to be abused, and transported with a passion warmed by my real affection for my lord.

My lord of Ossory hath acquainted me with his disliking that action of mine very much, and commanded me to beg

the young gentleman's pardon ; which I did as soon as I had read his honour's letter, and made reparation at the same place and at the same hour wherein the offence hath been done, even before far greater company than there was when it was done. For there were but two persons witnesses of the first, and there were nine or ten of the other. Even yesterday morning when the gentleman went away from hence, I renewed my excuses to him again. I humbly beg yours, Sir, if I have displeased you on this occasion, and I hope of your wonted goodness and charity that you will be pleased to assist me in recovering my lord of Ossory's and my Lord Chamberlain's goodwill, if it be so that I have been so unhappy as to lose it in great part by this unlucky business, so far against my continual desires and endeavours. This if you are pleased to do, and to continue me your favour and protection, which I set a very high value upon, you shall thereby put a very great obligation upon me.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, April 15, London. Yesterday was the fatal day to the Earl of Danby. In debate of his bill the Lords spent all the morning. The question was whether their lordships should adhere to their own bill for his banishment or concur with the Commons for his attainder. At last it was carried by three voices to concur with the Commons. Six bishops went out and gave no votes, and seven stayed in and all voted to adhere ; but the Court party did not befriend him as the Duke Mon.[mouth] Lords Roch[ester], Mulg[rave]: Nap : [?] Manch[ester]: etc.

By this time the Commons were risen having appointed to sit again in the afternoon, so the Lords adjourned also to the same time. The Commons were more for listening after what the Lords did than doing themselves. Several debates they had before them. The most material were these. Being informed that the Lords had entered in their books all the reports that Committee had made to whom the examination of the Plot was referred, and that amongst them were some secrets that as yet ought to be kept so, they appointed a Committee to search the Lords' Journals and the next day to report what they found there. Then they proceeded to consider the state and condition of the whole nation, taking in foreign preparations as well as their own. The first branch at home was that of the militia, which whilst they were consulting how to manage and improve, and render more practicable for the safety of the nation, a scruple was raised that till the hands in which it was now lodged were better the strengthening of the militia might but weaken themselves. Some expressed their exceptions against the Lord Lieutenants, some dissatisfied at the Deputy Lieutenants, and others disliked the officers. The objections were also extended to the Cinque Ports and the whole fleet, some proposing a general alteration of all those officers, as either

created or influenced by the Duke. At length that of the militia was respited till Wednesday, and the rest till Thursday ; and so that House adjourned till the afternoon, designed only for the hearing of the Leicestershire election. But when they met they soon found they had other fish to fry : the Lords saluting them with a design of a free conference, to which they readily condescended. At which the Lords acquainted them that they had agreed to their Bill of Attainder, only lengthening the time for the Earl of Danby's coming in till the 21st (from the 15th). The Commons took the Bill, and as soon as they had reported those amendments to the House, they concurred and sent back the Bill. The Lords were no sooner possessed of it than they appointed an Address to be delivered to His Majesty by the White Staves, to desire his passing the Bill next morning, and so adjourned. The Commons proceeded to hear what Sir Joseph Hartop could say against the return of Lord Sherard and Lord Roose for Knights of Leicestershire, but could not go through that cause that night.

This morning the Lords received an account that tomorrow the King would come in his robes, it is presumed only to pass the Earl of Danby's Bill, but His Majesty hath not yet bespoke his own errand. The greatest part of the morning was spent in hammering upon Irish bills against the growth of Popery, and to secure it against the danger of those who are so, which hath formerly been on the anvil, of which I suppose a lord of that House will give a more particular account. At last they resolved to commit it, but I presume they begin now to find their own error ; that the way of Ireland is not so naturally by an Act of Parliament here, as to be recommended and represented to the consideration of the King and Council to be transmitted into Ireland, and to have its sanction by the Parliament there. I do visibly perceive that though all these maladies and remedies pretended to result from a love to Ireland, it is really no effect of kindness, but to create guilt and then apply it.

My Lord Bellasis sent in his answer this morning and 'twas received because he is not able to bring it himself, but the other Lords are ordered to attend with theirs at the Lords' bar tomorrow morning.

The Commons, to show their concern for the prosecution of the Plot, this morning have ordered their Committee of Secrecy to sit from time to time, though the very House sits. Then on Sir George Downing's reports of the accounts of the Army, amounting to about 2,000*l*, and Mr. Secretary Coventry pressing for His Majesty's supply, they have ordered tomorrow morning to resolve into a Grand Committee to consider for a supply for His Majesty for disbanding the Army.

This afternoon the House hears the Leicester election at the bar, what Sir Joseph Hartop can say against the Lords

Sherard and Roose why they were not duly returned Knights of that shire. I have enclosed the Votes of yesterday morning and afternoon, and also of this day.

VISCOUNT MASSEREENE to ORMOND.

1679, April 15, London.—Upon my coming hither but last week (for I stayed a month in and about Staffordshire) I found that the House of Peers had made several animadversions upon the present state of Ireland, and although without reflection (as divers of their lordships assured me) yet have pressed several things as necessary to be done for the security of that kingdom, which I could wish had their rise (and I think it's not too late), as I presume they must have their desired effect, from your Grace's concern. The greatest of them I take to be the Oaths and Test, enacted here and now proposed for us also, upon a received opinion that our Parliaments in Ireland must not have a different constitution. The present state of the cities and corporations, the militia, the garrisons, and what is overplus of the revenue above the charge, are some of the matters I perceive of general inquiry. The Commons are not less inquisitive, albeit their being otherwise taken up for the present has not given them the leisure they have had above, to move these particulars.

I could not have imagined, may it please your Grace, till I found it, that what I have affirmed to many here concerning the proceedings in Ireland should so little obtain, especially touching the search for the dignified and regular Popish clergy, as well as arms. But as to the securing of persons liable they have been also inquisitive; and I could confidently assure them, as I did, that your Grace gave the necessary orders in all places most strictly upon the least suspicion, of which I had many instances. And now my lord as I have no design by this most humble address to your Grace but the highest duty to your person, government and family, so I could most earnestly wish that such things as you conceive for the general future good and present security of Ireland may be represented hither, which might anticipate some essays from other hands in this juncture.

As to the Bill for quieting possessions, I find it as liable here as it was to those who on the other side were not able to comprehend the advantage of it to the settlement. I have very frequently by my Lord Ossory's permission attended him since my coming, and he was pleased to oblige me by presenting me to kiss the King's hand. I shall upon all occasions apply myself to his lordship where I conceive it may be of service to your Grace

EARL OF LONGFORD to GEORGE MATHEW.

1679, April 15, London.—The election in Surrey wherein I met with so ill success has proved so chargeable to me that

the inconveniences of it necessitate me now to draw bills of exchange into Ireland payable the 12th day of May next; and therefore, to preserve my credit, I must entreat the favour of you by that time at furthest to pay the half year's rent of my wife's jointure, which will be due the 1st of May, unto my steward Hoyle; for which I assure you I would not have so early called upon you, who are so punctual a paymaster, but that I am at present somewhat hard put to it. For though I have in the East India Company's hands a good sum of money, yet I cannot call upon them for the payment of it till the arrival of their next ships from India, which are expected in June, and by which I have the prospect of a very considerable return from thence of my brother's estate. For this reason I hope you will pardon me for my forwardness in calling thus soon upon you.

The prosecution of Colonel Fitzpatrick continues still in the House of Lords, where this morning was moved a repeal of his grant of the Quit Rents. You can easily guess with what design this was moved. But pray be not frightened at it. For our friend who is principally aimed at will not be much hurt by these glances. You know he is Parliament proof, and will stand his ground and outride the malice of this storm endeavoured to be raised by his enemies. The Bill for attainting of the Earl of Danby yesterday passed the Lords, after all their struggles to compound it for a banishment; but he has time to appear till the 31st inst. The Lords by my Lord Privy Seal and my Lord Roberts moved His Majesty for his speedy royal assent to the Bill: to which His Majesty answered that he would tomorrow appear in his robes, and ordered the Lords to do so too; so that it is believed the Bill will then pass into a law.

All the Lords in the Tower this morning sent their plea of Not Guilty to the Lords; but all their pleas, excepting Lord Bellasis' were rejected because they did not personally appear at the bar to give them in; and my Lord Bellasis' was received because he is lame of the gout, and could not be there in person. Mr. Reading is to be tried tomorrow for endeavouring to suborn Mr. Bedloe; and tomorrow the House of Commons will take into consideration the disbanding of the army, and the making the militia useful in case of an invasion from France, where there is now a large preparation of men of war and land forces on the sea coast. Thus Sir you have all the news I can collect for this time.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, April 17, Castlemartyr.—This morning at 9 of the clock I had an express from Kinsale, with letters from Lt. Col. Alexander Monro, giving me advertisement of his landing at Kinsale with nineteen companies, and that two more were put into Cork Harbour. I had also letters from the Sovereign of Kinsale, apprising me that on advice with

that Corporation he found they were not able to quarter above four companies there. I had also by the same express enclosed in Lt. Col. Monro's the honour of your Grace's to me of the 18th of the last month. I wish I had received it sooner; for then I should have been able to have known where all those twenty-one companies might have been most commodiously quartered, and have had the orders on the place for the same, to have met them on their landing. But now being strengthened in time, I have according to the best of my own knowledge and the best advice I could get sent them orders where to quarter till your Excellency commands them other quarters. I found it so impossible to quarter the said twenty-one companies closer together than in this enclosed list of places, unless they were quartered in private houses, which being against law and practice, I durst not order it.

I humbly present your Grace the copy of my letter to the Lieutenant Colonel, and a copy of one of these warrants which I direct to the several places where the companies are to be quartered. Only I direct to the chief gentlemen of those places they are to quarter at those warrants where the places are not corporations, or have no civil magistrates. Your Grace will see in my letter to Lieutenant Colonel Monro that I expect the five companies to be quartered at Kinsale shall do the duty at Rincurran, so that now Captain Hillier's company need not be returned to Kinsale.

The Sovereign of Kinsale writing to me that Mr. Upton would not deliver our money for the month's pay of the regiment till he had orders, I judged it necessary to write to him as I have done in this enclosed, which is a true copy of my letter to him. I have also written to the [illegible] Justices of the Peace, as your Grace has commanded in your Excellency's letter to me of the 18th of last month.. Whatever has been omitted by me in the hurry of these despatches for the quartering of that regiment shall be mended either by me, as soon as I perceive it, or as soon as it shall be signified to me by the Lieutenant Colonel. And whatever further commands your Excellency shall honour me with, they shall be punctually and cheerfully obeyed.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to the COMMISSIONERS
OF ARRAY of the SEVERAL COUNTIES OF IRELAND.

1679, April 18. Dublin.—After our hearty commendations, having by former letters from this Board given you notice of the sudden exportation of arms and ammunition out of England, wherewith the militia troops and companies of that country might be supplied with such a proportion as they should have occasion to buy; We now think fit to signify to you that the arms and ammunition are arrived, and that the rates of them are agreed on and settled at the Board according to the list enclosed; at which rates the said arms and ammunition are to be issued by the officers

of the Ordnance here, with the licence of us the Lord Lieutenant to such persons as will make application for them.

We holding it necessary to have a full accompt of the present state and condition of the militia in the kingdom have thought fit hereby to require you to agree upon one of your own members, or to appoint some fit person in the nature of a muster-master to take a particular and muster (in your view) of the several militia troops and companies of that county, and for each of them to make up a muster roll in due form, therein adding to each person's name the quality of the arms and the condition wherein they are. And as well the said muster-master as one or more of the commissioned officers of the said troops and companies respectively to subscribe the said muster roll, which being so perfected you are to return unto us by or before the last day of May next, and to certify unto us whether the said troops and companies have been trained and exercised since they were arrayed upon the last commission, and how often and when they were last so exercised, and also the names of the particular place or places appointed by you for the general rendezvous of the said troops and companies, and for lodging the arms, ammunition, drums and colours belonging to them. And so, expecting an exact account from you of these particulars we bid you farewell. From the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 18th of April, 1679.

Your loving friends,

ORMOND.

Mich. Armach, C., Jo. Dublin, Arran, Lanesborough, Blessinton, Chas. Meredith, Hen. Midensis, John Cole, Jon. Davys.

To our loving friend the Sheriff of the County of Dublin, and to our very good lord the Earl of Meath, Lord Viscount Blessinton, Lord Viscount Lanesborough, Lord Santry and Sir Thomas Worship [Worssop] Knight, or to any of them to be communicated to the rest of His Majesty's Commissioners of Array for the said County. The like letter to the Commissioners of Array in the several counties of the kingdom.

EARL OF OSSORY to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1679, April 19.—I received your letters of the 2nd and 8th of this month. As ill news commonly flies fast, so I believe you have before this heard of my daughter Derby's being delivered of a child dead, but she I thank God is very well. I most humbly thank you for your kindness to my wife and me. As affairs move so we will guide ours, and either stay here or else accept your most kind invitation of her to shelter herself and run the same fortune with you. I beseech you to let Colonel Fitzpatrick know that I would have appeared for him more than I did if I could anyways have served him. But so violent and unjust were the proceedings of some, that no

opposition could be made. I will not forsake my friends for being unfortunate, and as occasions may happen I will do him more right than if I had vainly and more obstinately pursued his defence. My Lord Shaftesbury and I had long discourse, wherein he assured me of his value for me, and respect for our family, upon which we parted upon fair terms, he assuring me he would first tell me his exceptions, if he had any, as to the affairs of Ireland, and I undertook to satisfy his doubts all I could. He professed to be against Colonel Macarty's being here; the more because he valued him. I told him if he were such in his opinion, I thought it would have troubled him to have made a harsh motion towards a person going away to serve abroad, he having very wisely made capitulations to serve the King of Denmark. I also showed this lord a reference favourable enough in behalf of Fitzpatrick when his lordship was one of the Treasury. But at his desire I put it into his hands, and assured him I would make no ill use of it if he would not more persecute this gentleman, and that if he would give us fair quarter we would live upon good terms: so our conversation ended. If very strange informations and circumstances be true I have reason to believe my Lord of Essex is one of the bitterest enemies my father has. Of all this make your use, and let what I wish be no ways known. I wish you all happiness.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 19.—I received this morning your letters of the 1st and 12th of this month, and am glad my proceedings in the House of Lords have not been displeasing to you. I assure you besides the speech reflecting on Ireland and Scotland, my Lord of Shaftesbury had severely mentioned things relating to you, which occasioned the return I made to you of the 12th. I am sorry if the mules do not please you, and that there is some lost. The equipage that belongs to them I will send by the first occasion. The man, if it be la Vyne that brought them, is a very honest and useful, sober man. I did offer the King this letter relating what passed between the officers and the priest, as also what was done about the [*illegible*] which I shall make use of as occasion offers. A judicious and worthy friend of yours has conjured me to assure you of his service, and that in recompense of his not writing to you, having the gout in his hands, he will be watchful and do his utmost, when he hears anything wherein you are concerned. The pains of Sir Robert Southwell, and his and my Lord Chamberlain's zeal for you and your family, can never be too much acknowledged by us. You will receive a long letter which would render anything I should now say further very impertinent.

SAME to SAME.

1679, April 22.—I doubt not but you will have a relation of the King's dissolving his Council, as also the names of

others that are chosen. His Majesty was pleased to make very kind excuses that I was not of the number of those he had again elected. Upon which I assured him that I did not in the least repine, and begged him to believe that I would ever be ready to serve him in any station ; that, if anything hard did ever befall me, I had reason to believe it would proceed from the ill will of others, having had many and sufficient proofs of his graciousness towards my family, and myself in particular. As the Queen this afternoon returned from Somerset House, Mr. Oates met her in the courtyard of Whitehall, and passing close by her chair did not vouchsafe to take off his hat as he looked full in her face. My Lord Shaftesbury, otherwise my Lord President, in a debate this morning, whether or no Nonconformists should be obliged to take the oaths, said that, if some things were not done, for his part he desired not the honour of being in His Majesty's counsels, by which several guessed that he thought his being of them was upon necessity, and that he did grace in coming to them. Great whispers are against you, as Sir Robert Southwell informed you. I hope in God the worst they can do will be to remove you from your present station.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, April 22, London.—Sunday the 20th was a day of great surprises. The King summoning his Privy Council dissolved them ; declared he took no exceptions at any man, but thanked them well for their services ; ; told them he was resolved for the future to have no Cabinet Council, and to reduce the Privy Council to the usual number of thirty ; besides a President, when there should be any, (now my Lord Shaftesbury), and the Secretary of Scotland when here, and those of the blood, as Prince Rupert. The whole thirty should be thus comprised ; fifteen to be partly out of the officers of the Crown, and partly out of those of the Household ; ten to be chose out of the rest of the nobility by two out of each class, and five Commoners. To represent the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London ; the Law, the Lord Chancellor and one of the Chief Justices, (now North) ; the Treasury, when no Lord Treasurer, the eldest or first Commissioner of the Treasury (now my Lord Essex) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (now Sir John Ernely). For the Fleet, in the vacancy of a Lord Admiral, the Chief Commissioner of the Admiralty (now Sir Henry Capel), and the Master of the Ordnance (now Sir Thomas Chicheley). Then follows Lord Privy Seal, Lord Steward—(the King declared the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when in England, to be constantly of the Privy Council ; so that your Grace is doubly entitled to it)—Lord Chamberlain, Master of the Horse, Groom of the Stool and two Secretaries. Of the Dukes, Newcastle and Albemarle ; of the Marquesses, Winchester and Worcester ; of the Earls, Bridgewater and

Salisbury; of the Viscounts, Falconbridge and Halifax; of the Barons, Roberts and Hollis; of the Commons, Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir William Temple (tho' no member). Mr. Seymour (the old Speaker), Mr. Powle (my countryman), His Majesty also declared he would make these seven following: the Commissioner of the Admiralty, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Dan. Finch (Lord Chancellor's eldest son), Sir Thomas Lee, Sir Thomas Meres, Sir Humphrey Winch, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Hales (son to Sir Edward Hales of Kent, we suppose).

Monday morning, [April] the 21. The new Council was sworn, and the King came into the Lords' House in his robes, and having sent for the Commons to the bar, gave an account of what he had done and what he resolved to do; that he had dissolved one Council and chose another, who next his Great Council, who he resolved chiefly to be guided by, he resolved to consult; and therefore hastened them to consider of and despatch the public affairs depending before them. More than this, little was done in the Lords' House, only some days appointed for hearing appeals, some reports of new discoveries made before the Committee of Examination, and on a petition of my Lord Danby's presented by my Lord Frechville, and seconded by the Duke of Monmouth, the time of putting in his answer was lengthened from Wednesday till Friday. The great and only business in the Commons House was the hearing the Norfolk election at Bar, where Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Sir Neville Catline were returned knights for that county, and objected against by Sir John Hubbard. At nine at night the election was voided, and new writs ordered to be sent out.

Tuesday, April 22. The Lords entertained themselves with a long Bill of Religion, and a longer debate how they should separate, or whether they should separate, the other Nonconformists from the Papists. So many champions appeared *pro* and *con*. that it was thought fit at one o'clock to adjourn the House till tomorrow and the debate till Thursday; nothing else of moment falling under debate.

The Commons having sworn a member, and received some reports (as concerning the Bill for all the Convocation to take the oaths and tests) they received a private bill for sale of land to pay Lord Mohun's debts. Sir Francis Winnington craved leave on behalf of the private Committee who were to draw up my Lord Danby's new charge, to send for (by way of [*illegible*]) any member of the House to give them information, that they might have a solicitor allowed them, and sit from time to time during the sitting of the House. Then they read the first time the Bill for the disbanding the Army. Several other particulars I shall omit to insert because I have now got the Votes of both days, which I here enclose.

There is great expectation of great advantage from this new change, the effects of which (as long as I continue in

this part of the world) I shall presume to communicate to your Grace. The great doubt now is whether my Lord Danby or the five Popish Lords shall have preference in their trial, for the resolving which doubt great debates are expected. But I believe the five lords will first come to their trials. One can yet make no conjectures what will be the event of these great changes, because the surprise and amazement is not yet over. The King seems very cheerfully, yet very jealous of the French, insomuch that new supplies are sent down to Parliament. Old Major Giles Morgan died this last week in his government of Jersey, and Sir John Lauder [? Saunders] (if I mistake not his Christian name or do not misspell his surname) succeeds him ; which the Commons grumble at because they know him not, concluding him both a Papist and a Frenchman. And last night poor Davy Walter died, and George Legge succeeds him, which is all that at present occurs to my frail memory.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, April 22, Whitehall.—This last post brought me three from your Grace, two of the 7th and one of the 10th inst. Mine of the 8th to your Grace hath acquainted you how the King had complied with Mr. Attorney's refusal, and had made no determinate resolution, nor would till he should hear from your Grace : so that I have not acquainted him with what you write this post in expectation of your answer to mine of the 8th inst. Yours and the Council's letters concerning the Earl of Tyrone have been read at our new Council, and the method you have taken is approved of ; and His Majesty has thought fit not to intermeddle, but leave it to law, where it now is. Your narrative I have likewise lodged at the Council. Sir Nicholas Armorer's letter is at last come from the Commissioners of the Treasury, who in their report have excepted against the clause of during his good behaviour, and would have it run *durante bene placito*. I believe I cannot get it signed and entered tonight, but I doubt not before the next post it will be ready. Your Grace sent a letter in behalf of Lord Massereene which is full of blanks. I desire your Grace would fill up those blanks, for the King cannot sign to a blank ; and the Commissioners of the Treasury would be troubled to fill them up without any light given by your Grace. As soon as you transmit it so filled up, I shall give it all despatch imaginable.

Our reformatations here are sudden and great. I wish they may produce the desired effect. But to be well heard at Court, and well spoken of in Parliament is a great good fortune, if our new Ministers can acquire it. But though they have as yet done neither good nor evil, I find the bare being preferred maketh some of them suspected, though not criminal. From abroad we have little news, only the death of the King of Sweden, which though we have no certainty of, yet many

circumstances make us believe it. As we come to be a little more settled I shall not fail to give your Grace an account more perfect than this.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1679, April 22, St. James's Square.—There has been another great change of affairs since the last post. The King on Easter Day dissolved his Privy Council, and instituted a new one to consist of thirty members, besides such Princes of the Blood as he shall think fit, and a President. Fifteen of these are to be as many of the great officers of the Crown; ten noblemen (two of each order) and five commoners.

Lord President,		Dukes	{ Newcastle.
Earl of Shaftesbury	..		{ Albemarle.
Lord Chancellor	Marquesses	{ Winchester
			{ Worcester
Lord Treasurer		Earls	{ Bridgewater
or Chief Commissioner	..		{ Salisbury
Lord Steward	Viscounts	{ Falconbridge
			{ Halifax
Lord Privy Seal	Barons	{ Roberts
			{ Hollis
Lord Chamberlain		{ Lord Cavendish
Groom of the Stole		{ Lord Russell
Chancellor of the Exchequer	..	Com-	{ Sir William Temple
Master of the Ordinance	..	moners	{ Mr. Seymour
Master of the Horse		{ Mr. Powle
Two Secretaries of State			
Archbishop of Canterbury			
Bishop of London			
One of the Lord Chief Justices			
(at present the Chief Justice of			
the Common Pleas)			
Secretary of Scotland, if the King			
please.			

He has been pleased to appoint the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Sir Henry Capel, who is therefore a Privy Councillor, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir Thomas Meres, Sir Humphrey Winch, Mr. Dan Finch, Mr. Hales of Kent (son of Sir Edward), Mr. Vaughan (son of the late Lord Chief Justice).

Other changes are talked of too, as the Court of Chancery and the Mastership of the Ordnance, shall be put into Commission; that all the Lieutenancies and Commissions of the Peace through England shall be reviewed, and most of them altered; that the governors of the seaports and the masters of ships shall be reformed; and, in fine, that a general inspection shall be made into all places of trust in the nation. In this so universal an alteration (as 'tis thought there will be) I hope I shall have your Grace's pardon if I acquaint you that it is said that the Lieutenancy of Ireland

shall likewise be in commission. Before any change of this kind happen in that kingdom (which that it may be long first, for the service of the King and good of the country, I wish) I humbly conceive it fit to acquaint Mr. Brisban with what I received from your Grace last Saturday night by yours of the [] instant, because I am very sure your Grace's being in the Government will be a great part of the encouragement.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ORRERY.

1679, April 22, Dublin.—I have, for the present, no answer to make to your lordship's of the 17th of this month, concerning the quartering of the Regiment lately landed in these parts, but that I approve of the care your lordship has taken in it, to which nothing can be added. I sent this morning to one of the Farmers. I am assured by him that the Collector has advanced some part of the month's pay I ordered long since to be ready at the landing of the regiment, and that the remainder shall be soon paid. I observe that in the order your lordship gave for quartering the companies, you inserted a clause which declares that it is against law to billet any soldiers anywhere but in inns, ale or victualling houses, without the consent of the housekeeper, which I wish had been omitted. For tho' the law may be so, yet if I am not mistaken, the contrary has been practised in this kingdom, even in time of peace, ever since the Conquest, at one time or other, in most if not all the Governors' times. Nor have I ever seen such restriction put into any patent or order for quarter soever that I can remember; but the directions go to give the men sufficient quarters, the manner being left to the civil officers, who are to distribute the men with equality to the inhabitants. And possibly such a declaration may be more inconvenient now than another time; for your lordship knows the Government has found it necessary to give order for the doing of some things as little warranted by law, and less by custom, than the quartering of soldiers upon private houses. Corporations do seldom need to be put in mind of their privileges as such, or as subjects at large, but will often insist upon them against their profit. And I have observed that none among them are more apt to challenge the benefit of laws they suppose made for them than those that give least obedience to other laws they do not like.

If it were in my power to contribute more than I have done to your Lady's and your own safe and easy passage I would do it. Give me leave, my lord, to own the great civility of your expressions concerning me in a letter of yours to the Lord Primate, which he was pleased to read to me, and to assure you that I am a great stranger to my own nature if I am so arrogant as to expect that men of much less capacity than your lordship should do the least violence to their reason

and beliefs in complying with mine. And if it had pleased His Majesty to have left me on the same level with your lordship as I was before he put me in this station, and shall be when he removes me from it, our difference in judgment could have brought no other inconvenience to me than that most men might think me in the wrong. But while I am acting for and in some things as the King's servant in matters of the greatest importance and in a conjuncture of danger and distraction, your lordship's disapprobation of my counsel and action cannot be so indifferent a thing but that I may be allowed to complain of my ill fortune, and wish your disapproval had been more confined or declared by a man of less credit. Your lordship professing it was not from intention to do me prejudice in the matter or manner of your advices and despatches and going now where they may have done me hurt without your purpose, I shall rest assured that you will as opportunity offers and justice may require, rectify those that may have mistaken your meaning. And so wishing you a happy voyage, I am etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, April 23, Dublin.—I received yours of the 15th late last night, and am just now to celebrate the day. It is not hard to guess by whom the injury concerning the grant supposed to be for the benefit of Fitzpatrick is set on; and since things of that nature are come in play, possibly I may be able to inform of some much less justifiable than that in question. About a week hence I may be better instructed, and I suppose that will be time enough, if the Parliament proceeds upon those discoveries and matters of greater consequence they have taken in hand. It is no less easy to guess whence the clamour against my Lord Primate proceeds. I am confident upon a fair hearing, which I do not doubt but he will have, he will be found to have administered justice very ably and uncorruptly.

I doubt it is not known or remembered there that in the time of my Lord Berkeley's Government there issued a proclamation to let all Papists at one blow into Corporations, and if Mr. Bridgeman be examined, he is able to tell at whose solicitation the letter commanding such a proclamation was procured. It may concern my Lord Chamberlain to look into this matter, if he was then Secretary. Upon this occasion the glut of Papists got into towns and cities, contrary, I think, to the intent of the Act of Parliament, which leaves a power in the Chief Governor and Council to admit some, which has not sparingly been exercised. For my towns, first there is none of them a sea-town; and whatever they are, nine parts of ten of the Papists that inhabit them are got in. We were hereupon looking into the matter before the Votes of the Lords came to

us, and we have received from most towns an account of the Popish inhabitants, and from some the number of Papists they desire should remain amongst them, as some principal traders and useful artificers. From Limerick, where my Lord of Orrery is Governor, and in a great part proprietor, we have got no return; which he excuses upon the death of the Mayor, who was one of those who were to make the inquiry and report. And if it be safe to say so, it is apparent that trade cannot be carried on in towns nor husbandry in the country without some Popish merchants, and very many Popish tenants, unless a large plantation of English of all sorts could be sent us, for which we would be very glad to make a double return of Irish Papists.

The matter of the Fast and Humiliation was not unthought of here, but the appointing of it and the manner of solemnization are peculiar prerogatives of the King, which we cannot find imparted to any Chief Governor. But I have sent to know His Majesty's pleasure about it, and expect a return very speedily.

This may give you some light what to answer to these things, and, to avoid repetition, it may be fit to give copies and extracts of it to our friends. My Lord Massereene tells me he does me justice upon all occasions; you shall do well to encourage him in it by civility and familiarity.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, April 25, Castlemartyr.—I have the honour of your Grace's letter of the 22nd instant. I am glad your Excellency is pleased to approve of what I did in quartering my Lord Dumbarton's regiment, and very sorry that the words in my letter to the magistrates for no quartering any but in inns, alehouses and victualling houses, without the consents of housekeepers (as being illegal), has offended your Excellency, which I humbly beg your Grace to believe is what I study to avoid and always shall do. The reasons which induced me to insert those words in those letters was not to put the magistrates in mind of their privileges (for I have often chid them for standing too strictly on them), but this new regiment has long served in countries where quartering in private houses has been constantly practised, I inserted that clause to prevent disputes between them and the magistrates, which I believed could only be that way done on such a sudden. Though at the same time I also writ to the magistrates and chief gentlemen to desire them to use their best endeavours to prevail with the people to quarter voluntarily the commissioned officers in private houses. But since your Excellency does not like that expression, I heartily wish I had omitted it, and I am sure it shall never again be inserted by me.

Though Mr. Upton, the Collector of Kinsale, was not obliged to pay a fortnight's pay to this new regiment till

after fifteen days' sight of the order to do so, yet he paid it on demand. And the other fortnight's pay charged at Youghal will be paid on the day, as Lieutenant-Colonel Monro tells me, who intends on Monday to go towards Dublin to wait on your Excellency. I foresee disputes will happen between the old captains of the army and the captains newly come, and therefore I beg your Excellency's pleasure for regulating all things may be signified. I here enclosed humbly present your Excellency the names of the field officers and captains of that regiment, and the places where they are quartered.

I am truly sensible of your Grace's great favour in your obliging orders for my wife's and my transportation to Bristol, and we both pay your Excellency our most humble acknowledgments for them. But since the time that I begged your Grace's leave to go to England (both for my wife's health and my own) I find by my English letters, especially in those which came by the last post, great preparations are made by the French ; a considerable army is drawn to the sea side, and a fleet prepared to transport them. And what is written to private hands seems to incline men to think we of Ireland may have some, if not all, of that storm fall on us. I therefore judge it a conscientious duty in me not to stir hence until I know where the impression of the French will be made. And therefore, if it should be made on us, neither the posture we are in, nor my present distempers can make me hope to do any good service to my King and country, yet I resolve to suffer for my King and with my country. But, God willing, as soon as this threatening is over, I shall make use of your Grace's leave to go.

What I lately writ to my Lord Chancellor of Ireland (which I find he did show to your Excellency) is what my heart did dictate. I am one who abhors dissembling, and I faithfully assure your Grace that in what your Grace was pleased to write to me on your last arrival in Ireland, and on what my brother Burlington had written to me, I did not only rejoice to be restored to your favour, but assiduously endeavoured to have a title to it. That I am unfeignedly troubled when my own private judgment is so unfortunate as not to agree with your Excellency's in all public things : that even in those particulars wherein it is under that unhappiness, I have and still will (within my little sphere) contributed as much to advance your Excellency's public resolutions for His Majesty's service and the good of this kingdom as if they had been taken up on my humble advice : I believe beyond this your Excellency does not expect, and short of this I dare not go. I further beg your Excellency to believe that I have seen, and daily see, enough of this world to prefer retirement before the best stations in it ; which is not only what my crazy health inclines me unto, but also what my reason and experience

does. And, therefore, what can I have in prospect worth contending for? So that nothing is more desirable, or indeed desired by me than to have a Chief Governor who has his whole temporal interest in that same vessel in which the temporal interest of the family I am of is embarked. That to live well with him, to get his kindness to me and my friends, and for me and my friends to entitle ourselves to it by all fitting services, is my earnest desire, as the obtaining it would be my great satisfaction. When I can meet with these particulars in a Chief Governor of Ireland, I am certain I shall in all the ways of honour court it. When I do not, I can retire into England, where I can live as well, if not more at my ease there than here.

I have in this written my heart without disguise to your Excellency, who will on due examination find me a plain but honest man. When I am in London I shall make it my proposal to rectify any mistakes which may have been run into on any of my letters to any of my friends there. What is more common than for men to be of different opinions how the same affairs may be best managed. But I still judge it the duty of an honest man (though he cannot change his belief) to help the declared resolutions of those that are in public authority. I will humbly beg your Grace's permission (for I write only to yourself) to say that at longer run you will possibly find me more your servant than you have believed. That possibly the number of your Grace's ill-wishers might have of late been increased had not the intentions of some been resisted by him who will make honour and justice the steady way he will walk in to his last step. And therefore I will presume, since it is for your Grace's advantage and service, humbly to lay before you the sad condition that those western counties of the kingdom are in. We have our militia with few arms, no powder, match or ball, and consequently not trained and consequently not much significance. I know the State wants money, and daily tell those who lament our condition—'pray propound a practical way to redress.' I humbly beseech your Grace that a competent proportion of arms and ammunition may be sent to Cork for this province, as the safest place nearest the centre of it, by those contractors who have brought in arms and ammunition to Dublin, whereby such as are able and willing to buy may supply themselves regularly out of it. For since no others but those contractors have had licences to bring in arms and ammunition, if they should not send them into all parts, whereby they are wholly unprovided, [we] may have this, in case of rebellion or invasion, objected against the Government by such as are not great friends to it.

I further take the confidence to mind your Excellency that in the honour of your letter to me (in which the Council joined) dated the 3rd of December, 1678, you were pleased

to let me know your Excellency's resolution of settling Governors in all counties. If such Governors were established with fit authority, and were pitched upon of quality, knowledge, interest, and constant residence in the counties, it might be of good use. For really, my Lord, I observe what is equally the business of many, seldom does any perform at all. If the militia were regimented, it might, I think, be very advantageous in many respects. But at present, as things are, who knows who is to command the militia of any county, or any part of it, should troops and companies of it be commanded on present service. Might it not be permissible that your Grace would write to two or three chief persons in every county to call the militia captains and officers together, and represent to them how necessary it is that their troops and companies be forthwith provided with ammunition, and with as many arms as they really want; and that they should let them know that they have your Grace's orders to make speedy returns of such as will comply herein, and of such as do not. And if to this they had leave to assure them that such as may need arms and ammunition for this end shall be repaid out of the first money granted by Parliament for the arming and defence of the kingdom, on certificate thereof from those whom your Excellency shall authorise to give it, I hope it might produce desirable effects.

I will not only beg, but also humbly hope for your pardon for this I write, since I do it out of present duty to my King, my country and your Grace, and because I would do the like were my own brother Lord Lieutenant. If this way of proceeding be acceptable to your Grace, I have many important things further to lay with all humility before you. But should such letters be otherwise considered, then from my soul, though I intend them for His Majesty's, the kingdom's and your Grace's good, and to stop the mouths of your Grace's enemies, I shall on the least notice never run again into the like honest folly.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT MASSEREENE.

1679, April 26, Dublin.—I received your Lordship's obliging letter of the 15th, when we were taken up with the divertisements and solemnity of the holidays, of which the 23rd made one. Without doubt there are few things more worthy of the consideration of the House of Lords than the condition of this kingdom, for it cannot be in disorder and danger but that it must proportionably affect England; and we have late experience how much blood and treasure it has cost England to preserve and reduce Ireland, when the hundredth part, seasonably and prudently employed, might have prevented all the calamities the Protestants underwent. God be thanked we are now in such a state

that we require nothing from England but leave and authority to secure ourselves, which perhaps hereafter will not do this work. I do not wonder that our proceedings here are misrepresented from hence and misunderstood in England. It is not possible that all men can be satisfied, or very easy to keep those that are not from instilling the public with their public discontents and disappointments. I know a man of your lordship's parts and acquaintance may do much in the satisfaction of satisfiable men; and though it be a justice to truth, yet it is no small obligation to me that you are pleased to take pains in it. As to the Bills transmitted, they are where they may be amended where they are amiss, and they are sure to come to receive a final conclusion where nothing shall pass hurtful to their interest who are to pass them. The King, I am sure, intends nothing by the Bill of quieting possessions but the safety of his good subjects and their satisfaction; and if that be not done to their mind in those Bills they have no more to do but to propose what may do it better. I conclude with thanking your lordship for your lordship's letter.

Copy.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, April 26, Whitehall.—Your Grace will by this post find the letter for Mr. Keating sent to be Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: that for the removal of my Lord Chief Justice Booth is already with your Grace, so that there needeth no fresh letters.

I suppose your Grace did, upon the news of the reduction made in the Council of England, foresee that something of that nature would follow in Ireland. His Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your Grace that he will proceed in the same method there; and therefore doth expect from your Grace a list of the present Councillors, and likewise what those officers are that you judge fitting should be Privy Councillors by virtue of their places. His Majesty proposed the reducing the number of Privy Councillors in Ireland to twenty. I humbly offered my opinion that would be too little in respect several occasions did draw some members of them into this town always, which would leave few to supply the several Committees of Council the affairs of that kingdom require. However, I suppose there will be no resolution taken till His Majesty hath heard from your Grace.

To-morrow, though Sunday, the House of Commons have voted to sit, and great points are intimated: rules for the successive disorders of the Government in England, Ireland and Scotland, not without reflection upon the Governors of the two latter, though your Grace is not directly named.

In discourse to-day with my Lord of Essex concerning the accompt you sent up concerning the extraordinary

charges since your coming to the Government, he told me the Commissioners had observed that there was no accompt given of the concordatum money since your Grace's coming to the Government, and that in his time it was always sent up hither quarterly; and this, I suppose, they have wrote to your Grace, but, however, I thought it my duty to let you know it. My Lord Strafford hath oftentimes spoke to me to know whether you had not wrote to me in order to recommend him to a troop of horse, as he pleadeth your recommendation here. I told him I knew nothing of it, but should put your Grace in mind of it. Our affairs have been long dark and the mists arise hourly. When or how they will be dispelled I am not weatherwise enough to know. One thing I am sure will not change which is my being with all respect, etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, April 26, Dublin.—I have yours of the 19th, and read that of the same date to your Mother, also the long letter with much care; and yet I am not ready to frame any judgment, much less resolution, upon it. I think the case very ingeniously stated as to the public, and as to my particular I will take a few days time to consider, and then send my sense. In the meantime I think you should without affectation keep on the intercourse with the person you had a long discourse with. If he keeps his word and finds it not to be his interest not to be satisfied, I am confident he may receive satisfaction, and though he should be resolved against it, yet we are but where we were.

The Scotch regiment is landed, well quartered for their refreshment, and have received a month's pay. The difficulty will be how to continue this good treatment to them; but I will take all the care I can.

I have some confirmation of what you write at the end of your letter to your Mother concerning that nobleman not being my friend, but know no cause I have given but that I love myself better than him—a fault I cannot mend.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, April 26, London.—I shall direct my account to the passages of the Lords' House only, because the fulness of the Commons Votes will save me the labour of a comment, unless some passages relating to neither House shall occur to my knowledge, as the death of honest Davy Walter, who George Legge succeeds in the Lieutenantancy of the Ordinance. I also enclose the King's Declaration, not trusting to the diligence of others to do it, because each part of it is worthy your Grace's view.

On Wednesday their Lordships wound themselves into a kind of labyrinth, coveting to secure England in general

from Popery, and the City of London from Papists, by expelling all (even tradesmen) out of it who should refuse the oaths and test. Till they were convinced that such a general banishment, by taking in all sorts of Protestant dissenters, would thereby shake the very trade of the City, such being so numerous in it, they found a great difficulty to winnow the one from the other; and the day being far spent, and no prospect of any expedient in the point, they adjourned the consideration, though I hear since the Quakers offer to set their hands and seals to an obligation of their obedience and declaration of their opinions in all these points, and will admit of it to be felony without clergy if any amongst them shall ever be detected of Popery. But how far that will amount towards satisfaction, until I see the proposal I cannot conjecture: a copy whereof I am promised, and shall enclose in my next letter after I receive it.

The same day my Lord Clare happened to express his dissatisfaction at an expression in the King's Declaration, whereby Prince Rupert is entitled to a seat in the new Privy Council, by virtue of being a Prince of the Blood: which his lordship observed was a language not so well understood in England, not being to be found in any law book or Act of Parliament, no not in the Statute itself that treats of honours, at that degree His Highness stands related to the King's person. But the new Lord President, having first anticipated what he apprehended the others might object, as if with his place his judgment should alter, assuring their Lordships his conscience should always guide his tongue, gave this answer:—It were unreasonable to deny the King the liberty of terming his near relations how he pleased, especially since it was both an intelligible appellation, and what did not entitle him to anything to the prejudice of anyone else. But my Lord of Strafford grafted a further objection upon that discourse, it being a French term of art, and of a large extent there; and that already the King's natural sons did greatly encroach on the ancient nobility by placing themselves above all others of the same classes. But this uneasy discourse to some who heard it, as it had the bad luck so abruptly to be begun, so had it the good luck to end quietly, neither being answered nor seconded by any, but fell of itself.

Thursday, the 24th.—Their Lordships were early invited by the Commons to a conference, at which Sir Francis Winnington reported the Commons' exceptions against the Popish Lords' answers (which your Grace may at large read in the Commons' Votes of that day) which, when reported to the House, their Lordships referred the consideration of the three Lords' evasive and argumentative answers (for so they are styled) to the Committee of Privileges, and ordered my Lord Bellasis to put in his the next morning. My lord's pen proved no fencer, his answer being a downright denial of

all he was charged with. This day Mr. Reading, the lawyer, came to his trial, when it was apparently found that he attempted to suborn Mr. Bedloe's testimony against the Tower Lords, for which he was adjudged to stand in the pillory, to undergo a year's imprisonment, and pay 1,000*l.* (a great punishment, and a great fault, and what seriously reflects on those Lords).

Friday, the 25th.—The Earl of Danby put in his answer at the Lords' Bar, in which, though he confidently asserted his innocency, yet was advised by his counsel also to plead his pardon, because else it could not be pleadable at any other time. What else he may lose time will show, but he gains the reputation of an excellent speaker: that is allowed him by his very enemies. After him they desired Lord Bellasis cross to the Bar with his answer; whose tongue proved his best member, who delivered a very satisfactory answer very satisfactorily: both which were immediately sent down by their Lordships to the Commons, as their Votes mention.

This day three Lords, Powis, Stafford and Arundel, appeared at the Bar, where they were told by my Lord Chancellor the character the Commons had given of their answers, who demanded of them whether they would put in new or abide by those. They sheltered their answers under the advices of their counsel, who informed them that they could not safely give a more direct answer to so general a charge. But if their Lordships would advise them to put in others, they would do so. My Lord Chancellor answered 'twas not their parts to advise, but to judge; only gave this advice that they should consult their own interest. At length my Lord [] surprised their Lordships by telling them that fencing would but weaken their credits with their judges, and exasperate their prosecutors; and therefore he had brought another answer with him, short and conformable to that method approved of in my Lord Petre's; whereupon the other two also produced and gave in theirs also, only craving the return of their former; which was granted, and the old ones were delivered back and the new ones sent down to the Commons. So that now it is presumed the trial will soon follow.

I am now to tell your Grace a tale without head or foot, and yet 'tis fit I should let your Grace know as much as I do of it. Mr. Oates today produced one Lane as a witness before the Lords of the Committee of Examination to prove the Earl of Danby offered him a reward if he would get Oates to withdraw his testimony. Lane, being asked, declared he knew no such thing. Mr. Oates his men were also called in, but instead of impeaching others fell to arraigning Mr. Oates himself, as one that had spoke the basest and most contemptible words of the King imaginable, as if he associated himself with none but whores, rogues, pimps and panders, and that Mr. Chiffinch was a pimp, the son of a pimp, and that the

King never went sober to bed, and thence proceeded to such beastly bawdy discourses that the Lords stopped his mouth and would hear him no further nor believe him so far. What will be the consequence of this must be the subject of future letters ; only I hear the King (as he hath just reason) is highly incensed at it. I confess I have not my story very perfect, though I have heard it from several of the Committee ; for seriously no one, methought, could make sense of it, and all differed in material circumstances.

Since I have little hope to obtain the Votes of this day time enough to send them by this night's post, for that House is now sitting to finish the Bill for disbanding the Army and it is already dark, I shall give your Grace the punctuallest account I can of those no small matters that have happened there this day. They began with a petition from several persons who had more French commodities on their hands than they could hope to make sale of by the 1st of May, the limited time for all such goods to be destroyed. They therefore craved a longer time to prevent their ruin, who could be no way guilty because they had the possession of them before there was any prospect of that act. But to show the indignation conceived against all things as well as persons of that nation, they not only rejected the petition, but also ordered the bringing in of a corroborating act, if the Committee to whom it was referred to examine that act should find it defective, and that by Friday next. Then came in a report from the Committee who were to scrutinise into the causes of the late London fires, that a maid servant had confessed that she fired her master's house by the persuasion of one Stubbs, my Lady Shrewsbury's butler, a Papist, and one who had prevailed with her to be so ; who being apprehended also, on promise of pardon, confessed that his father confessor, one Gilford, had obliged him both to get it done and to conceal it : telling him further that all those scaffolds in Westminster Hall were but a piece of pageantry, for that none of those Lords in the Tower should so much as come to trial, nor any of those condemned priests should suffer : that the King should yet be sent to death before the middle of June, and six thousand French immediately land, with several other particulars. Whereupon it was ordered that an Address should be presented to His Majesty, by the Privy Councillors of that House, for his pardon for the maid and Stubbs, and for a proclamation to proscribe Gilford and two other persons who had been active in the firing of London, and that there might be a promise of pardon to encourage such as should come in and make any discoveries of that nature. Then came a message from the Lords to inform them that the three Lords had been at their Bar, had withdrawn their former answers, and put in others they would abide by, which they were desired to peruse and to return with what speed they could conveniently.

They also ordered another Address to His Majesty that Pickering and all other condemned priests may be forthwith executed, and all other Papists banished ten (if not twenty, for I am not certain) miles out of London. This alarm is so hotly received in that House that though they are now sitting (and it is dark night) on the Money Bill for the disbanding of the Army, yet they have voted to sit tomorrow (tho Sunday) to consider how to provide for the safety of His Majesty's person and the established Protestant religion, both in the King's time and his successors: which the wise foresee will be a hot day, and 'tis feared will scorch Queen and Dukes. And where and how 'twill end God only knows, I dread to think. It is also whispered that impeachments are preparing for other Lords, but I will wish I may be a false prophet. The Votes of this day shall come with the next packet.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 26, London.—Considering the uncertainty of affairs, and how liable persons are to be displaced to serve those who are now looked upon to be able to assist in these extremities, and finding my Lord Marquess of Winchester pleased with his growing credit, I fell upon the discourse of the late attempt that had been made for your Staff, and by way of confidence gave him the detail of the whole matter, to find if he would be a person likely to purchase it, if you had upon a reasonable consideration a mind to part with it. I had my aim; for when I told him after many compliments the honour and advantage of that post, to which always a blue ribbon was annexed, he told me that if the King and you consented to put a bargain, he would give in ready money 10,000*l.*, but not more. As I assured him that what I said was without any knowledge or commission from you, so I would know your mind with all speed, and doubted not but to have either your negative answer, or to forbid me any such dealing, or else full power to treat and conclude. We have both promised secrecy until your pleasure be known, which I desire may be speedy; and according to your commands I shall endeavour to acquit myself to your satisfaction. I have nothing more to write at present.

SAME to SAME.

I am informed that my Lord Ranelagh is getting up articles to present to the House of Commons against you, upon which I acquainted the King of this proceeding; who seems very much incensed, and assured me that if it could be proved, or that if he could have grounds to believe that contrary to oaths that Lord held such practices he should not continue an hour in his place. I am put in hopes of having the articles, together with sufficient reason to persuade that he is the author of them. In this particular I

hope you will believe that I shall not be remiss. I have ordered Mulys to send a printed paper relating to transactions in Ireland, which I hope you will not dislike.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1679, April 29, Dublin.—I have no more time to write than will serve to assure your lordship that as I have great reason, so I really am much satisfied with your lordship's of the 26th of this month. What you write concerning the public is with great prudence, and in what concerns me in particular is very obliging. The ammunition and arms desired to be sent to Cork shall be sent to that port with all the speed that may be. It is most necessary that the militia should be regimented, and it shall forthwith be gone in hand with. The letter to the principal gentleman in each county is well worth and shall have due consideration, and your lordship shall have my thoughts more fully upon it by the next post.

If I am dissatisfied with any part of your lordship's letter, it is with that part of it in which you are pleased to excuse the freedom of your proposing [suggestions]. Whatever shall come from you to the ends you mention shall have no other interpretation from me than you shall be [fully satisfied with].

[This letter has been much injured by fire, and is in parts illegible.]

Copy.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1679, April 30, London.—I did hope that I should before this time have begun my journey towards Ireland; but the House of Peers are so stout on the point of permitting their members to stir from their attendance that they refuse everybody that asks leave, and resolve to imprison and fine every peer that shall not appear at the trial of the Lords, which moves so slowly that I doubt it will be near Midsummer before those trials will be finished. My Lord of Danby was this day at our Bar, who being acquainted that the Commons excepted against his plea of the King's pardon has been given time till Saturday to resolve whether he will adhere unto it or alter it. If he does the first, his life must depend upon the validity of it; for after that day he cannot change it. But if he pleads not guilty, then his innocence only must acquit him. The House of Commons, who sat on Sunday last, passed the Vote, a copy whereof I now send your Grace. To morrow it will be in our House debated, the Commons having desired our concurrence therein. The Bill for raising money to pay off and disband the Army will by the Commons this day be passed, and to morrow be sent up to us. If the weakness of my hand, which a fit of gout did lately render so, had not kept me from making use of it, I had sooner begged the honour of your Grace's commands,

which I do now with the assurance that nobody shall more punctually obey them.

Postscript.—I am very much obliged to your Grace for putting a stop to the Duke of Monmouth's patent till my right was heard.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, April 30, Dublin.—I do not remember any Session of Parliament held when I was out of England but that I was hotly alarmed by my friends of preparations and contrivances to accuse me ; and I have sometimes made voyages thither principally to prevent, or to be ready to answer anything that could be objected against me ; and it has fallen out that upon my arrival I have still been suffered to be quiet. I have now again the same informations, and I have at least as much reason to give credit to them as heretofore ; and if I were at liberty I would hasten over to defend my honour, innocence and conduct in the trusts that have been reposed in me as well as I could. I know the chief grounds of men's ill-will to me are malice, because I would not bear calumny and envy to the places I hold, which are motives that will never die or be at rest as long as the object remains. And I am now come to an age and inclination so fit for retirement that I would be content to purchase it at any rate but that of dishonour or prejudice to my fortune and family. Therefore, though I could with all imaginable cheerfulness and content lay this great and envied place at His Majesty's feet, from whose hands I received it, yet I cannot bring myself to offer it as a ransom or composition, but had rather undergo the strictest inquiry and trial of my actions. Thus you know my case and present disposition as well as I know it myself ; and it is now time you should know that my humble desire is that His Majesty would send me over a permission to attend upon him at Court in the usual form, which I think may be found in your office, that I may be at liberty to make use of it when I shall think fit ; that my son Ossory may be sent with it, and power given that he may remain Deputy in my absence ; or if His Majesty approves not of him in this conjuncture, that the Lord Chancellor and my son Arran may be Justices ; or in the last place, if His Majesty find reason not to appoint any of these, of whom I would not have proposed any if I could think of fitter, that he would direct into what other hands to put the Government, till he shall have resolved either to return me to it or where else to fit. I do not intend that whoever His Majesty shall place here in my absence shall be any addition of charge ; but am content that the usual allowance shall be taken out of my appointments. That which I would further desire is as much secrecy as the matter will bear, and a speedy signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

[Copy.]

SAME to SAME.

1679, April 30, Dublin.—Mr. Ryder and his partners are come to a fair agreement without bringing their difference to a public debate, which I think is all that is necessary to say in return to the letters he brought me from His Majesty, the then Lord Treasurer, and yourself. The state of their farm had been much better than it is if they had never fallen out, or agreed sooner; but as it is I am in hope they will continue to make their payments at least as well as they have done in the time of their disagreement among themselves, and if they do there will be no great reason to complain of them.

Copy.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, April 30, Dublin.—All the resolution I have ever been able to bring myself to as yet is to write the enclosed letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry. The copy is for you to show to my Lord Chamberlain and Sir Robert Southwell, and then to resolve when to make use of it, or whether at all or no: wherein I depend on Mr. Secretary's judgment and kindness as much as upon any man's. If anything be to be changed or added there may be time for it, if all the great things in hand shall take place of the concerns of this kingdom, as much less have usually done. Perhaps if my Lord of Shaftesbury or any other that may wish this Government in other hands saw how I am disposed in the matter it would do no hurt. But all is left to the determination of my friends. It was but last night that I knew Mr. Ryder would embark this morning, so that I had not time to write with all the care such an affair would require, nor now to say any more to you.

Copy.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, April 30, .—I think it would be a difficulty upon your Grace to write upon any subject and not to write all that the subject would bear. Your Grace's letter to Mr. Secretary is so full to the purpose that very little may be added to it, or subtracted from it, except in that one particular which refers to me; wherein upon the confidence of present circumstances I must presume to differ from your Grace's opinion, and humbly propose that my Lord Arran may be named single as Deputy, if my Lord of Ossory doth not come: against which there can be no other exception but his relation to your Grace. And if that be looked upon as an argument of any force, then it must follow that who-soever shall be named by your Grace will be disallowed there. So that your Grace doth upon very good considerations leave His Majesty to his own choice for Justices. But if

your Grace should think fit that my Lord Arran should have a colleague, perhaps my Lord Granard may be more acceptable, or free from exception, because he was once Justice, than many others. As to my own particular I must acknowledge that I have not the least inclination under the present juncture to appear more to the world than of necessity I must, unless it may be for your Grace's service. Pardon me, my Lord, that I do not understand the connexion of those words in the first line of your letter "and it hath so fallen out I have still been suffered to be quiet." I believe the transcriber hath omitted some words, which renders the meaning somewhat difficult.

Your Grace's letter to my Lord of Orrery is mightily obligate, and will certainly beget your Grace a whole volume of acknowledgments.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, April 30, Wednesday morning, the first day this letter was began, London.—We were all in an amaze, the King summoning first of all the Lords to come in their Robes, and then all the Commons to appear at the Lords' Bar, where all suspicions of at least a prorogation ended in an assurance of His Majesty's favour in the enclosed speeches. If one may infer the heart from the voice, theirs was very joyful, for I never yet heard so loud hums so often repeated as on the occasion of this speech, so that there was a great pause of silence necessitated between every paragraph. After their Lordships had voted their thanks and desired to have each speech printed, they proceeded on that long tedious *Habeas Corpus* Bill sent them up by the Commons, and most elaborately finished it before they rose. Then the weighty considerations of May Day, and a great greyhound match between the Duke of Albemarle and Sir Ralph Dutton, when the latter was the loser, and that the King had an inclination to see Windsor, convinced their Lordships to adjourn till Friday. The Commons (as the Votes of that day declare) happened thus to return their thanks. As soon as they were returned and the speeches reported, Mr. Bennett moved for thanks, and extraordinary ones, suitable to His Majesty's graciousness. Many were the competitors for the honour of seconding the motion; but at last stood up Mr. Sacheverell and cautioned them not to be over-hasty in giving thanks, for he had seen it repented for in the last Parliament when persons offered to propose anything different from what was thanked for, that their thanks were thrown in his face, and he upbraided with the thanks that had been given. Col. Titus seconded him, urged that the benefit ought to be well weighed, that the thanks of the House might the more justly be proportioned; he observed yet they had nothing but words, and they, like

clouds, often proved but air ; that he had read a thanksgiving for rain, never for clouds, because they were often prorogued 'ere they distilled in showers, (I would I had a cipher) and therefore moved that the consideration of the speeches might be appointed for Monday ; and so it was, as the Votes show.

As for Thursday, I have little to say of State affairs, the Votes speaking for the House of Commons, and the Lords not sitting. Yet that I may not leave an absolute blank on that day, I presume to give your Grace an account of Hampton Court Olympic, where the King honoured the pastimes with his presence, and thousands followed his example, so that the breadth of the paddock course was fain to be divided with stakes and ropes. The first match was made this time or month between Tom Cheeke and Sir Ralph Dutton. The latter was confined to his single dog *Hog* to run for 200*l.* next May Day, which was Thursday last, with any dog in England. *Hog* held sound till a week before he run, then had a cut on one toe, and a kind of boil on the other. Tom Cheeke agreed to 20*l.* forfeiture, but since the Duke of Albemarle laid 100*l.* of his dog *Smoker's* side against *Hog*, Tom Cheeke rather chose to pay his 20*l.* than hazard his 200*l.*, and after betted on Dutton's side. For though the main match was off, yet the second part of it was judged by the King to be run, and Dutton's lame dog was beaten five lengths. So that Tom Cheeke, who might have won two hundred guineas, lost forty ; twenty he paid as forfeiture and twenty as bets ; besides being laughed at sufficiently. The next match was run between a black bitch of Mr. Dutton's and a fallow dog of that excellent poet Ned Howard's, whose dog, having better feet than his verses, won his match. But in the third course a little bitch of Mr. Harvey's went by his goodly fallow dog, to the loss of many six to seven. After the match was over, the King coming that morning from Windsor, dined with the Duchess of Portsmouth at her house, called on the Marquess of Winchester at Teddington, and after crossing that [*illegible*] went a horseback through the park to avoid the dust, and met the Duchess on horseback also, with whom side by side he rode through Putney, and so entered his barge.

Friday, May 2.—The Lords were very intent on the Bill for banishing Papists ten miles out of London, on which a debate arose which cost much time whether the oaths and test should be tendered to all, or the oaths only. The arguments ran thus : the oaths are only snares to catch innocent Quakers in, through which dispensations would let all the nocent Papists escape, as appeared by several of those papers had been taken, and depositions also. But the sacredness of those oaths of supremacy and allegiance so inspired their champions that it was carried (and but by one vote)

that oaths and test should go together. Then came up from the Commons the disbanding Money Bill, swollen to so prodigious a bulk with the Commissioners' names that Sir John Trevor (the messenger or person to convey it) could scarce bear his burthen; but it being late and the Bill being long, its reading was adjourned till five in the afternoon; and then (contrary at least to custom, as your Grace well knows) they read it here over, dispensing with forms, because every day's delay cost the King between 1,200*l.* and 1,300*l.*; upon which thrifty account it claimed that extraordinary expedition in its dispatch. To the Votes I refer your Grace for the transactions of the Commons. The only warm debate was about a particular not taken notice of in the Votes of the day. The Committee appointed to examine what moneys were unpaid of the last tax, there being 50,000*l.* that was designed to pay for the clothes, but not till the army should be disbanded; the army not being disbanded, they exacting an account thereof, on examination it appeared it all went justly towards the disbanding that part of it which was already disbanded, notwithstanding that it was well employed. Yet because not strictly pursuant to the letter of the act, many would have reflected upon others, particularly on Mr. Kingdom, the Paymaster (as a member of the House), who found out an expedient to stop their mouths who were opened widest against him, by offering to advance 3,000*l.* on the security of the second payment of this new act, which would be enough to pay off all the common soldiers what is allowed them to carry them home, being ten a man, this not going either to pay for their clothes or quarters. Thus a little water well applied served to quench as fierce a flame as hath yet been kindled, to the great disappointment of those who designed to improve it further.

Wednesday, May 3.—The Earl of Danby appeared at the Lords' Bar to declare his election what plea to abide by, and gave this answer that he put in his first plea by the advice of all his counsel unanimously, and by their advice he chose to abide by it. But being asked further to declare what he meant by the first plea, answered he pleaded the King's pardon. Which answer of his, being reduced into writing, was sent down to the House of Commons, as also was the new Bill for banishing all Papists beyond ten miles out of London. A motion was made to send down to the Commons to know when they would be ready to proceed against the Lords in the Tower, but seeing the debate was like to prove long, and they to sit again in the afternoon, that debate was adjourned till Monday, and the House till the afternoon, as soon as they had finished and sent down their answer that they would sit in the afternoon as the Commons had desired.

When the Lords were met they finished the perusal of the Money Bill, only reserving some uneasy parts of it for debate on Monday; as that no innkeeper or alehouse keeper shall be obliged any further to quarter soldiers than to treat [*illegible*] which is construed to extend to the standing forces, and if so who will quarter any? The Commons (for I despair of having this evening Votes time enough to send by this post) as soon as they met fell on Lord Danby's plea, which had no more quarter given it than is designed for its author. It was called at best by many uncertain, and consequently insufficient; but at last the debate was deferred till Monday. Then both Houses met at a conference desired by the Commons; at which they gave in their reasons for disapproving the Lords' amendments, which when received both Houses adjourned till Monday.

I had like to have forgotten one pertinent circumstance happened this morning in the House of Commons. Sir John Trevor bringing in a Bill against Irish Cattle put the House into no small flame; but at last it was deferred till Tuesday morning: more of which in my next, lest the post make more haste than I do. I have here enclosed, besides the Votes of four days, the King's and Chancellor's speech, and Sergeant Rigby's report of two confessions; both which have gained great credit among us, and if true are very remarkable.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, May 2, Castlemartyr.—I had last night the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 29th of April, and the great satisfaction to find in it that what I had presumed to write to your Grace in my letter of the 24th of last month (both as to what related to the public and as to my particular) had met with so favourable an acceptance from your Excellency. I am glad of it, and more than I can express; for there are few things I more desire than to serve my King and country, and to have my poor endeavours therein relished by your Grace, whose favour (and, if I may presume to say, friendship) I am very ambitious of.

Had I had the honour at any time before your Excellency's last coming to the Government of this kingdom to have had one hour's discourse with you alone, I more than believe there would not have been the least misunderstanding of me; for I will never knowingly step one foot out of the way I propose I will walk in. But I have written so amply on this subject by this post, to my Lord Chancellor, that I will not trouble your Grace with a repetition of it; for I believe he will read to your Excellency what I have now writ to him. But if ever I have the happiness to wait on your Grace, I believe I may satisfy your Excellency that even whilst I was under your disfavour I have acted towards your

Grace as if I had been in your favour ; and I should not speak an untruth, tho I should write that hereof I have given very good evidences. Neither shall this be my way of proceeding only while your Grace is in the Government, but also should you be at any time out of it. For I resolve (let me have been never so much misunderstood) I will never act towards your Grace but as an honourable man and a gentleman.

I am very glad your Grace has ordered the ammunition and arms humbly desired for the militia of this county to be hastened to Cork, and that your Excellency will regiment the militia. I have given notice of both by an express to the Commissioners of Array, that they may tender your Grace their humble acknowledgments and get the officers to try them as soon as they land. Really, my Lord, there needs a course speedy and effectual to be taken to put the militia on a posture, and to ascertain who shall command them and take care to have them trained and ready usefully on any occasions, which I hope your Excellency will do. In your Excellency's choice of them if all necessary qualifications cannot be had, men must in reason be content with the best that may be had.

I doubt the other counties in this province are proportionably as deficient in arms and ammunition as the county of Cork is ; and, therefore, if as the same ship which brings a supply of both to Cork, there were also sent a proportion for the other counties, it might be a husbanding of time and expense. And possibly if none be sent but to the county of Cork, those in other counties might doubt they were not equally minded. Whatever is sent for the counties of Limerick, Clare and Kerry may, I think, be best sent to the city of Cork, it being the safest place near all the other three counties to which arms can be consigned.

I have so many letters of necessity to write with my own crazy hand by this post, that I must defer till the next some particulars which in obedience to the last part of the honour of your Grace's last letter I am preparing humbly to lay at your feet. Your Excellency's commands about the new regiments' captains is humbly begged ; for every day the old and the new captains of the regiment have discourse concerning it—I will not say disputes. Some of the new companies have by their officers let me know they have neither powder, match nor ball, and none of their arms are matchlocks. I have told them as soon as there is need they shall not want ; but I believe had they match ammunition as the other companies have, it might not be amiss.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, May 3, Dublin.—To the most important part of yours of the 26th of last month, my answer is that if His

Majesty will allow of it I am content to part with my Steward's place to my Lord Marquis of Winchester for ten thousand pounds ready money. The King may take what part he thinks fit in the contrivance of the exchange the more to oblige that lord, if he approves the exchange, as I hope he will. But if not the nobleman may be told that I am not willing to part with my staff. In case the bargain goes on it may with reason be proposed that my Lord of Winchester should over and above lay down what my allowance will come to at Midsummer next, which is the end of a quarter and which I will with all the arrears due to me assign to him. What that amounts to Sir Stephen Fox, upon sight of his account betwixt his cofferer and me, will soon compute. But if you find any great difficulty in this, I will stick to my arrears and stay till they shall be paid with others, and let the agreement go on. I think there needs no more formal demission than this from me; but if there should, I am ready to make it. If this bargain takes place, it will be fit for you to place the money in secure hands immediately, and such Sir Stephen Fox will help you to, if any man can: with whom you may advise whether it may not be remitted into Holland, and thus securely placed, so that it may at pleasure be taken out.

SAME to SAME.

1679, May 3.—I have received yours of the 26th of the last month, wherein you mention the treaty you have had with my Lord Marquis of Winchester touching my place of Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household; which I am content to resign to His Majesty, in case it shall be his good pleasure to give it to the said Lord Marquis.

Signed, ORMOND.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 3—I received yesterday your letters of the 23rd and 9th of the last month, and do think that in return to the objections made against Fitzpatrick's grant you can not do anything more prudent than to give instances of others of the same nature, especially if equal exceptions may be made against them. Therefore I hope you will send me them with all possible speed. My Lord Chamberlain remembers that the letter for permitting Papists into Corporations was got during his being Secretary, but when he was absent, and at his house at Euston. He has promised to inquire about all those concerns. If you could send me a computation of what you parted with upon the score of the settlement, as also a calculation of what your grants do amount unto, and this in good method, not doubting but your care will be such as nothing can be objected as to the truth of such a narrative, I think it will be very useful to

stop the mouths of such who exclaim against vast gifts, though obtained by the most legal ways and honest grounds, nothing being beyond an Act of Don: I have not anything more to trouble you withal; only I find my Lord of Derby very nasty as to giving his wife leave to make you a visit, which she desires above all things. But I did use all my endeavours herein to persuade his ill-natured and obstinate lordship.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD

1679, May 4, Dublin.—To that part of your letter of the 26th which concerns my Lord Treasurer and to the cypher I refer you to him. To something you writ to him in a former letter I have this to say, that I showed my Lord Chancellor that part of a private letter from Mr. Secretary to me which concerned his lordship to let him know how good a friend he had, and because I knew he would make very prudent and grateful use of it, as he has done. For in what he writ to my Lady Ranelagh it was not possible for her to guess with any probability from what hand he was informed of what was laid to his charge, and he was sure of your lordship's care.

If cabals against me are carried on at one and the same time at Whitehall and Westminster, and if I have the great lady and the zealous Protestants at once my enemies, what fence is there for it, and why should I wonder to find Papists and the worst of Protestants agree in their endeavour to destroy me? It has been my lot ever since I came into business, and I believe will be till I am out of it, and of the world too. When the actions of a man's life who has been in Government in difficult times are taken to pieces by a malicious observer, all the circumstances that can be taken against him singled and insisted, and those that make for him omitted, no doubt but he will be made a strange figure. And if he should be put to refute all that should be thus collected and thus scattered, he would find work enough and perhaps create himself more than he finds by drawing on replications and new calumnies; and all the while beat the air, as men do in the dark when they see no enemy. For against whom do I contend when I say to the first of the objections that your Lordship mentions, that there can nothing more false be invented than that any soldier was ever placed to guard a mass-house, or that there is one mass-house left unsuppressed in this city. I may be as well charged with sending a soldier to pull one of our own Bishops out of the pulpit and murdering him. If I were, would any man in his wits give credit to it, or were I in mine if I should go about to answer it? The second is true in some sense, but as false as the first in the scope and meaning of it. It is true a proclamation was issued against regular priests and Jesuits

to banish them. The word regular in the objection is left out, and so it falls out that some secular priests being apprehended, and neither within the Proclamation nor the late votes of the Lords on the old Address of Lords and Commons, were set at liberty. Here is no contradiction to the Proclamation, which is the thing suggested. It is true also that some regulars were permitted to stay, and they are not five in the whole Kingdom, at least I think so, and those are such as by reason of age and physical infirmity could not be transported, or such as would be worse used in any Popish country than the law can use them here, by reason of their declaring against the Pope's power with Peter Walsh, and to force such away would show more inhumanity than prudence. I wish we may never be questioned for banishing the King's subjects without law, and that some may not at one time or another say it is a dangerous example to trust the Government with judging when it may be done. But the best is I have the King's command by the advice of his Council in England, and the concurrence of his Council here for what I have done, as well for banishing them as permitting some of them to stay.

To the third it is hard to answer very particularly. For it is fourteen or fifteen years ago since not only the Protestants but the Papists were disarmed. But it is false that none of them obtained leave to carry arms. For what was the whole Army then but Protestants? What all the Council, the Justices of the Peace, the Magistrates in Corporations and all the Judges and Officers belonging to the Courts of Justice? And no one of them were disarmed, or if they were they had them soon restored. Let it be remembered that those arms were actually the King's, that Mr. Blood's Plot was on foot and brought near to execution, that during the sitting of the Commissioners of Claims it was fit to keep Papists and fanatics in peace by disarming both; and let it be remembered that I myself not long after set up the militia, consisting only of Protestants, and left them well modelled and armed, but found them now utterly broken. Upon the whole matter I shall be heard before I am condemned, or I shall not. If I am, it is all I ask. If I am not, the hurt may come to me, but the shame will belong to others.

Copy.

REV. CHRISTOPHER VOWELL* to EARL OF ORRERY.

1679, May 5, Kiltworge.—Before I come to the particular business which occasions the trouble of this letter to your Lordship, I would humbly beg leave to lay a few thoughts before your Lordship's eyes (which are ever open for the public good) as touching the state of the country here in

* Christopher Vowell, the writer of this letter, is described by Lord Orrery in a letter forwarding his communication to Ormond, dated May 6, 1679, as "a beneficed minister at and near Charleville."

this neighbourhood. 'Tis indeed very sad and calamitous, men's hearts generally failing them for fear, in expectation of those things which are coming upon the earth. And I wish that these fears and perplexities were built upon fancy and nothing else, that we may be more afraid than hurt. But when your lordship will be pleased to consider that there is scarce a night but that some house, stable or barn is broke up, that the Irish gentlemen swarm now more than ever, that not one jot of their presumption or confidence is abated: if these premisses be duly considered certainly this conclusion will easily follow that all these bold villainies are but the prologue to a future intended tragedy, but the shaking of the dice in order to throw at all, even our lives and fortunes. But I do but trouble your lordship in representing that after an ill manner which without doubt you have had from better hands after a more large and ample fashion. God awaken the magistrates who sit at helm and give them a due prospect of the rocks and shelves before the bark be split and the poor passengers committed to their charge be lost amidst this much to be feared tempest.

The particular business of this paper is about Henaghan, who is secured by Captain FitzGerald. His design was to get a pardon, that so he might be placed in a capacity for doing more mischief in this country, and in order thereunto procured a certificate from Sir Richard Kyrle and Captain Wills, worthy gentlemen, good patriots and sworn justices, and therefore cannot be supposed to forget their own honour, and their obligation to God and their country so far as to do what he there charges them with, to sign a certificate so very prejudicial to the King's subjects. I shall trouble your lordship no further about this business because the certificate itself, his letter for the same, with the petition, is sent your lordship by Captain Wanman. Only this one thing I thought fit to intimate to your lordship, that this Henaghan was in London at the time of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's murder, that he left London immediately upon the proclamation which issued forth for detection, that in all probability he was acquainted with those Irish priests, Munster men, who committed that black deed, that he is a stiff Papist and very great profligate, and so must be supposed fit to receive an impression were the thing opened to him. And if so be that he knew anything of the matter, it's probable that were his chamber searched in Dublin some papers might be found referring to that subject or of some other good use to the public. There is one Edward Bowerman in the College who knows his room and may direct thither; so that, if expedition were used, I am persuaded something might be found out of concernment.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 5, Whitehall.—I have your Grace's of the 26th of April, and humbly thank you for it. As to the part of

the Judges I have not mentioned it to His Majesty, because I would first expect your Grace's return to mine of the 26th of April, which told you of the letter signed for Chief Justice Booth and Mr. Keating; for I find much expedition in this case hath hindered the conclusion, I having obtained the letter for Mr. Keating upon your Grace's letter the post before this, viz., the 7th of April.

For the letter I received from your Grace and the Council concerning publishing a General Fast conformable to what was by proclamation here, you have free leave to do it. I have been asked a question whether your Grace had given leave to all Protestants to arm themselves. I answered I was sure you had given leave to all the militia; further I knew not, neither have I any order to give your Grace in it, only to desire you would please to give me notice what Protestants have permission to arm themselves, and who are forbidden.

I am likewise advertised this last week that there were freighted from Rotterdam by one Mr. Washington, an English merchant, four thousand arms for Ireland by commission from one Mr. Lewis. Your Grace will be pleased to inquire whether these arms be provided by merchants commissioned by your Grace or no, and where landed, and upon whose accounts. I will not trouble your Grace with what passeth here, you will have it particularly sent you.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, May 6, Dublin.—I am something doubtful that the principal person you may depend upon for discovery of the practice against me in framing of the articles you mention in yours of the 29th of the last will not be held a good author if the proof shall rest upon his single credit and assertion. Nor am I very confident that he may gather up loose discourses and old materials of the late Earl of Meath's articles and Peter Talbot's *queres*, and tell us they are framed into accusations to set a value upon his own industry and zeal, not without hope of reward. I confess my nature and some experience of such a sort of men do incline me to such suspicions. Yet since such are more like to make discoveries who are busy in all corners and companies I would not have informations from them utterly rejected but warily managed, since it is certain that a complaint made upon unconvincing grounds rather establishes than weakens the party complained of. I have no more to say at this time.

Copy.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, May 6, London.—Your Grace will by this night's packet receive an account of some discourse Mr. Secretary Coventry had with my Lord President of the Council concerning the arming of all the English there, the general

liberty whereof his lordship says is restrained there. I imagine his lordship means by it those licences granted to merchants for importing of arms, which were recalled upon the proposition of the officers of the Ordinance there to furnish that kingdom with arms.

Yesterday the House of Commons by message acquainted the Lords that they were ready with their evidence for the trial of the Popish Lords in the Tower, and this day their Lordships have appointed this day sennight for their trial. The Commons upon the debate of my Lord Danby's last answer, wherein he insisted upon his pardon, voted the pardon in their opinion void and invalid, and that it ought not to bar justice against him upon the impeachment of the House of Commons. And they further voted that the whole House with their Speaker should attend the Lords, and at their Bar demand judgment of their Lordships against the Earl of Danby, whose pardon they thought void and invalid and ought not to bar their justice against him upon their impeachment, which was accordingly put in execution; upon which their Lordships referred it to the Judges to give their opinion to their Lordships this day upon the validity of the pardon. In order to which Sir William Ellis, Sir Francis Pemberton, and Mr. Serjeant Raman were sworn in the afternoon to qualify them to give their opinion in this matter. But I have not heard that the Judges have declared themselves yet in the point. Upon discourse with Mr. Attorney-General, he is of opinion that the pardon is void. The aforesaid three Judges have accepted of their Commissions during pleasure.

This day the House of Commons have voted an address to His Majesty for the removal of my Lord Duke Lauderdale from his person and councils. In defence of His Grace, Sir Hugh Cholmondley made a speech very reflective on His Majesty, for which, though he received no public rebuke from the House and was answered by none but Mr. Secretary Coventry, yet I find the generality of the House were not pleased with it. The debate concerning the succession lies without a day, and by some very understanding men of the House I am told much of the heat of that matter is blown over. My Lord Russell by command from His Majesty yesterday acquainted the House that His Majesty would give speedy order for the execution of Pickering, and that by reason of the approaching hot season His Majesty desired them to despatch the matters of public concern, and particularly a provision for the fleet which was the public security of the nation; which being provided for, His Majesty would not desire any further supply this session. I was in good hope by this packet to be able to give your Grace an account of the new articles your enemies are preparing against you, but my friend has excused himself for a day or two longer, and by Saturday's packet I hope to be able

to send them to your Grace. For the rest I must refer your Grace to my Lord Arran.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, May 6, London.—Yesterday the Lords began with the Disbanding Money Bill, and tho' the importance of it quickened their zeal for its despatch, yet 'twas thought providence to give it so much delay as these two amendments would require :—1. That College and Hospital Trustees should be exempt by particular exceptions out of that general provision made for tenants that the landlords should sustain the burthen of this tax. Secondly, That since both the consequence and danger of Jersey and Guernsey were so great that the provision thereof might be suitable, one thousand men might escape disbanding to reinforce those considerable islands at least till a fleet should be set forth competent for the safety of the whole seas. But before these exceptions could be licked into shape and method an interruption came up from the House of Commons to desire the continuance of their Lordships sitting, because the Commons had somewhat of importance to impart to them. But because their designs were so indefinite some exceptions were taken. However, the answer returned was that they would sit a competent time, though 'twas pretty late. Soon after came up the Speaker, with his mace before and the whole body of members after, to the Lord's Bar, where they demanded judgment in the name of the whole Commons of England against Thomas, Earl of Danby, for that the pardon by him pleaded was illegal and void. This at the very first sight gave great umbrage to most of the Lords, it being in some sort an invading of their jurisdiction, it being to give a final judgment in the case of an appeal depending before their Lordships, and was concluded by all an unmethodical way of proceeding. Yet for calmness' sake the debate was adjourned till next morning, and the House till five that afternoon, for the despatch safe of the Money Bill for the disbanding.

For the several gradations of the Commons in their proceedings against the Earl of Danby, the enclosed Votes are particularly accountable; against whom the indisposition of that House seems so severe that it is apprehended by many and owned by some of that House that, unless they may be gratified in his condemnation, nor Fleet nor Plot shall be considered. Thus that case seems to be stated this Monday noon.

That bill in the Votes for the better attendance for members to sit in Parliament needs this explanation. It is a self denying bill that no member that shall for the future be elected to sit in Parliament, or now sitting shall be capable of any Court employment on forfeiture of his seat there, a new writ being immediately to issue forth for another to be

elected in his room ; and this is meant by " For the better attendance, etc."

The King's message to the Commons, with his gracious promise to ask no more money this sessions, on the condition they would in providing a good fleet provide for their own safety, and resigning up Pickering to execution, with the reason for reserving the rest of the condemned priests, was all abundantly satisfactory ; convincing the hardest hearts how tenderly His Majesty is concerned to preserve a right understanding. Yet still the consideration of the speeches, and consequently giving thanks, is deferred.

! This day the Lords began with debate whether the Bishops should have votes in the case of my Lord Danby's pardon, because by consequence it might relate to Blood ; because since he hath pleaded his pardon, if it holds not good, attainder is presumed to be the consequence. After some hours' debate a message from the Commons gave interruption, to acquaint their Lordships that they were ready to make good their charge against the Lords in the Tower. The natural question was what day should be appointed for their trial ; yet other debates fell in, as whether they or the Earl of Danby should be first tried. At last it was over-ruled that the first question should be put concerning the trial of the five Lords. The competition was this day sennight or fortnight. It was resolved that the five Lords in the Tower shall come to their trials this day sennight. And it was afterwards resolved that the Earl of Danby shall have notice to make good his pardon next Saturday in Westminster Hall, and that the Commons have notice also. I shall not repeat the numerous foreign motions that were made, but all ended in what I have wrote.

I shall repeat little of what the Commons did, because the Votes are full ; only add that Sir Richard Grimes (or Graham) first moved for the address against my Lord Lauderdale, and that only three spoke for him, Mr. Denehey, Sir Hugh Cholmeley, and my Lord Hunting-Tower. The latter gained great applause for a speaker, but not for a convincer, gaining no proselytes ; nor could an angel as the case stands. We shall now quickly have (one way or other) an end of these Lords who have lain so heavy on our hands all this while, and then have cause to hope we shall move more nimbly.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, May , Dublin.—Since my right hand was disabled by the gout, I have not so much regretted the want of the use of it as now, when by it I should congratulate the Duke's return to his proper place and station. My heart is as full of joy, as it was with sorrow ; and since His Royal Highness is returned with safety, I think the testimony he has given the world of what he is ready to do and hazard for the King

his brother's service and his country's peace, is worth the discomforts and inconveniences he has undergone by the separation. There seems to be a sort of people so unreasonable and so wicked that will be satisfied with nothing but his being out of the world, or in it with dishonour. I hope they are the least numerous and least considerable. However, there seems to me nothing for him to do but to maintain his post, which that he may long do in all prosperity and happiness is my hearty prayer.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 6.—I had not writ this post unto you had I not received your letter of the 30th of April, which Mr. Ryder brought me this evening, having not anything to impart unto you relating to those concerns in which you are most interested, and those of what relates to the proceedings in Parliament being sent you by other hands, there is no haste requisite for delivering your letters either to Mr. Secretary or Sir Robert Southwell. By the next post I shall give you an account, I hope satisfactory, as to what I shall do. In the meantime I shall only tell you that I cannot find out any design of removing you presently from the post you are in. The noise of such purposes have, I am told, prejudice others, but not you. It is not improbable but a rupture may happen among the men now in affairs. I pray God in these changes the King may find his account. I do not perceive that my Lord of Shaftesbury grows in credit since his being a Councillor, or that since his dignity he gains much with his own or that which ill men call the Court Party. I write this freely, not valuing much his lordship's good graces.

SAME to SAME.

1679, May 7.—The news of a rising in Scotland came hither this forenoon by an express. We are impatient to hear how they have proceeded. The rebels have affronted some of His Majesty's troops, and being sixteen hundred strong it may reasonably be feared that this beginning may have ill consequences and may reach even England and Ireland. Upon discourse with the King, I find he thinks it will be necessary for me immediately to attend you if this eruption be not suppressed, and that in order to serve either in my station there or else to carry over forces for suppressing that commotion. This is but the first thoughts, which, however they may hereafter be altered or digested, I thought it my duty to give you an account of them, that you may bethink yourself what to do in case of extremities. I doubt not but you will have an eye upon those parts nearest to Scotland, for if this be a framed design it certainly will reach all places where those fanatics are anyways numerous. I

am commanded by the King to let you know the deduction of a shilling in the pound should continue as was the custom out of the pay of the men in the regiment that was lately my Lord of Dumbarton's.

ORMOND to EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1679, May 7, Dublin.—I am very glad you are restored to the use of your hands, and though you may employ them better than in writing to a person that can make you no return but the acknowledgment of his favour, yet your letters cannot be more welcome to any man than to me. Cary Dillon has made so many compelled retrenchments of the Duke of Monmouth's grant that what remains will not, I think, be worth His Grace's passing the patent. I am sure a knowing man told me it would not come to 200*l.* a year, composed of many miserable scraps. The Lords have certainly great reason to draw all the assistance they can gather from their own body, and to part with as little as they can. The things under their deliberation and judgment are of the greatest consequence to the Crown, to the nation, and to their own honour and security, I mean as they are a House of Peers. I pray with the Litany, whilst it is the fashion, that God would send you all grace, wisdom and understanding. I should have been glad the public would have permitted your lordship looking upon your private concerns in this kingdom. I might then have had the satisfaction of telling you oftener, tho' not more truly, that I am, etc.

Copy.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, May 10, London.—These four following days have been busy ones. May 7, the Lord President began with some motions and complaints relating to Ireland, particularly that merchants might have liberty to carry over arms to make sale of, provided 'twas to none but Protestants, supposing them disarmed, and that this would be the cheapest way to furnish them. But it appearing impracticable that these merchants could discriminate between Papists and Protestants (tho' many merely imaginary expedients were proposed) it came to nothing. Then my Lord Huntington, in a set elaborate speech, brought the Bishops on the stage again in relation to the Earl of Danby's plea of his pardon, whether or no they were to have votes as to its validity, being (after a manner) in the case of Blood; for if his pardon should prove not good, then he had confessed his guilt of what he is accused. This was not the first time it had been argued, and with mutual heat and ardency; but the Bishops and their cause found so many champions that my Lord President himself moved to have the debate adjourned *sine die*. The King then took notice to many of that House, particularly to my Lord Wharton, of that barbarous murder

of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who going from Edinburgh to his own house in his coach and six horses, only in company with his daughter, and singly attended by one footman, a dozen of the Conventiclers overtook his coach some two or three miles from his own house, discharged several pistols into the coach, shot him, after dragged him out of the coach, and in the sight of his daughter barbarously murdered him, giving eight mortal wounds. The King expressed great indignation against both the assassins and their faction, of whom we since hear two are taken.

I shall only add to the Votes an account how the Commons came to resolve to sit on Sunday. It was on the motion of Mr. Luson Gore [Leveson Gower] that all the time was so spent on lesser affairs that the main chance was most neglected,—the safety of the King's person and the Protestant religion during his reign and his successor's. 'Tis true there was a zealous vote passed Sunday was se'nnight for a bill to be brought in to banish the Papists, and next morning was delivered accordingly, and had ever since lay still on the table, as if that which indeed was our greatest was our least concern. And, therefore, since all other days were anticipated by appointments, he moved Sunday next might be appointed to that important consideration. This speech set many's zealous tinder on fire. Some guided theirs against the evil ministers, others against the evil principles imbibed at Court. Others excused both in comparison of the ill ones of the other sex, urging Samson's being betrayed by his Delilah, and Solomon outwitted by strange women, and that no good could be expected whilst the French interest and the Popish both were centred in one person (which some did not stick to name), and she admitted a place in the King's bosom. From these premisses was drawn the conclusion of that Sunday sitting vote.

Thursday, the 8th.—The Lords received the Earl of Danby's petition for an order for his counsel to plead for him, without which they pretended they durst not do it; which they granted accordingly. A petition also came in from the other five imprisoned Lords for a week's longer delay of their trial by reason of the remoteness of their witnesses; but that was denied them. Then at a conference the Commons gave in their exceptions against the Lords' amendments of the *Habeas Corpus* Bill (which I also enclose), and at another conference the Commons desired (according to Sir Thomas Clarges' report) that a Select Committee of theirs might join with one of the Lords for adjusting the methods in order to the Lords' trials. This cost a long and late debate. In conclusion, the Lords were so tender of admitting anything that might look like letting in the Commons to any shadow of judicature that (by half in half) it was carried in the negative, and so adjourned till the afternoon, then only receiving the *Habeas Corpus* Bill.

That address concerning Duke Lauderdale is long and a very harsh style, but if I can transcribe it it, shall also be enclosed; but many of the members were very bold with His Grace.

Friday, May 9.—The Lords began with a conference at which they signified to the Commons that, rather than delay the Money Bill, they would recede from their amendments, so that the Bill was forthwith brought up to the Lords' Bar, with a Bill for the payment of Sir Francis Drake's debts, and there passed by His Majesty. Then their Lordships at another conference told the Commons they could not agree to join a Bill of theirs with one of the Commons in a matter of judicature without injury to themselves, being the Supreme Court of Judicature. The rest of the morning spent about the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, which they adjourned to the afternoon and then finished.

The Commons were much dissatisfied at one passage of their Speaker, whose ignorance pleaded his excuse. As soon as the Black Rod appeared to summon them and their Money Bill up to the Lords' Bar, without orders the Speaker whipped out of the Chair, took up the two bills as they lay upon the table, and away he goes with them, not minding the many calls on him to return back to the Chair, where 'tis said he very dully delivered a very dull speech (but as long as its subject was money, it was taken well enough with all its faults). At his return Mr. Sacheverell, as I take it, moved he might be sent to the Tower, and the train took till it had like to have blown him up. But it being considered rather as an error of weakness than wilfulness was remitted; but it occasioned that order for a Committee to inspect precedents in such cases. When the Commons met in the afternoon, they were much nettled at the Lords' refusal to join a Committee with theirs on that subject to methodise the trials, whence followed those sharp votes.

This day the Earl of Danby came to my Lord Great Chamberlain's chamber, by the Prince's lodgings, expecting his trial, whence he sent in his petition, humbly complaining to their lordships that all his counsel had left him, being so awed by the Commons' votes the night before that he could not prevail with them so much as to come to Westminster. He besought their lordships to consider his condition: matter of law was to be argued for his life, and no lawyer durst argue for him. At a conference the Lords communicated it to the Commons. And at a conference the Commons also pressed the necessity of having all methods adjusted by a Committee of both Houses in order to the trials. This was largely debated in a full House, consisting of ninety temporal and sixteen spiritual Lords, in which were strange kinds of divisions of all sorts. At last the question was put whether they would allow such a Committee. It was carried not to allow by two votes, 54 and

52. Then the proxies were called. They were but four (for no lord who hath not taken the oaths and test could make a proxy), and then it was carried the same way by two, one for agreeing with the Commons, and three for not agreeing. The winning side seemed most distrustful before the question was put, and the losers as confident.

The Commons' Votes mention a late fire that thus happened at a house called the New Prison at Clerkenwell, to which amongst many others a priest happened to be committed, who 'tis thought set his own chamber on fire on purpose. For it first took at the wainscot, and after he might have come out of his chamber, nay was called upon to do it, but obstinately refused, and as it is believed burned himself a martyr. It burnt down the house and the two next to it, when great mercy and diligence stopped it. It is said that the turnkey to that gaol was a Papist, that he opened all the doors, set all prisoners at liberty, and is fled. This is the truest account I can yet learn.

That passage that mentions Charles Bertie was on this account. The Committee of the Commons found several sums charged on his name under the notion of secret service. These sums he was required to give an account for. His answer was they were received by His Majesty's special order, and paid out by the same authority, and he had accounted for them to His Majesty and had his discharge, and now could not recollect the particulars, nor durst he if he could without His Majesty's special order. For this he stands committed. The great reasons for this inquisitiveness were these two:—1. To discover who were pensioners last Parliament, and members. 2. What sums fell to my Lord Danby's share; though Charles Bertie offers to clear the latter on his oath, and cannot accuse the former.

Just now, being past 9 at night, the Lords have agreed to sit to-morrow (though Sunday) as well as the Commons, in order to a free Conference to adjust all methods and ceremonies for the trials of the Lords, but restrained their managers from admitting any debate in points of judicature.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1679, May 10, London.—I received by last post from my brother an account of some discourse he had with your Grace upon the late changes happened here, and upon some talked of there, whereof I can give your Grace no certainty, nor do I believe any deliberations have yet been upon them. I remember it was once mentioned to make a reduction of the great numbers of Councillors there, or some new constitution like what has been done here; and this being then fresh, the King and several of his Privy Council seemed inclined to it. But the affairs of the Parliament having taken up all thoughts here since that time, have I doubt left them none either for Ireland or foreign matters, how necessary

soever. I confess when that about the Council in Ireland was mentioned I was not in my own opinion determined whether it was a thing very important to the King's service there, considering how much [*illegible*] those affairs (which are things of great moment) are to receive from the Privy Council here. And on the other side I know not how such a constitution could be made, if it should fall into the debate of a numerous Committee of the Council here. Therefore I believe if your Grace should think it necessary, you were best able to make the digestion of it and submit your thoughts upon it to His Majesty, who might that way easiest fix a resolution then regarding debates here.

I suppose what my brother speaks about calling a Parliament there is a matter likewise the best to be advised from thence. At least I am sure all that relates to that kingdom is so much out of my head that I am a very ill judge of it; and for that as well as some other particular reasons I took care to have my name excused in the list of that Committee of Council where it was upon the first naming. But I shall never desire to excuse myself upon any occasions of your Grace's service, nor obey any commands with greater satisfaction, and my brother may at any time transmit them to me without the trouble he tells me you were pleased to think of giving yourself. For the rest I will assure your Grace that since I writ last to you from the Hague, I have ever continued the same designs of ending all public thoughts, having never found pleasure in them further than I could propose to myself some great public end, which since that period I have ever despaired of. In whatever condition or place I happen to pass the rest of my life I beg your Grace to believe that I shall be ever with the same true and constant passion what I have been so long, etc., etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1679, May 10, Dublin.—I shall only at this time say to the last of the proposals in order to the calling of a Parliament, which only can provide effectually for the present and future security of this kingdom, that I have very frequently importuned the Ministers of State in England to hasten the calling of one. But things nearer home have come so thick and cross upon them that I do not wonder their own concerns took up all their time and thoughts. My despatches concerning this particular lie still before the King, and those who have succeeded in the management of affairs, and they are by every post told they do so; yet no return is made . . . *

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, May 11, Dublin.—I have yours of the 3rd and 6th, and in one of the former date from my Lord Longford I had the queries relating to my vast gettings, small estate before

* The greater part of this letter has been rendered illegible by fire.

the Rebellion and miscarriage since, which it was not hard to find. For they are of at least ten years' standing, and many of them composed by Peter Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin, now prisoner in this Castle. So that whoever brought them is not to value himself upon the service. It were of use to have any new objections, if there are any such really framed, as I much suspect there are not ; unless he that brought the queries composes them himself and would have them pass for the work of some dangerous engineers. I wish he may be pressed to produce them, yet not so as that he should doubt he is suspected. For it is safer as the world goes to anger twenty quiet honest men than one busy knave that cares not what he says or swears. I have such computations as you desire, but I am not of opinion they should be exposed in answer to libels or to stop mouths, because it will not do this work, but draw on replies and rejoinders fruitless and endless.

Copy.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1679, May 13, London.—The honour of your Grace's letter of the 7th of May I last night received, and am clearly of your Grace's opinion that the part of the Litany you mention is a most requisite prayer for us now to use. Our sitting on Sunday (a day much fitter for other duties) did produce an accommodation between the Commons and us (when things flew very high), and I now believe the trial about the imprisoned Lords will soon begin ; but whether in the first place with my Lord of Danby or the other five is a question, and by them believed of importance ; since my Lord of Danby's friends would gladly have him the last, and those who are concerned for the other five desire his may be the first, which I am sure it will be. In the opinion of many very able men he has pitched upon a plea of very great hazard, the legality or illegality of the pardon being the point that must either acquit or condemn him.

What the Commons did on Sunday the enclosed will inform your Grace ; which though you may perhaps receive from other hands I have adventured to send your Grace, who will I believe find that in some particulars all men are not of one mind. Yesterday the Bill for the trial of Peers was at a Committee of the whole House passed, and ordered to be engrossed. It provided that at the trial of any peer for the future fifty-one peers shall be returned, that forty-five at least of that number shall appear, and that it may be lawful for the prisoner to except against twelve, the major part of the remaining number being to clear or cast him.

There are almost every second night attempts to fire houses, which very often succeed, and infinitely enrage the people here against the Papists, whom they look upon as the promoters of this design, those that are taken proving to be of that profession.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 13.—Last night I received your letters of the 3rd and 6th of this month. The first related to the affairs of my Lord Marquis of Winchester, of which I cannot yet give you an account, my intention being to deal cautiously and with advice for several reasons. To your last relating to discourses of accusations, I am confident my Lord of Shaftesbury does all he can, and employs Thornhill and one Mansel that was cashiered in Ireland. St. Leger this morning told me of libellous queries in the hand of the former, and will endeavour to get me a sight of them. I will use my endeavours to get such a discovery of this fellow's practice as to have him punished, which consequently may concern others also. I intend to deliver Mr. Secretary your letter, and to conjure him neither to make use of it, nor to let it be known. My Lord of Longford having communicated to him the scope of that letter upon occasion of a letter my Lord Chancellor writ about himself in that concern, I thought he might suspect our confidence in him if we should conceal our intentions, though our purpose be changed, as will appear, I believe, reasonable unto you by Sir Robert Southwell's last letter writ by my Lord Chamberlain's and my advice.

I did buy a picture for you of Mr. Van Hill, who printed the paper concerning your transactions since the Plot. I took that occasion to qualify him, rather than give him dry money. Fifty guineas I gave him. They say it is touched by Vandyke. The history is King Solomon, and I will send it by the first opportunity.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1679, May 13, St. James's Square.—Whither the designs that have been on foot, and our fears upon that account, may carry us it is impossible to foresee: time only can discover. The House of Commons on Sunday last went so high as to vote that a bill should be brought in to disable the Duke of York from coming to the Crown. The foundation of this vote had been laid the Sunday before by that of declaring that the Duke's being a Papist and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown had been the great occasion of the Plot, and was now improved by an abstract of so much of Coleman's letters as related to his Highness being reported to the House. The harshness of this vote to the royal family was alloyed by another of resolving to defend the King's person and the Protestant religion with their lives and fortunes; and that if His Majesty should come to a violent death (which God forbid) they would revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, May 13.—If I part with my Steward's place and shall be removed from this, it is not like I shall have much joy or

security in living in this kingdom, or perhaps at London. And you know though I should have occasion to be there your mother cannot in the winter season. You may therefore inquire out a convenient retreat for her anywhere within ten mile about London, so it be up the river. In this case my family will be so much lessened that a reasonable house will serve us both (I mean my wife and I). You may make this inquiry on pretence of taking it for yourself and your children to retire in the heat of the season, or upon any other occasion, without naming your mother or me. This affair need not make more haste than this bearer will make. His under officer would not stay but upon such terms as, if allowed to him, would by the example have brought great disorder into the stables.

A—— B—— to ORMOND.

1679, May 13, Wandsworth.—The Revolutions since '67 have appeared to me and my thinking friends the inevitable consequences of my old Lord's banishment; not that we were so partial as to believe that if he had died in '66 his place might not have been supplied to all purposes, and the Government continued steady. But the House of Commons debauched by Committee to serve that turn were never afterwards true to their trust, and a new method of retaining pensioners dissolved the very essence of that assembly, who represented not those that chose them, but those that fed them. Happily were they dissolved, though the violence of their successors gives not any hope of a speedy composure. Such of them as come to me (for I rarely go to London) say moderate proceedings can bring no remedy, pretending from private papers to have found the design so laid that it may be yet carried on, if not stopped by these extraordinary severe courses. The particulars I dare not mention, save what is public, that His Royal Highness did assure the Pope upon his arrival to the Crown he would extirpate the Protestant religion in these three kingdoms, and he did obtain a pardon from Rome for marrying his daughter to the Prince of Orange. In the debate Sir William Coventry very dexterously interposed "Before any man can speak clearly it is necessary to know whether you intend after the decease of the King without issue to drive the Government to a Commonwealth, or only to change the line?" The cry was universal, "No Commonwealth, no Commonwealth, we abhor the thought of it." Neither do I find in private discourse there is any so mad amongst them as to design the Duke of Monmouth. Earnest they are to prove the Queen accessory to the murder of Sir Edward Godfrey and the late Plot, that beheading her they may make way for any Protestant lady to the King's bed. I was yesterday told that the heads of a Bill against the Duke drawn by a private hand, to be offered the Committee, make his landing in England or Ireland treason, that

he shall be apprehended by the next constable and condemned by the four next Justices of Peace, and executed within the space of forty-eight hours after his landing. But certainly the Committee will be more modest. For four hundred gentlemen as there are, the most considerable for birth and estate of any in their counties, will not admit it in these times, should the Committee bring it in.

It is thought sufficient to avoid all the Acts of the last Parliament if the House of Commons can prove forty members were in constant pension for their votes ; and this they doubt not to do though Ch. Barton denies them his book. The Long Robe tell them it is treason both in the giver and the receiver, so they design to try both Ch. Barton and several others besides the old members. Angry men assure me they have a list where they find enough to hang us in the shire town of every county in England and Wales : those that escape with life shall forfeit their estates and be branded upon record to all posterity.

Lest any accident should cause their dissolution or prorogation without their own consent there is a Remonstrance to be ready for publication ; and indeed considering the exigence of His Majesty's affairs I do not see how he can subsist without a Parliament, and none can be chosen that will be of another temper. Chief Justice North will certainly be removed as soon as the House of Commons is at leisure to hear the report from the Committee concerning the judgment (some years since) in the case between his brother-in-law, then Sheriff of Suffolk, and Sir S. Barnardiston ; and besides his being displaced he will be fined and incapacitated. Judge Wyndham will be removed upon the same score, though with a more gentle censure, as drawn in by North, who is said to have solicited the other judges to disagree with Chief Justice Hale, Twysden, Rainsford and Wild.

Many discourses have been concerning your Grace's removal from the Government of Ireland ; and that of the three competitors, Lords Essex, Halifax, and Roberts, two have still mutually joined against the third ; which occasions that neither succeeds in his pretensions ; nor do I discover that any other is in prospect, though my Lady Ranelagh defames your Grace more maliciously than ever, and there have been and daily are frequent meetings both public and private for that purpose.

It is thought they will fall seriously on Sir Thomas Chicheley concerning the stores, that they will hang Pepys, remove and fine Sir Richard Holmes, Col. Legge, Sir Anthony Deane, and many other Governors and seamen. The House of Commons has but one work for seven years, and will most certainly change much in the constitution of the Government after this King's death ; making the Parliament annual, or at most triennial, and giving them a power to propose

three to each office of trust, and the succeeding day to choose one. I could enlarge on this were your Grace at the same leisure to read that I am to write, which I am sure you are not.

Your Grace's most obedient and
devoted servant,

A. B.

P.S.—If His Majesty do not remove Lauderdale, there is an impeachment ready to present to the House of Commons next leisure day, and there are heads drawn of an impeachment against my Lord Anglesey.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, May. 13, London.—Sunday, May 11. Both Houses dispensed with the peculiar duties of that day out of zeal to the public. The Commons designed it ever since last Wednesday, as the Votes of that day declare, to proceed where they left that day was a fortnight. The Lords having on Saturday voted no Committee, concluded to despatch the same work by free conferences, the adjusting of the methods for the trials being of no small importance, for till then the trials could not commence. So they sat designedly to establish this medium, and accordingly delivered the proposal at a conference, to which 'twas once thought the Commons would have submitted; but some believe, whispers creeping between the two Houses, they were emboldened to stand their ground and desire a free conference on that account, which being granted the point was quaintly debated: my Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal and Lord Ailesbury being the only speakers for the Lords, tho' Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Halifax and others were managers also. The talkers for the Commons were Sir William Coventry, Mr. Poule, Mr. Swinfen, Mr. Hamden, Mr. Symons and one Mr. Paul Foley (one newly started up into great vogue in that House). In fine, the Commons promising they would not invade the Lords' judicature, and it having been carried but by two votes the day before to reject that expedient by a Committee of both Houses, as too invasive of the rights and privileges of that House, and the King uneasy to have such a *punctilio* suspend a matter of so great importance as was the trial of the Lords, which so absolutely depended on the adjusting all methods, etc., of it, the Lords condescended to yield up that point which had been so stoutly adhered to at two debates, and sent a message to give notice to the Commons that they had done so, named their Committee of twelve, which may be found in the Commons' votes, and appointed time and place, and so adjourned past three in the afternoon. After the Commons had appointed their Committee (which was four added to the twelve of the Committee of Secrecy) with great impatience they fell on the work of that day. The Report being made, abstracted out

of those letters and papers of the Committee of Secrecy relating to the Duke, the result was that they were convinced he held a constant correspondence with the Pope, which so inflamed their zeal for the King's person, and the safety of the Protestant religion, that the severest proposals were received with the loudest welcome. They ran so fast that my Lord Cavendish, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir Thomas Meres and Sir Thomas Littleton (heretofore with many others accounted the greatest zealots) could not keep pace with them, nor palliate so severe a vote against the Duke's succession. So bitter a pill that all the gilding and sweetening that followed in relation to the King's person and Protestant religion (tho' excellent good in themselves) will not make it to be swallowable either by King or House of Lords. It was past ten at night 'ere that House rose. It was remarkable to hear how many of the young members of that House, who did not use to deny themselves their plentiful meals, gloried in their kind of martyrdom of being almost starved on this account. Yesterday morning the Committees of both Houses met. The Commons, by agreement at the free conference, were to deliver their proposals as to the methods, which were these four :—

1. That the trial of the Lords (which was to have come on this present Tuesday by the Lords' former order) might be respited, and not fixed till all else was fully adjusted.

2. That they might have a view of all former drafts of Commissions to Lord High Stewards (that they might either know which to approve or what to except against that method).

3. That the Bishops might not be at the trials (urging the precedent of my Lord Strafford's trial, that the Lords themselves offered it to the Commons, and they expected the same now), though I can hear no other argument used besides that their absence would increase the accommodation of more room.

4. To know whether their Lordships intended to go any new way in this trial, for if they trod in the old steps then the Bishops were to absent.

The two first were consented to, but as far as the two latter their Lordships told them they had no instructions to give them any answer. And indeed when it was reported to the House the Lords did not so much as give it any resolution : which when ended Mr. Bedloe brought three witnesses to the Bar to prove that one of his material witnesses of the Plot was sent out of the way. It seems he was a tailor's son, and that my Lord Powis had taken the father for his tailor, and he had forced away his son as the witnesses prove, and that he when on shipboard complained that it troubled his conscience that he could not reveal what he knew, and would fain have landed again. I wonder my friend Bedloe should at this time of day be in want of a material witness. The

rest of yesterday the Lords spent in finishing a Bill for trial of Peers in the interval of Parliament (which it seems hath been thrice refused by the Commons in the last Parliament), but why I do not see, since it only relates to the Lords. I shall only add to the Commons' votes that they spent many hours of that day on a jealousy conceived from the sending twenty field pieces to Portsmouth. Why field pieces to the garrison, unless merely because George Legg was the Governor and the Duke's servant. He handsomely owned himself to be so, and the great obligations he had received from him, and that he took it to be an honour to him to be so. Some grumbled at his gratitude, but most did justly commend it.

This morning the Committee of both Houses met, at which the Commons seemed somewhat dissatisfied at the having a Lord High Steward, but more at the preface to his Commission: it beginning "Whereas there is an absolute necessity that we make a Lord High Steward," &c.; and most that they had yet no answer to that request that no Bishop should sit and vote, and that till they had a resolution in that particular the Commons were resolved they would do nothing. This being reported to the House, they first agreed to alter the Commission, and let it run thus: "At the instance and request of the Lords, the Lord High Stewards are made," &c.; and also declared that a Peer might be tried though there were no Lord High Steward.

Then followed that six hours' debate whether the Bishops should sit at the trial. All owned the point most curiously and nicely debated, and either side appeared confident of carrying it. But when the question came to be put in a very full House, though almost 8 o'clock, this was resolved: "That the Lords Spiritual have a right to stay in Court in capital causes till such time as judgment of death comes to be pronounced," and scarce twenty votes against it. The Commons rose early, did little, chiefly listening what the Lords would do, but I suppose tomorrow will be a busy day in that House. All things run to that wrack and extremity that I fear they will break at last.

VISCOUNT MASSEREENE to ORMOND.

1679, May 13, Pall Mall, London.—Seeing I am by the honour of yours of the 26th of April so well assured that what I formerly wrote had good acceptance, I presume to acquaint your Grace when the discourse of removing all Papists out of the cities and corporations of Ireland was most rife, I drew up some remarks upon the clauses in the two Acts, and acquainted my Lord President and others of the Council how needful it was to inspect what had been done already, and thereby to measure and bring into view the proceedings in my Lord Berkeley's Government, at which time a door was opened to let in more than all others besides. For I had observed both in the time of your Grace's Government and my Lord

Ossory's deputation admissions were rare, and I thought it more fair to see what had been done besides the Acts and Rules or against them rather than make a general one of so great comprehension; by which some trading and useful men were removed who perhaps had transgressed no rules in their admission or residence. I cannot affirm, my Lord, what effect this had, but with my Lord Ossory's allowance and command (at my first coming) I put a paper of this sort into my Lord President's and Lord Essex's hands, and discoursed the same with my Lord Halifax, Lord Roberts, and other lords of the Privy Council of my acquaintance, not altogether without their opinion of its seeming reasonable.

The further arming of Protestants in Ireland is what I perceive is deemed necessary, and as I was before confident your Grace would approve of what was done for the safety of Ireland, so I can now with greater confidence assert it. And from the first time I observed a zeal of this sort I humbly desired my Lord Ossory to join in, upon the belief and assurance that whatsoever seemed most for that kingdom's security would be most grateful to you, who had the greatest interest of any subject in it.

The importances now depending exclude the present consideration of these and other affairs of Ireland, and all overtures that may seem now unreasonable; the votes about the militia, the succession to the Crown, the inspection of what arms had been given forth and what are in the stores—of which some were given and distributed by Mr. Bertie, Secretary to Lord Danby—with other votes, and the method now laying down by the Committee of both Houses for trial of the Lords in the Tower take up all the time of the Parliament; and by these and other particulars your Grace will this post have an account of, you will see how far the Houses do still manifest an apprehension of the danger to these kingdoms from the Popish party.

One Fitzgerald, a priest, was taken on Saturday last by Sir William Waller, and the King and Council yesterday sent for Sir William, commended his activeness, and gave orders bail should be taken for this Fitzgerald, he having formerly had some allowance from the King to reside. I need not trouble your Grace with the passages of the news. You have it from better hands. Secretary Coventry communicated your Grace's recommendation about the Lough in my favour, but at the same time told me he would write back, and did so, for your Grace's appointment. Now some blanks should be filled up: till which time that business is at a stand.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, May 14, Wednesday.—The Committee of both Houses being met, instead of their proceeding to adjust the methods in order to the trials, the Commons denied the exposition

of their last night's resolve in the case of the Bishops, that they might plainly and clearly understand in what cases they should and in what cases they should not sit and vote. The Lords present gave their sense, derived from the debates of the House and words of the resolve, but for their conclusive satisfaction promised to report their doubt to the House and did so; where the unanimous interpretation was that in all cases relating to law the Bishops are to sit and vote; but when judgment relating to life and death is to be given then they would withdraw. The rest of the day the Lords spent in perfecting and finishing the Bill for trial of Peers in the interval of Parliament, which they ordered to be sent down, and so adjourned, it being too late to begin any new business.

The Commons seemed at first to answer the King's spur with great mettle, in relation to setting forth a Fleet, but after the Lords had made and declared that interpretation they cooled on a sudden, adjourning that important debate, so necessary for the nation's safety, to so remote a day. For all things else relating to that House I humbly refer your Grace to their paper of Votes.

Thursday, 15.—When the Committee of both Houses met, that pretended expeditious way of despatch proved a dilatory one; for the Commons not having reported the Lords' declaration of their sense in relation to the Bishops, which for want of time was omitted, pretended they were tied up by their instructions not to proceed in any other matter till full satisfaction was given in that of the Bishops: which advantage my Lord Privy Seal presently took to arraign this new expeditious way of a Committee, when had they trod in the old track of conferences all had been quickly adjusted. But since he saw no prospect of such a settlement of affairs as was proposed, he would that they might appoint a day for the trial of the five Lords. For it had no small reflection on the Supreme Court of Judicature that they should be ignorant of those forms and methods they ought to observe in judicature, and the whole nation greedily expected the trial. Also the Lords themselves had petitioned for it, nay the Commons had told them they were ready for prosecution, so that the fault would singly lie at their door; and how could they answer it to Magna Charta that the King's free subjects should be under so long a durance without being tried. But his lordship happened to be interrupted by a Bill the Commons sent up for re-imposing the Records that had been burnt in the Temple, which being read and ordered a second reading my Lord Privy Seal resumed his discourse, pressing for a day to be fixed for the Lords' trial. But the Lord President, after he had magnified the greatness of that Lord's parts, his courage, and zeal for justice, craved leave at this trial to differ, considering how important it was to settle that doubt of the validity or invalidity of the pardon, which tho' he should allow to be duly

obtained, and in itself without exception; yet, considering it was granted depending an impeachment, the whole frame of Government turned on that single thing. For if it could be such a King might be that would thereby shelter all criminals from justice, nay and tho' there was but one pardon now appearing, yet who could tell but that might be the case of all other Lords when this should be allowed. The same Lord replied, that could not be; for had they pardons by them they had made a plea of innocence, and so disowned their pardons, and therefore moved for their trial when there could be no such rub; but the House seeing every one set for the debate, and it being late, adjourned both debate and House till next morning.

Amongst the Commons' proceedings of this day the most remarkable was (and possibly a more remarkable one never did happen, nor I hope ever will again) that bill to disenable the Duke of York from inheriting. It loads him with the guilt of correspondence with the Pope and Cardinals for the subversion of our religion, nay and to be consenting to the death of the King; not only disinheriting him, but utterly banishing him, and make it treason so much as to correspond with him, nay to own him the rightful heir. Monday is the next day, as I understand, for the second reading. Some struggled to have delayed the first reading, urging the thinness of the House, occasioned by a dog match at Hampton Court, and a horse match at Bansted Downs; but no argument could stem the tide, and read it was.

Now one word of sport. At Bansted twelve horses run for three plates, a plate a heat, when Roger Pope's horse threw and bruised him, and Tom Wharton's threw him and he was taken up for dead, yet is alive again but much battered, and this they call sport. The Duke of Monmouth escaped narrowly. There was so vast a crowd no other could be expected. My providence (to which success makes me [illegible] kept me from being a jockey, to avoid which I avoided that very place.

Friday, 16.—The Lords received another report from their members of the Committee of both Houses, that the Commons did adhere and would not enter upon the debate of any other methods till they were fully satisfied as to the Bishops withdrawing at all the trials. Some looked on this as too much imposing on the Lords, and, against the engagement of the Commons, an intermeddling with judicature; others, according as their judgment led them, advocating for it. But this brought on the adjourned debate again, it being urged that if the Commons would be rusty that would not excuse a failure of justice in the Supreme Court of Judicature; nor could they be so ignorant of their own methods in such trials as to need consulting the Commons. Therefore it was moved that a day of trial ought to be appointed, and at the debate of this controversy there

was mutual calling to the bar between the two great lords the Lord President and Privy Seal. The latter took, it seems, offence at two expressions : the first that the Earl of Danby's pardon was called an arbitrary pardon, the other that in aggravating the crimes of the Earl of Danby beyond those of the other five Lords this expression happened, 'that the Earl of Danby is a great man still.' This was wrested to asperse the King, and had been so construed had not my Lord Ailesbury's notes cleared my Lord Shaftesbury, by whom he sat, that the words only were 'he may be a great man still.' Some observed it was one surer way to make one less by the head, and that the same was a sure way to prevent greatness, which it seems was the great crime. But my Lord Essex would not allow that all the crime of which my Lord Danby stood impeached of, though never so true, could equal to theirs who sought the murder of the King, the change of religion, and subversion of the Government. After all the strugglings and fencings by the great masters of that art came that common end of all debates in Parliament, the question. By which it was carried by four to one that on Thursday next the five Popish Lords shall come to their trials, and so adjourned.

The Commons, as their Votes and former resolutions show, did little ; nothing of importance. I forgot that as soon as the question was over-ruled for the trial of the five Lords, the Bishops desired leave to withdraw at the trial, which was granted accordingly. However they lodged their claim of right. This day the Lords began with private bills, till in a fuller House they received the report from their part of the Committee of both Houses, that the Commons were not satisfied with the order for the trial of the Lords, nor the Bishops withdrawing in their case, but expected it should be owned that the Bishops had no right to sit upon any of the trials, the contrary being implied from their lodging their claim to it. They also expected the Earl of Danby should come first to his trial, because they had demanded judgment against him already, and that till they were satisfied fully in that particular relating to the Lords Spiritual they would not proceed to adjust the methods of the trials. This inflamed the [illegible] and made the Lords not only adhere to their resolution of trying the Lords on Thursday next, but they also ordered their Committee of Privileges to sit this afternoon to debate and consider former precedents in order to the methodising the trial, and that they might have the more time they rose the earlier.

The Commons I leave to speak for themselves in their Votes. What I infer from both Houses is that we are almost run aground. For the Commons are determined to try the Earl of Danby first ; the Lords have ordered as they conceive they had right to do, the trial of the five Lords first. Again, the Commons are not content that the Lords Spiritual

should withdraw and lodge their claims, but would have the Lords confirm their vote that the Bishops have no right to sit in such judicatures. And I really believe the Lords are determined to yield in neither. We are on the very brink of confusion. I have sent your Grace the copy of the Bill against the Duke of York. I wish it were better written, that it might not create a double trouble.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1679, May 15.—This day in Council it is ordered that all the papers and accounts relating to Ireland and my Lord Ranelagh should be returned into Ireland to be heard and judged there. This is now determined, and I suppose the order will be signed to-morrow. If there be any further proceedings or alteration your Grace shall know it. I hope this may be to the good of Ireland and your satisfaction.

ORMOND TO SIR STEPHEN FOX.

1679, May 17, Dublin.—Among all the alterations I hear of I am pleased with none so much as with that that fixes you in the Paymaster's place. I thought your remove from it was hard, and little for the King's service, and I hope your restitution to it may show it. If this part of our intelligence be true, you are able to tell me whether the officers that were of Colonel M'Carty's regiment and disbanded here without pay are to expect any for the time they served. Their pretensions are the same with those of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment, who were reformed when the regiment was sent hither because they would not take the oaths required. For these Irish officers as well as these Scotch quit their employments in France to serve His Majesty, and they are told the Scotch officers have or are to receive their pay. It will be charity to let these poor gentlemen know whether they are to hope for anything or no, for their condition is most miserable. All the stock, even of clothes, they brought out of France is spent, and several of them are in prison for their lodging and diet. Their religion brings them into suspicion here, and if they had wherewith to transport themselves to begin the world again, I dare not give them passports and testimonials. Besides those of M'Carty's regiment there are some who served in the Duke of Monmouth's regiment; three of them of my acquaintance, and for whom I am particularly concerned, Major John Butler, Captain James Purcell and Captain Sarsfield. Your return cannot be too soon, for I would gladly be freed from the importunity and sight of men that deserve some consideration and relief, which is not in my power to give them.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 17.—I discoursed this day with the King about the affair between you and my Lord Winchester, and was

careful to express that you would always be as ready to serve him as if you did continue in that station, which you would only part with to render your condition more easy. I assured him also that if he did not relish this proposition that the commerce should be broken by us, without His Majesty giving any disgust by not affording his consent. All his answer was that he would think upon it, for it was a matter of consequence. If there be any further progress in this matter I will take care to have your money put in sure hands, and if possible shall raise the price. This is all I have to inform you of at present.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 17, Whitehall.—I have your Grace's of the 30 of April both from my Lord of Ossory and Mr. Ryder. I find by my Lord of Ossory that the thoughts of your coming over are laid aside for the present; and for my part I think it is well they are. For your presence here would but precipitate those designs of your enemies by giving them the alarm, and your Grace's moving to come over (if any accident should happen in your absence) would not 'scape odd reflections according to the humour of this present conjuncture; and it would be hard for your friends to give a reason for your sudden quitting your ship in such danger; and if it should be said you did not think it were so, that would be judged a greater crime than any I yet can learn they have against you. All that I hear they yet pretend to are but the old ones in my Lord of Meath's time, and were framed out of my Lord Bishop of Meath's letter. But in all events by staying where you are and taking no notice of whispers and rumours you will still gain time, which is very considerable at present. Something very determining will necessarily appear after the trial of these Lords, neither do I perceive by their proceedings with the Duke and my Lord Lauderdale that they intend to proceed by way of accusation, especially where the matter is not plain; and the great changes that seem to be intended will not allow them leisure of formal trials. They frequently mention the putting of all places both by sea and land into the hands of confiding persons; whether that will be granted or no I know not (I mean they being judges) who are such, if that be once obtained, I think your Grace will rest satisfied of the consequence. How far His Majesty will struggle, or run with this tempest, I know not. But you being in the House of Lords at the time must needs upon daily occasions oblige you either to weaken your interest there or increase the animosities in the House of Commons, where as yet I do not perceive them increase. The only thing they now talk of is the arming of all Protestants, of which I gave you a hint in my last, and I suppose your best way is to send a list to the Council of those you have armed, and to receive their directions what you shall do

further in that matter, and to ask directions and obey them is all I think can be demanded of one in your station. Thursday is appointed by the House of Lords for the trial of the five Lords. I doubt it will be endeavoured to be deferred by the Commons; but if the Lords persist I know not how it can be avoided. In conclusion I think we are nigh a great crisis, but what resolutions His Majesty will take, or when taken will steadfastly maintain, is to acquaint you with what I know not myself. For my own part, I am resolved to be honest according to my understanding; for my safety I leave it to God's Providence, for I confess the danger is beyond my skill. I pray God it may not be beyond theirs that have more share in the guidance of affairs than I either have or affect to have. The laying your command at the King's feet I would not dissuade, if I found any inclination in the King towards your removal, but indeed I do not, and the circumstances are much altered. Your danger was formerly principally from Court, and your interest in the then House of Commons was so considerable that it was that which secured you. I would I could write you now that either you or any man of your principles had so prevailing an interest there now. I am now confined to my chambers, and since I have been so there hath a vote passed in the Council for my Lord Ranelagh going personally or sending some one sufficiently authorised to pass his accounts in Ireland. I hear he will struggle all he can to remove it, but I hope he will not be able.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, May 18. Dublin,—You will with this receive such a letter as Sir Robert Southwell tells me it was resolved at his house I should send, and it is ordered that it may be delivered when it may be thought necessary. I confess I cannot well figure to myself such a conjuncture; but it is a time of such sudden and extraordinary variations that I cannot say but that it may so happen that such a letter may be of use. Whenever the doing it shall be in deliberation I desire Mr. Secretary may be consulted, and that he may have no cause to think that anything concerning me is concealed from him. In this strange uncertainty of affairs, I know not what to think, write or do, or for or against what to prepare. Others I suppose under the same uneasiness, but I know nobody that has such a province as I to manage and answer for.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, May 19.—The Lords received that report from the Committee of both Houses that the Commons did adhere to their former vote that the Bishops had no right to sit and vote on the proceedings against any of the impeached Lords in the Tower; and when that was asserted, and other particulars adjusted, they would then proceed first on the Earl

of Danby's pardon, and after to the trial of the five Lords. After this, and another report which was made from the Committee of Privileges of the methods and circumstances they had adjusted in order to all the trials, they began to comment on the former report, each one (according to his inclinations) accusing or excusing it. Some were unwilling to part with the Bishops for the occasion's sake, some for the Bishop's own sakes ; some for voting against their votes, as being themselves influenced by the Commons, some as having influenced them : each one abounding in his own sense as infallible, and with severity enough reflecting on theirs that differed. This proved a great trial of skill (though accompanied with great heat, which usually is no small prejudice to it). There was great fencing to renew the question concerning the Bishops' capacity of voting by surprise, which had been twice otherwise resolved, which was so quickly perceived and so well guarded that 'twas not easy for them to come at it. One party (to strengthen which the Duke of Buckingham was come into the House but the day before, and from whence not known) received encouragement from having at last carried that so often desired demand of the Commons to transact by a Committee and not by Conference. And from the same cause and its ill success, the other party inferred greater caution, that Committee being the occasion of all the delays [that] have since happened, being only empowered to make the report of the Commons resolves, not to admit of any debate by which Conferences would quickly have shortened the work. To avoid running into this troublesome question some would have taken advantage of the lateness of the day to adjourn the House, and the others consented so the debate might be adjourned also. That was opposed because there ought to be no such debate : it being urged to be against a standing order of the House that anything being solemnly resolved on a debate by a conclusive question should the same session be resumed again. Then 'twas moved (that no stone might be unturned) that the House would resolve into a Grand Committee (which it seems cannot be denied to any member in any debate) to debate the business ; but my Lord Roberts [illegible] their fault that the question being now only adjourn or not adjourn, a bare question was only proper to determine that controversy ; and so it proved, and the House only, not the debate, was adjourned. I am sure the season of the year brings on heat apace, and all these airy disputes gained no ground.

The Commons rose the earlier because they were to deliver the enclosed address by three in the afternoon to His Majesty in the Banqueting House. The greatest time they spent was in making amendments in the Bill for banishing the Papists hence, which though not many are enough to delay the despatch of that Bill also.

This day hath been a day of great and learned debate in the Lords' House on a report made from the Committee of both Houses that the Commons immoveably adhered to their vote against the Bishops having votes at trials, and for the trial of the Earl of Danby before the Popish Lords. They discoursed themselves into the old quarrels again. One which it was thought reasonable that the Earl of Danby should be first tried, but then the Bishops' right to vote was first to be adjusted. It was answered that it was so already. However, insensibly the debate began afresh, and lasted in a Committee of the whole House from ten till five. The Duke of Buckingham, who began to appear last Thursday, and first took the oaths on Friday, is said to have spoken scores of times, but, 'twas said, more pleasantly than learnedly, but my Lord President supplied that defect. My Lord Halifax did his part also, but my Lord Hollis (tho 'tis said his gout has changed his stomach for his foot) was not able to appear. But my Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Ailesbury and Lord Roberts, besides the Bishops themselves, had so studied the point of the Bishops' right that my Lord Roberts (whose very adversaries admire him for the day's work) did not only clear the point that the Bishops might sit on trial, but that they equally ought to do it at least as any other Peers, and that the House could not dispense with them; so that the debate was, as it were, yielded in favour of the Bishops without a question. But the trial of the five Lords is ordered to be first, and yet put off from Thursday next to Tuesday (this day sennight) that the Commons may have sufficient time to prepare, notice being ordered to be given tomorrow.

The Commons chiefly spent their day on Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane, who were accused of sundry miscarriages and are committed to the Serjeant at Arms, the first to make his defence on Thursday, and the other on Monday. Thus your Grace shall know more of the matter.

ORMOND TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1679, May 21, Dublin.—I delayed my return to yours of the 10th inst. in expectation I might have received some directions out of England in relation to this Government, upon the representations of the state of it which have lain long on that side; I think unconsidered, but I am sure without any return that might guide and assist me in the dangers and difficulties I set forth. But having seen what late consultations and debates have produced, and taking measure by them what work is cut out, I do not wonder that so remote a place as this is for the present left to shift for itself.

I had a command to send over a list of the Privy Council of this kingdom, with my opinion what officers ought always to be of it, which I immediately sent; but without any other remarks or advice than what was called for. I have long

thought there was too easy access to that dignity in this kingdom, which brought it to a lower esteem and authority than is requisite where the King governs by deputation. Yet I know not whether so great a reform as seems to be designed will suit with affairs here, or be at this time seasonable. As numerous as the Council is there are certain seasons of the year when a sufficient number cannot be had to carry on the ordinary business, and if a Parliament should be called (a thing I have earnestly pressed for since my landing) perhaps the reducing of so many Councillors would be better after than before.

I am sorry you found any reason to waive being of the Irish Committee of Council, for as your memory will easily recover clear notions of the state of this kingdom, so your kindness to it and your knowledge of the importance of keeping it quiet within and secure from foreign dangers, will warm your thoughts and advices and give them more life than what may proceed from those that have limited considerations. I will not deny that I have some thought of myself when I write you when anything from me or of me shall be under deliberation, being as confident of your friendship as you may be that I am your most affectionate and most humble servant.

Copy.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, May 21, Dublin.—Your mother being at Kilkenny I sent her yours of the 13th inst. for her satisfaction in our private concerns. I remember you said you would proceed with caution and advice in your treaty with the Marquis, which I approve of. Yet I would have you to consider that if an Act of Parliament shall pass concerning the succession, pursuant to the vote of the House of Commons, it is very like all possible provision will be made to render it effectual, and particularly it is probable that oaths agreeable to the design will be required, at least from all considerable officers and Privy Councillors. How I shall be able to digest such an oath I cannot judge till I see it; only I tell you I am somewhat tender in the point of oaths. The matter must be true in my opinion, just in what they bind to, and compatible with other lawful oaths formerly taken by me, or else I shall refuse them, cost me what it will. You are upon the place and will first see how far things tend this way, and may accordingly hasten or retard the negotiation.

Copy.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1697, May 21, London.—By reason of my Lord Chancellor's term affairs it was late 'ere the Lords sat, and because the Committee of Privileges might have the more time to adjust all the preliminaries in order to the trial of

the five Lords next Tuesday, they were under a kind of necessity of rising early; so that the little their lordships did this morning was to read some bills. Only the Duke of Buckingham took the advantage of some discourses on the subject of the trial to propose that since the Bishops ought not to be there the Bench reserved for them might be otherwise employed, since the room was strait and scant, thereby designing to renew the debate of the Bishops' right of sitting again: which as soon as detected was sufficiently decied, as having after so solemn a debate been so solemnly resolved; so the House adjourned.

The Commons made an end of one of their Bills against Popery, but with so many amendments that the work is not yet over. The Bill against the Duke of York found much more opposition than was expected; the number who at first gainsaid it being but 13, and now there appeared against it 128; so that many infer thence that it will scarce pass that House.

Thursday, May 22.—The Lords received a message from the Commons, both to remind them of the condemned priests who were reprieved in order to their examination, yet they had never yet so much as been summoned; and if they had done with them to have them removed to the several counties where they had been condemned, in order to their execution; and also to remind them of a former desire they had made for the Lords and Commons [to join] in an address to the King that the adjacent militia might be drawn together to secure the trials against any manner of disorder or disturbance, chiefly expected from the Papists. As for the former part, the Lords designed for the priests first to appear at the Committee of Examination to confront those who have mentioned them at such meetings and consults, and who will justify to their faces their knowledge of and being engaged in the Plot, to try whether that and hopes of pardon will draw confessions out of them, and according they shall be dealt with after. As to the other part, they not only sent them word they would concur with them in their address, but also that the King had appointed next day at 3 o'clock to receive it. One remarkable passage happened on this debate. My Lord President reflected very severely on the ill consequences of reprieving these priests, that it had revived the spirits of the Papists, legible in their very looks, and so proceeded till my Lord Clarendon gave this interruption that it was the Lord President himself who was the only mover of this reprieve, whose authority was so great that, because he moved it, it was ordered, without any reason asked or given. My Lord President's evasion was that if he had any fault it was tender-heartedness, an infirmity he could not help. But an end was put to that discourse by a message from the Commons to desire a free conference on the amendments to the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, which lasted

so long that as soon as the report was made the Lords adjourned.

The Commons votes show all they did. The accusations against Sir Anthony Deane were aggravated to the height, and some think their measure hard enough at least. But I shall respite my verdict till the judges have given theirs : it being referred to a legal prosecution ; and in the meantime they are not expelled the House.

Friday, May 23.—The Lord President reports from the Committee of Lords and Commons that the Commons were dissatisfied in these three points : 1. Whether the message sent them to give them notice of the trial, and their methods, was in the nature of a resolution or a proposal ? If the latter there was room left for argument and debate. 2. Whether their lordships intended that for a full answer to their declaration that the Bishops had no right to sit on criminal matters ? 3. Whether they would not permit my Lord Danby to be tried first, since they had in this case demanded judgment, or begin with the five Lords ? The tardy answers to these questions consumed most of that day. To the first this was the answer : The message did contain their resolution *de bene esse* as matters stood before them, but that if they should see good cause they should be ready to do what was reasonable. As to the second, what they said in relation to the Bishops was the determination of a long and serious debate, and from whence they would not recede. And lastly, as to the third, they saw so many difficulties to be removed, more in relation to my Lord Danby's trial (as that of the pardon, and that of the Bishops who had leave to absent at the five Lords' trials) than in the others, that they had resolved first to go on with the five Lords. One day being spent, and both Houses in the afternoon to wait on the King with their address, they adjourned.

I shall add this account to the Votes of the Commons, that when Sir Stephen Fox appeared he seemed resolute, and (as they termed it) trifled with them, till Boscawen moved that if he would not deal more clearly a bill might be brought in to confiscate his estate, and take away his life : language it seems he could not so well relish, and then submitted to answer questions more readily. I must add one passage more, that when he was to go for his papers, to oblige him to bring all, Sir John Hotham and Sir Robert Peyton were ordered to go with him. But notice being given to His Majesty, he sent my Lord Chamberlain to tell them he would not have Whitehall searched. So that they were fain to trust him, and he his memory. And as they read over the list of all the last Parliament's members he accused and acquitted as he thought fit. The list I have enclosed, with an addition of six of this day distinguished by themselves. It is true this was all done seven years since almost (for he had nothing to do with payments since the Earl of Danby's

Treasurership) yet the guilt is so highly resented as if done but yesterday. And many (if not all) had other pretensions to such pensions than voting in Parliament, as former sufferings, some in the loss of farms in the Excise, some in the Customs, &c.; yet all these are comprehended in the term of pensioners.

In the afternoon both Houses presented their address to the King concerning the adjacent militias being drawn together at the trials. The King's answer was that he would take all possible care for the securing them and the trial against any manner of disturbance, but did not particularly take notice of the militia.

This day, May 24.—Great part of this day the Lords spent in a trial on an appeal by Mr. Ward (my Lord Ward's son) against a judgment obtained by one Mr. Booth, brother to my Lord Delamere, for whom the cases went and the appeal was dismissed. Then the Lords read and committed the Bill for the banishment of Papists. They also considered the Bill of *Habeas Corpus* and its amendments, which will cost another conference for its finishment. There was also a report made from the Committee of Examinations, that it appeared to them by several evidences that there was of late great resorts of Papists to this city, which will quicken the despatch of a Bill of Banishment.

By the Commons' Votes it appears the trial of the Lords is not so near as was expected. For if neither side will yield there can be no trial at all. Delay begins already to flatten the sense of the Plot, only daily new committed follies raises it again. Upon Sir Francis Winnington's report the six separate pensioners, as they call them, were added to the list this day, and they say by Tuesday next they shall bring in a hundred more at least. Thus ends this week.

Sir John Robinson died last night, heart-broken for being turned out of the Tower, where my Lord Alington now is as Constable, and Tom Cheeke as Lieutenant, not Governor and Deputy Governor as was at first intended.

ORDER OF PRIVY COUNCIL to LORD LIEUTENANT.

1679, May 21.—At the Court at Whitehall. The King's Most Present Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas a letter of the 17th instant from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to Mr. Secretary Coventry was this day read to His Majesty in Council, together with two informations sent therewith signifying the resort of some dangerous fanatic preachers from Scotland into the North of Ireland, and that one Walsh is supposed to be among them who has been so noted an incendiary, and that the arrival of the people happened soon after the late murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews; His Majesty is pleased to order that the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary Coventry do forthwith signify to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that he take all possible care

for the seizure of the said Walsh ; as also to prevent and suppress all disorderly conventicles of the fanatics in those parts from whom any danger may be apprehended ; and that the arms which are licensed to be imported do not fall into the hands of such dangerous and suspected persons. And whereas this day Mr. John Tasburgh, of Bodney, in the county of Norfolk, hath had a pass to go with his family into Ireland, there to remain for a year and to follow his lawful occasions, having an estate in Connaught and some law suits to prosecute, the Lord Lieutenant at his arrival in Dublin is to cause security to be taken that nothing shall be done to him to the disturbance of the peace. Whereof Mr. Secretary is to give notice accordingly.

[Signed] ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

ORMOND to SIR ROBERT HOWARD.

1679, May 24, Dublin.—I was very glad to receive yours of the 15th of this month, as it was an argument of your recovery and of your friendship to me. I have also received the Order in Council by which my Lord of Ranelagh and his partners are said to be commanded over hither, where in truth they are most properly, if but only to give an account of their undertaking and of a sum of money they borrowed of the King, to enable them to perform which would now be of great use to help to put this kingdom into a better state of defence than it is or can be without some accession to the revenue. I hope the Lords will see His Majesty's Order in Council obeyed, and that so many of the undertakers as are there may not upon any pretence be dispensed with so as to retard the final closing of these accounts. For on that the safety of this kingdom visibly depends, as is in some measure observed by the Lords in their letter of the 16th to me and this Council. Your assistance herein will be very much for the King's service and this kingdom's.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 24.—This morning I presumed to inquire of the King if he had thought on the proposals I had made him concerning the exchange I mentioned. He told me plainly that his dislike of the person was such as he could not give his approbation, and desired me to break off this treaty by asking too much, or some way to take from him the hardship of a denial ; in which I will obey him the best I can. Just now your letter of the 18th with one to Mr. Secretary Coventry is come to my hands. I believe all your friends will be of my mind that the only use to be made of it will be to keep it ready in case of need ; men's thoughts being altogether employed upon the affairs depending between both Houses. I have not anything else to give you an account of.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 24, Whitehall.—I have received this post three from your Grace of the 17th inst ; one in behalf of my Lord Chief Justice Keating, the others concerning the revenue. The first His Majesty granted, and I shall get the letter signed with what expedition I can ; the other is referred to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. And as to the third, your intelligence out of the North, your letter was read in Council, and there His Majesty declared his approbation of your diligence, and requires you will continue to prevent any evil designs, but more particularly that you would endeavour to seize the person of Walsh, and as soon as he is seized to give notice of it hither. It is not a time to write news, and indeed no very safe one to speak truth. You will have accounts of what passeth from several hands, and when you do there will be no need of making reflections on them : the consequences are too visible.

Your former letter concerning arming the Protestants was read at Council and was very satisfactory. This day bringeth us news again of a great quantity of arms shipped for Dublin. They were sold by one Mons. La Terre which giveth the more jealousy, but I hope they are for the use mentioned by your Grace.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, May 25, Dublin.—I am abundantly satisfied that my remove from this place at this time upon my own desire would bring all the inconveniences you mention upon me, and perhaps some that cannot be foreseen. Nor do I know but that the knowledge of my supposing there may be such a conjuncture wherein I ought to beg His Majesty's leave for it may be taken advantage of to my prejudice. Yet I could not refuse the putting such a letter as mine of the 30th of the last month into your hands upon the advice of my friends, and in confidence you would not present it but at a fit time, if any such should happen. My head is so filled with the expectation of some great event from the state affairs were in when you writ that all I can do is but to keep up the outward show of government and the formal part of business with the same preparation you express of doing my duty when I shall understand wherein. The course held with the Duke and Duke of Lauderdale is not a greater argument of haste than it is an instance and exercise of power. There is indeed great disparity in the cases. The subject matter about the Duke as well as his person are the highest that can come in question in our world ; but since to the determination of that the Commons allow the King and House of Lords a share from which upon the matter they are both excluded in the other case, for the Lords are not invited to join in the Address, and it is worded as if little were left to the King's consideration : this I say considered, and the unlimited

consequence of such a proceeding, I do not know to which to give the pre-eminence. At the very time this may come to your hands these reflections may seem, as in truth they may be, frivolous and insipid. But I hope you will not think it at any time unreasonable to receive the assurance of my being, &c., &c.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, May 26, London.—The Lord President made a report from the Committee of both Houses that the Commons demanded of them whether they were empowered to give any answer to their propositions in relation to the Lords Spiritual, and the trial of the Earl of Danby's pardon; and that till they were resolved in those two points, and those were adjusted, they could not answer their lordships' propositions preparatory to the trial. They pressed in the close for a positive assent or denial. But their lordships did not at that time enter on any debate of the report; but proceeded to read the Bill for the banishment of Papists from London and the parts adjacent, and went through its amendments, and then read the *Habeas Corpus* Bill and its amendments and returned it to the Commons. Whilst this last Bill was reading came up a message from the Commons to desire their lordships to continue sitting some time longer. Their answer was they would sit a competent time. Immediately came up a message to desire a conference on matters of great importance to the kingdom, and for preserving a good correspondence between the two Houses, which was consented to. Mr. Sacheverell was the person that made the speech. He declared the desire of the Commons to continue a right understanding and good correspondence between the two Houses, urged the necessity of it from the great importance of the affairs depending, owned the crimes of the five Lords to be great, yet as the case stands the trial of the Earl of Danby ought to have the precedency: aggravated his imaginary guilt, placing on his account all the delays of business and all the differences between the two Houses and all the difficulties they have laboured under; reflecting on his not having been committed when first impeached, as what had prevented all this expense of time and treasure which have been the consequence of his ill management; and the delay of justice, notwithstanding they demanded it the 5th of May. Wherefore as they were surprised with the Lords' order of the 7th of May to prepare the Lords' trial before his, they severely reflected on his being permitted to plead his pardon, as what would dash all impeachment if allowed. And why might not the other five Lords also obviate all their trials with the same expedient? Lastly, that his impeachment was first and consequently his trial ought to be so. His speech was long, and therefore was delivered in writing to

their lordships, a paper betwixt reasons and remonstrances ; but it being late the Lords adjourned the consideration of it (after they had reduced it into these two points : the Earl of Danby's trial to be first, and the Bishops to be excluded from it) till 5 in the afternoon. The Commons' Votes shall speak for them, so that I have only a short account to add—that when the Lords met in the afternoon they continued the debate on these two points, and then adjourned the debate until next morning.

This morning, 27th.—The Lords as soon as they met resumed the debate warmly enough. Some heats more than ordinary happened between the Marquis of Winchester and Lord Privy Seal. The former was the aggressor, reflecting on the latter as if he sought to govern the House. But that was quenched. But at last the questions were put and carried by above half and half that their lordships would both adhere to their former resolutions concerning the Bishops, as also concerning the trial of the five Lords before the Earl of Danby. They then had a conference concerning the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, which they most luckily agreed.

Then the King sent the Black Rod to the Commons (all this time the five Popish Lords, environed with spectators of both sexes and all qualities, continued in Westminster Hall in order to their trial). The Commons being come to the Lords' bar, and all the Lords with their robes, provided in order to the trial, the King told both Houses that he had hoped and promised himself great good from this session ; but such was the disagreement between the two Houses that he found his hopes frustrated, and as the only expedient left referred to the Chancellor, who declared the Parliament prorogued till the 14th of August. Thus all parted in a mist of surprise. The King remanded the Lords to the Tower. The lawyers say this will enlarge the Earl of Danby by pleading his pardon in Westminster Hall, unless it be unadvisable to the King's service. I am sure Irish cattle may come over now. Till the return of the Parliament this is the last trouble I shall give your Grace ; on Friday departing to prepare for buck-hunting. This night my Lord O'Brien was re-married to my Lady Sophia Osborne by the Bishop of Exeter, and last night old Sir Charlie Harbord died.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 27.—I received yours of the 21st inst. By what you will hear has passed this day, you will see there will be time enough to consider of the contents of your letter. What measures will be taken, and what persons most trusted, is as yet uncertain. I will be watchful and use my best endeavours to find out anything wherein you may be concerned ; and when we see how things move my Lord Chamberlain, Sir Robert Southwell and myself will act the best we can in order to your service. This with his respects

my Lord Chamberlain desired me to assure you. My Lord Massereene desired me to entreat your favour concerning the business mentioned in my enclosed paper. I am in waiting this week and now called away. This is not an excuse for the shortness of my letter, for I have not anything more worth writing unto you.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1679, May 27.—I now happen to be in London, where I have the opportunity of performing your Excellency's command in preferring to Christ Church the young man whom you were pleased to recommend. And I shall be ready to give him all further encouragement as he shall become capable of it. When I came from home I left my Lord James very well, and the little misadventure of the Governor perfectly composed. The sudden prorogation of the Parliament giving me a more speedy dismissal than else I might have had, I propose tomorrow morning to return home, when I shall endeavour to serve my Lord James to the utmost of my abilities.

When your Excellency shall be pressed to nominate a new Vice-Chancellor, I humbly conceive that Mr. Timothy Halton, Provost of Queen's College, will be a person qualified to fill that employment. Any time before Michaelmas being time enough for the nomination of a successor, possibly it may not be of use to make a hasty disposition.

I beseech Almighty God to continue His protection and blessing to your Excellency in your great station and private concerns.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 27, London.—Since my last to your Grace of the 24th instant, wherein I gave you notice of the intelligence sent us from Holland of arms transporting for Ireland, this Order of Council is sent to me, which because it is more particular than my letter I remit the copy to your Grace, that you may inquire whether they are arms provided by those merchants you have licensed, or others and to other intents.

This day hath produced great news to me; the prorogation of Parliament till the 14th of August. The particular reasons that inclined His Majesty I know not. But it is certain the animosities betwixt the two Houses were grown to a great height, and probably would have increased to that height that great inconveniencies must have followed. But how these that will follow on the prorogation will be avoided I hope His Majesty knoweth. I confess I do not.

ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL* to ORMOND.

1679, May 28, Cashel . . . Having this opportunity, I presume yet further to remind your Grace of Dr. Sall, that

*Thomas Price, Archbishop of Cashel, 1667—1685. Dr. Price, who had been a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, had previously filled the see of Kildare, to which he was appointed in 1661.

some better subsistence may be provided for him in this kingdom, where his earnest desire is to spend the remainder of his days ; in order whereunto he hath refused good preferment in England. To this purpose I made bold to write formerly to your Grace ; but hearing of his letter from Oxford (dated May 12th) being minded to put your Grace in remembrance of him, I have adventured to give your Grace this second memento.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, May 28, Dublin.—By that time this goes to you I believe you will receive a visit from Sir Charles Meredith, our Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Commissioners appointed to inspect the proceedings of the Farmers of the Revenue. I give him the titles of his employments to introduce the testimony I am to give that he has in my observation discharged them with great diligence and ability, and that in all things which relate to the King's service I know none of the King's Council here that manifests more zeal or better principles, or upon whose relation to the state of this kingdom you may more safely depend, as far as he will undertake to represent it. I conceive this account to be not only a justice to him, but some service to the King, that he may know whom he may encourage and trust.

Copy.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 31, Whitehall.—I received your Grace's of the 17th inst., and likewise by the hand of my Lord of Ossory the letter you mentioned concerning your coming into England. Your first was very welcome because it stifled a report that was very loud upon the Exchange of the surprising of Kinsale, but by whom it was not said. Yours of the 20th inst. I acquainted you I had showed the Council, so there are two letters directed to you from thence which Sir Robert Southwell put into my hands.

The news of the prorogation of Parliament will, I suppose, be as surprising to you as it was with us ; but the truth is had we sat a day longer in all appearance something of great inconveniency must have happened between the two Houses.

Yesterday my Lord Ranelagh petitioned the Council for a reversal of the order for his going to Ireland. He was pleased to say in Council that the accounts given in to the Commissioners in Ireland were final, whereas those very men that subscribed the accounts say they are neither full nor final. He did with extreme assurance challenge any man to make appear that he or any of his partners by his knowledge had ever compounded with or defrauded any of the army ; and in conclusion declared that if he might be heard, in one hour and a half he would clear the whole business. Upon this a committee is appointed upon Tuesday next to hear

him and expect this great wonder. His party in the Council were not many, but well placed. I would be glad to be furnished with some proofs from Ireland that the so much talked of composition with the army is not a calumny as his lordship would pretend it.

We are full of jealousies, libels and unquietness; and nothing that I can see to expect from, but good husbandry, an herb that of late years hath not grown much in our Court. The greatest foreign news is the death of the Duke of Bavaria.

[— BOUELL] to — WATTS.

1679, May 31, London.—My last was of the 27th inst., the memorable day of the Parliament's prorogation, which was not effected by the advice of the Privy Council; but people will not excuse Lauderdale, the French Ambassador, and a certain woman. People talk oddly here as if Tangier were probably sold to the French, and that the King had lately received from the French Ambassador 200,000*l.*, part of 700,000*l.* for the same. The new raised forces are now even quite disbanded. One of them told a gentleman, a friend of mine, that he and others had now listed themselves, and that the horses are removed and not sold. Lord Shaftesbury told the King upon the prorogation that there was no need of holding a candle to the King's face, for his intent was visible by his actions. He would have been released of his nominal office and Privy Councillorship, but the King would not spare him. There is a printed paper public which acquits the fanatics of the murder of the Bishop of St Andrews, and lays it on two sons of the Church, whom the Bishop as they conceived had wronged sufficiently and undone. However, none of that gang are taken so much as on suspicion, as I hear. Pepys and Sir Arthur Deane are likely to be discharged upon their *Hebeas Corpus* suddenly. Now the Parliament is up, Lord Chief Justice Scroggs hath given order to have Dr. Batty indicted for a common barrister, and is mightily troubled about the prorogation and the Parliament, as almost all people here are. We had very few bonfires and little ringing of bells the 29th inst; men know not what to say or do, but expect great changes.

I here enclosed send you a printed copy of the Narrative and Reasons of the House of Commons why the Earl of Danby should be tried before the five Lords in the Tower. It is worth your reading. They were sold and printed in three sheets: now that they are printed in one I can send it conveniently. There has been three several impressions of it in two days time, and twice seized; once by order of the Court and once by order of our Lord Mayor. But this publication cannot be prevented, they are so thick brought up. There are expected smart things in print shortly, not unknown to the late Committee of Secrecy. I know nothing to add further at present.

Endorsed "copy of a letter from London to Mr. Watts, received 9 June, 1679."

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 31.—I believe you will be informed by my Lord of Longford how a letter of yours to Mr. Secretary Coventry has been shewed the Council, and how it has been inverted, and reports spread abroad as if you did undervalue this Plot, and apprehended in the bottom a fanatic design. These artifices are to be expected from a sort of men who have all their lives practised them. At the same time there was a great noise of Waterford and Kinsale's being surprised by the Irish. The King said that the authors of this report wanted intelligence of the prorogation, for that it was certainly raised to inflame some in the Parliament; for those lies, though found out, yet would serve a present turn. I send you here enclosed a letter from St. Helene to my Lord Chamberlain, upon which you will be pleased to consider what measures to take as to James. For his own son I hear he is an admirable officer and did all the business of my Lord Alington's regiment [in which] he has served: and if you could get him an employment in the army, such as a lieutenant of horse, he would be very useful as an adjutant in case of action. I do expect my wife this night from Knowsley, whither my Lord of Derby is gone. I know not if he is satisfied with me. I am sure I have no reason to be so with him. But this I do conceal, and shall live fairly with him, unless his brutality and ill usage of my daughter forces me to the contrary. If you be not engaged I beseech you to lend me your lodgings in the Castle of Windsor, whither the King will soon go.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1679, June 3, Dublin.—Whilst affairs of that high consequence were in agitation in England, I had little reason to expect that those of this place, which so much depend on determinations there, could be taken into that consideration which they require, and I hope will now be allowed them.

Your lordship will find by the enclosed extracts taken out of the Establishment of this Kingdom and His Majesty's instructions to me, ordered by advice of His Majesty's then Privy Council, what difficulty it is that obstructs my giving present obedience to His Majesty's command signified to me in your lordship's of the 27th of the last month for the payment of Mr. Hyde's pension. And that your lordship may the better understand the reason, and indeed necessity of suspending the payment of all pensions till His Majesty's Revenue shall be increased so as to support the necessary parts of the Government by the payment of the Civil and Military Lists, I send your lordship also a state of the Revenue of this Kingdom as it now stands, and a prospect of it to and at the end of the present farm, upon supposition

that the Farmers shall continue to make full and punctual payment of their rent, and that neither by accident or His Majesty's command any further charge shall fall upon the Revenue. This computation and prospect takes no notice of the stop of pensions (which yet for this year must be applied towards the discharge of the Civil and Military Lists), because I suppose that out of what overplus shall accrue the next year His Majesty may think fit the arrears of pensions should be paid : neither on the other hand is there any notice taken how short the money allotted under the name of concordatums will certainly fall to answer the ends enumerated under that head of the Establishment, which ends must be left unprovided for, how necessary soever they are for the preservation of this kingdom, or the Establishment must be exceeded, and by so much in consequence the overplus expected about a year hence will be abated and retarded. All this is not to obstruct the effect of His Majesty's grace and favour to Mr. Hyde, which I heartily wish him, but to shew that the Establishment upon which the new regiment is by His Majesty's command placed from about the 10th of March last cannot be paid together with the pensions, but that the whole Army must run into proportionable arrear, a thing I would if it lay in my power avoid, because I would also avoid the imputation of its falling into arrear in the time of my Government, with which I have heretofore been charged, tho' I could then no more help it than I can now. If it shall still be His Majesty's pleasure that this or any other pension shall be paid, it will be obvious to your lordship that his commands for it should particularly take notice of and dispense with those parts of his Establishment and instructions which directly oppose it, and that I conceive with the same solemnity and advice the Establishment and instructions were drawn and ordered.

————— to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, June 5.—Since my last very little has occurred here, more than that yesterday upon report from the Attorney-General of the evidence they had against the prisoners in custody upon account of the Plot, and who have not been impeached in Parliament, the Council ordered that those nine against whom they have above one witness to prove them guilty of the Plot should be tried at the Sessions House at the Old Bayly upon Tuesday the 17th instant ; the names of whom are Thomas Whitebread, John Fenwicke, William Harcourt, Richard Langhorne senior, Sir George Wakeman, William Marshall, John Garven, Anthony Turner and William Rumley, and for the rest the Council will suddenly consider what to do with them, in order to which the Committee of Examinations sit every day, and those persons whom the evidence is not very clear and strong against they permit to return to their houses upon bail, as Sir Francis Ratcliffe and others,

and the rest remain in custody till further matter comes in against them.

Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane continue in custody, the *Habeas Corpuses* (upon debate thereof) being disallowed. Into Mr. Pepys his place in the Admiralty is admitted Mr. Hayter (one of the Clerks of the Acts of the Navy Office), but the Treasuryship of the town of Tangier he desires if possible to hold.

The King and Court go to Windsor next week, and remain there till the Parliament meet, which it is said will certainly be at the day.

The Lords in the Tower are now kept as close as before, and nobody to visit them without leave from the Council.

The King has lately had a design to add Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Tho. Littleton and Sir William Hickeman unto Sir Thomas Chicheley to assist him in executing the office of Ordnance; but Sir Thomas refusing to be joined with them, but rather to resign his place, it is not known how it will go. The Earl of Sunderland has sold his office of one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber to the Earl of Ranelagh for 6,000*l.*, who is accordingly admitted into it. The report has been all this and last week that the Duke of York was coming home again: but there is nothing of it nor of the story of an Order in Council against the same, and indeed many malicious reports have been lately spread, which have (thanks be to God) proved untrue.

June the 7th, 1679.—Yesterday was a Council, and at it the King ordered his going to Windsor on Tuesday next, that on Thursday 7th night the Council should be held at Hampton Court, and for the future (during the King's stay) it should there be held once a week. It was then ordered that the trial of the nine men should be on Friday next, and accordingly Mr. D[obliterated] and Mr. Bedloe (who had got leave to go [into the] country were sent for back. To night an Extraordinary Council was had upon advice from Scotland of the rising of the fanatics there, who after the death of the Bishop of St. Andrew's (whom they barbarously murdered) and doing other horrid crimes, met altogether, and upon the King's birthday violently seized upon all the records relating to the Objururation of the Covenant and burned them, and then drew up a Declaration in the name of Jesus in which they assert the legality of the late Covenant, and adjure all other powers as apostates to it, and so armed themselves and took the field to the number of 1,500 men, whom some of the King's Troops of Dragoons attacked [and w]ere beaten and driven by them to the gates of Glasgow, where the Royal party fortifying themselves made such a stout resistance that they had beat them off, though with the loss of few of the rebels: but in the royal party two captains, and an ensign, and many men: since which we know nothing, but hourly expect to hear more. The

Declaration was this night read in Council, and thereupon some resolutions taken, that it's hoped may put a stop to this dangerous design. It's said some of the persons that murdered the Bishop headed these villains and declared their design to be to kill any of them in the country. I am weary of writing this unpleasant news.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1679, June 5, Exchequer.—I have endeavoured to get the best account I can upon the whole proceedings of my Lord Ranelagh since I last writ to your Grace, who is now become a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber in the place of my Lord Sunderland, which I suppose he has purchased in order to stay here, according to which design he obtained a hearing at Council Tuesday morning last, where he pretended to make it clear that the whole business was as fit and proper to be heard here as in Ireland: but I found then and since he did not convince the Council in the least, who continue of the judgment that the business must be properly determined in Ireland. I do not doubt notwithstanding that there will be great endeavours used to obtain the favour to stop my Lord Ranelagh's journey, which I shall endeavour to observe with my best care and diligence.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 7, Whitehall.—This week brought me three from your Grace of the 25, 27, 28 of May. The first I shewed the Council, it relating to my Lord Ranelagh's accompts, who, as I told you in my last of the 31st of May, hath petitioned the King and Council for a revocation of the order for his and his partner's going. But yesterday at the Committee for Irish Affairs he confessed that the accompts were not final, and that they could be determined no way but by remitting them to Ireland, and that he would suddenly go in person. I suppose upon the report of the Committee your Grace will have particular orders from the Council how to proceed, and the *quære* in your letter answered how to proceed against such as have no estate in Ireland. The letter for Mr. Gascoigne is signed. Sir Charles Meredith hath been several days in town, but I only saw him accidentally in the Bed-Chamber, but have received no visit nor had any conference with him, much less information from him. Our news from Scotland is bad, though I cannot tell you the particulars, but the Dissenters are up in arms. I pray God keep them quiet elsewhere. We have had a Council about the Scotch Affairs this day, but little resolved: neither do these first letters give us enough to make a true state of the business. All that is in them is that a company of horse with some Dragoons went to disperse a conventicle, but met with 1,500 armed men horse and foot, and were forced to retire

with the loss of eight or ten of their Dragoons. The rebels have put forth a godly rebellious declaration declaring the King an usurper, and declare the Acts of Parliament null that restored him. After their first success they entered Glasgow, but were repulsed by the Lord Rosse with loss, and the militia was assembled by the Council, and if they prove faithful it is to be hoped they may by this time be dissipated.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, June 9, Dublin.—Your Grace directed me to write to Mr. Worth to know the reason why they of Cork refused to trust those of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment as well as others. The enclosed from Mr. Worth, which is in return to mine, will give your Grace an account of that matter. I send your Grace the enclosed out of the North, they came to my hands several hours after your Grace had left this town.
[Encloses the three following letters.]

WILLIAM WORTH to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, June 6, Cork.—In a former letter I hinted to your Grace what apprehensions the people of this country had upon the landing of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment here: but since I find they are better satisfied with those soldiers, and believe them to be other sort of men than they were at first represented. And I could never learn that this city had any unkindness for them, or that they would not trust them, for I have discoursed with several of the most considerable persons here, and they have not the least fears that way; and this afternoon the Mayor and Sheriffs of this city being at my house (and discoursing about the report here that some of the companies of that regiment which were quartered in this city were to be commanded away) they told me that they were confident the whole town was unwilling to part with them, except my Lord Lieutenant should think fit to remove them to make way for English companies to be quartered in their room: and that the generality of the citizens would much rather have these companies continued here than to have any others of that regiment put in their stead, or to have no more than the former English companies which were in this garrison, they being fewer than we would willingly quarter: and I cannot find out the least grounds any sober man has to distrust the men that are in this garrison, the officers being generally very obliging and civil, strict in minding their duty, and keeping the private soldiers under a strict discipline, so that as few disorders are committed by them as possibly could be expected from those who had been soldiers in foreign parts and accustomed to wars.

DAVID MAXWELL to Dr. JOHN COGHILL.

1679, June 6.—I have received yours of the 31st of May, and wrote two posts before that more fully than I had done.

I am of opinion that no discourse can be made now in this place of anything concerning the murder of the late Primate of Scotland, for one Mr. Hugh Campbell, who himself is a rigid Presbyterian and communicates with them, having received a letter employing him in that search, as I am informed did immediately communicate it to the Presbyterian Minister of Donaghadee (from whom he can conceal nothing), and he immediately to his brethren in Scotland, and this, I believe, has made fewer passengers come this way. I think Mr. Hodson, Collector of His Majesty's Revenues at Donaghadee, and these of the same employment at other ports here, since they are sons of the Church and truly loyal, might be as fit for doing things of that nature as any. I have adventured to bespeak them in this affair, and have procured some general warrants for them, by virtue whereof they may seize such as they suspect.

The Presbyterians here did not come to the parish churches according to the proclamation upon the fast day, but diverted the people from their obedience, some of them did not abstain from work, and for the 29 of May none of them observed it, unless it was of purpose to profane it, for all shops were open, and all hands at work, so that we had but very few at church. But as to that which ye desire to know, at Donaghadee one Patrick Peacock is conventicler, a cunning and dangerous man; at Bangor there is one Archibald Hamilton, little better; at Newtown there is one Thomas Kennedy, a perfect firebrand; at Cumber there is one James Gordon, violent enough; at Ballywalter there is one Hugh Red, factious enough but very silly; at Portaferry there is one John Drysdale, the soberest amongst them; at Killyleagh there is one Ferguson, the most dangerous of all; at Killinchy one Michael Bruce; at Taunaghneevie one Alexander Hutcheson; at Knock one Hugh Wilson; at Kirkdonald there is one Cobbum [? Cochrane]; at Holywood one Waugh; at Downpatrick there is one Young; at Ballye one John Hamilton; at Killmeaginie one Alexander Gordon; all men of the same hot and factious spirits, and there are four or five young men who are schoolmasters in the country and are before the Presbytery trying their abilities that they may whensoever there is any vacancy be ready to sally forth. Their names are, at Killyleagh John McBryd, at Newtown Robert Hamilton, at Cumber one Ferguson; there are also at Newtown one John Hutcheson, who teaches philosophy and trains up their young cubs, and one James Gordon, formerly a weaver who hath left his looms and professes the mathematics; he also resolves to turn preacher. Their numbers are great at their conventicles five or six hundred communicants in one day, and some places a thousand. When they convene at their Presbyteries what else they employ themselves about beside entering their young ones I know not. I believe not much good. But they look upon themselves as a Court

of Record, and do keep a registry of all their acts. Their clerk as I am informed is one Hugh Wilson of Knock; if he were surprised and his books searched, a full discovery, I believe, might be made of their actions, but I am afraid it's either too late or too soon to talk of this. I cannot keep correspondence safely and to purpose at this time with any in Scotland: for, besides the confusion that Kingdom is in, the packet boat between Portpatrick and Donaghadee is kept by Mr. Campbell* (although I think at present he hath no salary allowed him for it); so that it may well serve the interest of the Presbyterians, but I dare not trust anything of mine in that bottom. But it is reported by such as come from thence that one Laird Clavers, who commands a troop, hath taken a conventicle; the preacher is in prison and all the men, he only took an account of the women's names. There are some great persons such as the Earl of Dundonald and the President of Scotland, my Lord Stair, and a third who are sent for to London, but here we have no discourse of the cause. Some say the Archbishop of Glasgow hath been attempted or had warning given him that he would be so. The Lord in His mercy deliver us from the cruelty of these brethren of iniquity. I think it will be the safer way to direct my letters as ye did the second enclosed to Mr. Lovell, who will send it safe to me. I follow the same course in sending yours. My seal which I seal all to you with is two cross bars and a mallet. I make no question but ye like a long letter as ill as most men do a long sermon.

SAME to SAME.

1679, June 8.—Here are just now arrived two conformable ministers of the Church of Scotland, who have fled from their country for fear of the rebels there, who are now so numerous that they believe there will be ten thousand this day in arms in the west. Welsh is their general, and they do openly declare that they will march straight to Edinburgh to relieve their imprisoned brethren and seize the city. Most of the nobility of any note in that kingdom are in London, and this time they have chosen for their insurrection. Those ministers who are now here at Newtown had their horses and their servants' arms taken from them by the rebels. I believe Sir Robert Colvill will send with this messenger their examinations to my Lord Lieutenant, and there the relation will be more full. I writ to you an answer of your last dated the 31 of May by the Saturday's post, which I believe will be with you to-morrow. I enclosed it into one to Mr. Lovell for security, for I fear Belfast to be no secure post for our letters. We had news yesterday that the Laird of Clavers, an honest gentleman in Scotland, captain to a troop of horse, who hath done good service against the rebels, was killed by them, but these gentlemen affirm the contrary. Now their

* See Vol. IV., p. 98.

designs, as they think, are ripe and will take effect, I pray God disappoint them. Sir, I am resolved no opportunity shall offer when I have anything worth your knowledge to write.

Postscript.—A party of the rebels did upon the 29 of May at Ringland, within two miles of Glasgow, proclaim the Covenant and burned the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 10, Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace of the 6th instant, I have received one from you of the 3rd of this month, which though His Majesty had not leisure to peruse at large, yet I acquainted him with the particular of quartering of soldiers, at which he is not a little offended. The disorders of Scotland that have been long feared by some and slighted by others now appear formidable; 8,000 of the desperate and worst sort of fanatics being in a body, and have forced the King's troops to retire and abandon Glasgow, upon which His Majesty hath ordered the levying of betwixt five and six thousand fresh men here under the Duke of Monmouth to oppose them. Your Grace is likewise desired to send soon what men you can spare in Ireland, and that I may not mistake in my commission I send you the copy of the Order in Council upon that point.

I send your Grace likewise a copy of the Order in Council concerning my Lord Ranelagh and his partners, and their appearing forthwith in Ireland, either in person or by men sufficiently authorized, his lordship, notwithstanding what I wrote you in my last, having acknowledged that the accompt was not final and that it could be nowhere triable so properly as in Ireland, but only desired that if there should be any particular severities upon him he might have his appeal to the King and Council here, which was neither refused him nor granted him as to make part of the order, because there lieth an appeal to the Privy Council here (if they approve of the reasons it is demanded upon) to everybody. For what concerneth the pension I know nothing of it, nor hear of it; but if any mention be made of it shall not fail to shew your justifications of your proceeding.

Sir Charles Meredith hath not yet seen me, though I shewed my Lord of Essex the favourable letter you wrote in his behalf; since he thinks it not worth the trouble of desiring it, I have not thought fit to trouble the King with it, nor shall unless you command it.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, June 10.—I received yours of the 3rd of this month, but had not an opportunity of shewing it the King. By the news from Scotland you may imagine how much his thoughts are taken up. This morning he commanded me to be ready to go for Ireland, which I told him I should soon obey, but

I offered to his consideration if those regiments in Holland, which according to my articles were to be sent over according as His Majesty should order would not both in point of the goodness of them and also of time be of use in this juncture : ships he has in the Downs sufficient for their transportation ; this he promised to consider, and soon to resolve what course he would take. I need not mind you how much it concerns you in regard of the King, the kingdom you govern, and yourself well to consider of the safety of the north, and what number you can spare without hazarding the loss of the country intrusted to your care. This is all I have to say as yet. If before ten at night I learn anything worth your knowledge I shall not fail to impart it unto you.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, June 11, Kilkenny.—I received yours of the 31st of the last just as I was taking coach for this place on Monday last with two from my Lords of the Council, their commands in both either already are or shall be punctually obeyed as far as shall be in my power. This morning I received advertisement out of the North of great insurrections in Scotland, and of some encounters betwixt some of His Majesty's troops and the conventicling rebels. The actions are so particularized and the numbers in arms, that upon belief that there must be something more than ordinary in the matter, I have already sent orders to ten or eleven troops of horse to rendezvous at Charlemont by the end of this month, my Lord of Granard, Field Marshal, to command them, and I am myself hastening to Dublin from thence to send any further necessary orders or more troops if there shall be occasion. I have also ordered the frigate that has her station at Kinsale to sail with the first wind to the Bay of Dublin, to be ready to convoy men or ammunition or to lie betwixt Ireland and Scotland, as shall be thought fit. If there be any truth in what I am informed, I suppose the next packet out of England will bring me notice of it, and perhaps some directions how I am to govern myself in the meantime. I hope what I have done will receive His Majesty's approbation.

ORDER IN COUNCIL for DESPATCH of TROOPS to NORTH of IRELAND.

At the Court of Whitehall,

The 13th of June, 1679.

By the King's most Excellent Majesty and the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

It was this day ordered by His Majesty in Council that the Right Honourable Henry Coventry, Esquire, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, do forthwith signify His Majesty's pleasure to His Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, to give immediate order for the marching towards the North of Ireland of so many of His Majesty's forces there as well horse as foot, as his Grace thinks may conveniently be spared without hazard to the peace and safety of that Kingdom, there to remain ready and attend further orders if occasion shall be for their being employed in the assistance of His Majesty's subjects of His Kingdom of Scotland for suppressing the Rebellion there according to the humble desire of His Majesty's Council of the said Kingdom.

[Signed,] PHIL. LLOYD.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, June 13, Kilkenny. —Tho' I do not doubt His Majesty having more particular intelligence of the insurrection in the West of Scotland than I can send him : yet possibly the disorders committed by the fanatics just over against Ireland may not come to the knowledge of his Majesty's Council of Scotland so soon as to us here, those rebels having perhaps possessed themselves of the passages to Edinburgh. I therefore send you Sir Robert Colvill's letter to me, and the depositions of two ministers, who are fled into this kingdom to save their lives, which they say is all they can now call their own. I hope by the care of the state of Scotland, and by the loyalty of the King's subjects there this commotion will be soon suppressed, as some have formerly been. In that case the disaffected will be sure to seek shelter here, as the well affected have now done, and will certainly find it if they get over, for there are here divers of the same principles. I therefore humbly propose the immediate sending some more of His Majesty's ships to the Bay of Dublin to be employed as there shall be occasion. The force of such ships as shall be sent is submitted to the King's pleasure, and I conceive the least will serve, if there be any at Plymouth or that way they may soon be with us after orders are received.

REV. PETER DRELCINCOURT to ORMOND.

1679, June 14, Oxford. —Il n'y a sans doute qu'un très profond respect pour votre grandeur et pour l'auguste fonction qu'elle exerce avec l'admiration de tout le monde qui m'empêche de luy rendre conte aussy souvent qu'à Madame votre illustre épouse de l'état et de la santé de Monsieur votre petit fils mon très cher Seigneur. Et j'ose me promettre de la justice et de la generosité naturelle de votre grandeur, qu'elle n'interprete pas autrement le silence forcé et respectueux que j'ay gardé avec elle depuis quelque tems. Mais, enfin Monseigneur mon devoir qui m'oblige de le rompre quelque fois m'engage à present de me donner l'honneur de dire à votre grandeur, que my Lord James continue, graces à Dieu, d'être fort gay, et en bonne santé

et qu'il fait assez joliment son devoir. Ses inclinations de pieté, de vertu et d'honêteté qui luy ont été communiquées en son illustre naissance, se fortifient heureusement de jour en jour au dedans, et se font paroître au dehors à ma tres grande joye et consolation. Il a visiblement profité dans son ecriture, et parle et lit tres bien en françois. Il apprend autant de latin que son inclination le permet et il fait des progresz assez considerables dans les mathematiques. Il a chaque jour une leçon d'histoire entremeslée de geographie, et à mesure que son jugement se formera, ses exercices seront plus importants et plus relevez.

Mais, Monseigneur j'espère que vôtre grandeur ne trouvera pas mauvais que je luy dise aussy librement que je fis il y a quelque tems à Madame touchant la santé de my lord, que quelque chose que nous puissions faire icy, son embonpoint qu'il a pris cet hyver à Londres (et que l'on trouve trop grand pour son âge) augmente plutôt que de diminuer. Suivant l'ordre de Madame la Duchesse j'ay consulté icy le plus fameux medecin que nous ayons, et que Monsieur nôtre bon Eveque m'a envoyé. Et quoy que mon cher Seigneur ayt été quelque tems dans les remedes sa plenitude n'en est pas moindre à present. Au jugement de ce docteur (aussy bien qu'a celuy d'autres) les remedes (ausquels en general il a tres grande aversion) netoyant son estomac eguisent son appetit qu'il a ordinairement tres bon, et quoy qu'il ne boive point de bruvage fort, et qu'il n'ayt que les repas ordinaires du colége le docteur dit qu'en general il croit que la nature des viandes et du bruvage du pays étant fort nourissantes engendrent plus d'humeurs que sa chaleur naturelle ne peut encore cuire et digerer parfaitement : qu'un air plus chaud plus sec et plus subtil (tel qu'est celuy d'Italie ou de la partie meridionale de la France) dissiperoit ses humeurs superflues, ayderoit et fortifieroit la chaleur naturelle de my lord et que la nourriture de ces pays plus chauds ne fourniroit pas chaque jour les cruditez dont il abonde : qu'une vie plus active et un plus grand exercice que celuy qu'il peut faire icy comme d'apprendre tous les matins a monter a cheval, a faire des armes, a dancier, a voltiger peuvent aussy contribuer beaucoup a rendre son corps sain, vigoureux et leger pour toute sa vie. J'eus l'honneur il y a quelque tems d'envoyer a Madame la Duchesse l'avis que le docteur m'envoyat ecrit de sa main, et qu'il jugea à propos d'être communiqué a Madame selon le comandement qu'elle m'en avoit fait.

Pour ce qui est de la dépence de my lord je m'étudie icy a joindre l'honestete à la frugalité, au bon ménage et a éviter les dependances inutiles : les contes en sont et seront toujours clairs s'il plait a Dieu, et prêts a rendre devant qui il plaira à vôtre grandeur d'ordonner. Je la supplie tres humblement d'être pleinement persuadée que j'apporte a la conservation et à l'avancement de mon cher seigneur tous les soins dont je suis capable et que la conscience et un zèle tres sincere et

treardsent pour l'illustre famille à laquelle ilr appartient et pour sa personne en particulier peuvent inspire.

My lord assure icy vôtre grandeur et Madame de ses obeissances.*

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, June 14, Blessinton.—I have received the honour of your Grace's of the 11th instant, and have presumed to send your Grace the enclosed from Mr. Maxwell (one of our northern correspondents), though it says little more than what your Grace have received from other hands. I hope things are not so bad in Scotland as they are represented by the fears of those who fled away upon the first alarm: though I doubt they are ill enough, and will require some thorough and steady resolutions to suppress them: such as those were the beginnings of our troubles before 1641. I heartily pray that the like design be not now in preparation.

I presume likewise to trouble your Grace with two letters which I received this last packet out of England, which refers much to the same matter, but puts in other particulars besides, of all which I doubt not but your Grace have had a very exact accompt from other hands, but having heard your Grace say that some observations may be made upon the several ways of representing matters by divers hands, I have adventured upon your Grace's pardon for this presumption.

[The enclosures referred to have not been preserved.]

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 14, Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace of the 10th of this month, wherein I told you of an order of Council for the appearance of my Lord Ranelagh and his partners, but at eleven of the clock at night His Majesty sent down to the Office that the order should be stopped till it should be further considered of. I gave accompt of it to the Council, but upon their reiterated instances the order was again renewed, and I send it you here enclosed.

I sent your Grace likewise by my last to see what men you could spare to assist the King's party in Scotland if need should be: there is since another order passed concerning that, which I send you here enclosed. There is no action since my last passed in Scotland, at least that we know of; but about this time the King's party there are expected to be numerous and superior in number to the rebels, who want the necessary supplies of good arms and ammunition, at least as we are informed. Our judges are very busy upon the trial of those Commoners that have been accused of the Plot. Yesterday there were five condemned, but not one acquitted, and to-day they are busy upon the same work. Some motion to call the Parliament before the 14th of August, but what the King's resolution will be I cannot yet tell you; a victory in Scotland would be very seasonable.

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

Postscript.—My Lord of Essex seemeth very much concerned about a sum of 13,000*l.* that the Farmers had promised for a particular payment to the army just before his leaving the Government. He farther sayeth he had the King's order under his sign manual for the doing it, that he left the order with your Grace, and took a promise from you that it should be punctually performed, but that after his departure it was neglected, and when some of those concerned pressed the execution of the promise, answer was made by my Lord Lanesborough that it was a debt contracted in the Earl of Essex his time, and what had your Grace to do to look after it, or words to this effect. Of this he speaks with more resentment than usual, and to me very warmly, and intends to press to have a particular order for it. Mr. Langhorne is this day condemned and sentence of death passed upon him.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, June 14th, London.—The letters which came yesterday by the ordinary from Scotland (from whence there has yet come but one express) tell us that the rebels, since the repulse they had received from my Lord Rosse at Glasgow, which his lordship soon after quitted with His Majesty's forces (being five companies of foot, two troops of horse, and one of dragoons), had taken possession of that town and were with their main body three miles nearer to Edinburgh; that they have ebbs and flows, some quitting them and others resorting to them, and that my Lord Linlithgow having with about 2,700 men of His Majesty's forces marched within three miles of them, and understanding their number to be about 8,000, thought it not convenient with so small and disproportionable force to engage so numerous and desperate a body, and therefore retreated to Stirling, having first given an account of his resolution to the Lords of the Council, who approving of his cautious and prudent method of proceeding, directed him to retreat to Edinburgh, and in the meantime issued out a proclamation requiring all the heritors in several counties to appear with all their servants and followers well armed to join with His Majesty's forces in the suppressing of these rebels. This is the day of their rendezvous, and when they meet and join they compute their number and His Majesty's forces together will make up 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse, upon whose appearing together the Lords of the Council there are of opinion the rebels will disperse, which I wish may prove true. For as the report is from several hands they appear very obstinate, and being confident of their own strength and party, will not permit any to be amongst them who have taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, or who have heard the Common Prayer and received the Sacrament according to the Church of England, or who own Episcopacy and have paid tithes to the Church

as it is now established. If it be true that they impose these qualifications upon themselves His Majesty's affairs must certainly thrive the better for them, for these restrictions must reduce their party within a narrow compass and engage the nobility and gentry with all zeal imaginable against them. The Scotch Lords who are here have made several addresses to the King against my Lord Duke Lauderdale upon this occasion, and being required to give them in writing they adventured to shew His Majesty their paper, wherein they complained of great grievances, but instanced in no particulars. They propose the new modelling of the whole Council there, upon whom and their ill conduct they seem to lay the blame of this insurrection, and though they aim at my Lord Lauderdale, yet they neither name him nor describe him. His Majesty's answer was that to comply with their proposition was to overthrow the government of that kingdom, and though they complain of exorbitant grievances, yet they make out none. This is the truest scheme I can give your Grace of the affairs of Scotland both there and here, only that the Duke of Monmouth goes thither to-morrow post by three in the morning, which has amused the new officers, because their levies are not yet completed. My Lord Cavendish amongst the rest is much to seek, the account of affairs in Scotland being so dark and the reason of the Duke of Monmouth's so sudden journey into Scotland being unknown, that he cannot tell what measures to take. My Lord Grey of Werke has waived his regiment and withdrawn himself from this expedition. I suppose your Grace will by this packet receive His Majesty's directions about the sending both of horse and foot from thence to join with the new levies here before their entering into Scotland, but they are not so positive as to lessen the strength there if your Grace has any apprehension of any stir there. For my own part I am very uneasy in my own thoughts at my absence from your Grace in this conjuncture, being convinced that both my duty and honour call upon me at this time to give His Majesty an undeniable proof of my loyalty, which I am resolved to do if matters grow to extremity, notwithstanding His Majesty has given me leave to attend here for the arrival of East India ships, by which I expect a return from thence of my brother's effects, and cannot till their arrival receive near four thousand pounds now in the Company's hands.

I suppose by this packet your Grace will receive the resolutions of the Council here in the affair of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, which had gone to your Grace by the last Tuesday's packet, but that his lordship by a trick at eleven of the clock at night prevailed with His Majesty to send to Mr. Secretary Coventry to stop them, which the Council on Wednesday so resented that they unanimously made it their earnest desire to His Majesty that no more delays might be interposed, his lordship having freely consented to the Order of the Council, to

which His Majesty consented. But yet my Lord Ranelagh last night said he would not go for Ireland : and his partners here at a meeting they had with him three days since declared they would not sign the account as final unless the 24,000*l.* which was borrowed of His Majesty was left out as a debt upon them, for it having being borrowed by his lordship and paid out by his direction without their privity, they will not have it part of their charge. This nettles my Lord Ranelagh to the heart, and they are now upon very ill terms amongst themselves.

Since the rebellion in Scotland, it has been in debate whether His Majesty should call the Parliament to meet sooner than the 14th of August, to which time it was prorogued. But because it is alleged if they meet sooner they cannot act to do anything as a Parliament (as happened formerly in the case of Chatham), I think the thoughts of their meeting sooner are for the present laid aside.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, June 17, Dublin.—Yours of the 10th met me on the way coming hither from Kilkenny. In Mr. Secretary's of the same date I received an Order of Council requiring me to give my op[inion] what men might with safety of the kingdom be spared hence for the service of Scotland, a question too dangerous for me to give a positive answer unto. The number of the army is known there, and the constitution of the kingdom in relation to Papists and fanatics has been heretofore represented, so that the judgment belonging to the King, and obedience only to me, I have not taken upon me to determine the matter. But I shall by the next post send orders to draw to this place and hereabouts 2,000 foot and 300 horse. If the King shall command them out of the kingdom they shall be ready ; if he do not, they shall yet be kept together for some time, and even so they will be some disturbance to the rebels, who will not know when they may be thrown over upon them. The want of money, which is like to frustrate your endeavours in England, hangs as heavy upon us here ; but this is no time to lament our want of providence, but to strive to get out of the difficulties we are in. There will not be time to send you a copy of what I [wrote] Mr. Secretary in return to the Order of Council, but if you are there when it comes to his hands he will let you see it. The uncertainty of that would keep me from writing more if [I had] more to say.

————— BONELL to MR. WATTS.

1679, June 17, London.—My last was of the 14th instant, since which an express came to the Lord Lauderdale yesterday of the 14th instant, the contents private. But several letters of the 10th which came this morning tell us that the

rebels were about 20,000 strong, and increase daily ; that they eat up the country ; that they ranged near Edinburgh and swept away all the horse they could find ; that the King's forces durst not encounter them that went also within twelve miles of Barwicke and took all the horse and arms they could meet with ; so that the people do now bring their horses into that town for safety ; that all are up in most parts of Scotland ; that trade ceaseth, men neither buy nor sell, receive nor pay money, and other things of this nature. We have another proclamation reprinted here of the Privy Council of Scotland, which makes the rebels very active, and their design dangerous, but name not their strength, which require all heritors and proprietors of land and their servants to meet at such and such places under such and such officers, upon such and such days on horseback, but have not thought fit to raise the foot militia, it's said for fear of the worst : that is lest they should march away to the rebels, but such as owe knight's service, etc., to the King. At Edinburgh they keep watch we hear, and are afraid lest the young men should slip away to them likewise. We hear they beat the drum for foot forces, but the mischief is that our forces must not go into Scotland (and yet it's feared the King's party cannot else be strong enough for them, so general an insurrection there is) by reason of the Act of Pacification between both kingdoms, whereby the English are declared traitors that march into Scotland, even by an English Act, if they invade or march armed into Scotland, unless the Parliament of Scotland invites them in, and Scotland is equally obliged from doing the like, unless the Parliament of England invites them thereunto, which is the cause that several lords here who were appointed by our Privy Council to march into Scotland have refused to serve for fear of that treason trap, insomuch that all our forces raised or to be raised are said to march only to our borders next Scotland to prevent the worst : neither have the officers got any commissions, nor dare, they say, receive any, which must needs encourage the rebels and weaken His Majesty's forces. These Whigs, as they call them, or fanatics, have many ministers among them that blow up the coals. The Lord Athol told the King that if these forces went into Scotland all the kingdom would as one man rise against them upon that said Act of Pacification. The Duke of Monmouth went hence yesterday by three in the morning to Scotland, who, it's thought, hath Lauderdale's employment of Lord Commissioner, for he is Plenipotentiary to pardon, treat and relax them of their burthens, as he shall see cause ; else I hear he would not have gone on that errand. There are about twelve of the Scottish nobility come to accuse Duke Lauderdale to the King, and they have plied it hard. It is said that Lord Privy Seal is to give it in on their behalfs to the Privy Council here : so that it is thought he will be laid aside, and more than so too. The Duke

of Monmouth is said to be an adversary to Lauderdale, and that by reason of his demeanour in Scotland Duke Monmouth hath great arrears of rent then it's thought will produce a Parliament in Scotland, but whether the Whigs will acquiesce and lay down their arms till they have full satisfaction for their civil and religious concerns, it is much doubted. A party of the King's forces met with about 150 of the rebels going to their comrades in arms, who cut off above fifty of the said rebels and took the rest. Some fanatics are so wild as to think the pretended forcing of the Scots thus to rise is part of the Plot, and withal a specious pretence to keep up a standing army, but I will leave that and only tell you that Lord Shaftesbury said they deserved to be hanged that had put the King upon such undertakings. The debate concerning the raising of these new forces for Scotland was great I hear in the Privy Council, and the rather because against the Act of Pacification above mentioned. At length it was carried unanimously, except Lord Shaftesbury, who opposed it still, unless (he said) the King would promise to call both the Parliaments of England and Scotland within forty days, that so they might approve of what the Council should direct in this interval, for he would (he said) never undertake to act as a representative of the people in that Council. And at the same Council there being mention made of a Commonwealth (how it was brought in I cannot say), but Lord Shaftesbury thought fit to speak to it in the King's presence, and said if the King so governed as that his estate might with safety be transmitted to his son, as it was by his father to him, and he might enjoy the known rights and liberties of the subjects, he would rather be under kingly government, but if he could not be satisfied of that he declared he was for a Commonwealth : this a member of the Commons told me from Lord Shaftesbury's own mouth. I shall need say no more of the late condemned traitors, all of them for plotting the King's death, only that the warrant the same night they were condemned was sealed for their execution on Friday next, the 20th instant. If Sir George Wakeman had been tried then as was designed (for which end he was in the Court), the business of the Queen would have come upon the stage. It was therefore, some say, put off, others because the Commission of Oyer and Terminer was expired, others because (it is generally reported) he will confess all, but how true time must show. Bedloe said that if the Queen dies not we must die, meaning the other evidences with him : but those gentlemen will not be mealy mouthed when it comes to the point. Southwark, Westminster, and other places refuse to quarter these new raised forces for Scotland, and that even to the King's and Council's faces, so stiff were they claiming the benefit of the late Act for disbanding the late forces. We hear now that the Court gives out as if those letters from Scotland made as if things would be appeased there, but others believe it not ; neither are

the commissions for the officers signed, nor will the Lord Grey, Lord Russell, nor Lord Cavendish accept of theirs. In fine the Court report no particulars, and it is said that the Scots are in a good condition, time will inform better.

Enclosed :—"Copy of letter sent Mr. Watts from London."

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 17, Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace here hath little happened worth notice. Your letter for the fine for repairing Christchurch I shall get signed to-morrow. I here enclosed send you the copy of the Order of Council directing me to write to your Grace concerning a complaint made against those that work at your fort at Kinsale. The order will tell you what is expected from your Grace in that matter. My Lord of Essex hath got a new letter wrote out upon the old copy concerning the payment of those soldiers I mentioned in my last, and I believe it will pass the Council to-morrow to come to you by the Saturday's post. Our news from Scotland is a little more cheerful than it was, the rebels not being as yet headed by any considerable persons, neither is their number increased, they having attempted to rise in Fife and some other places, but were suddenly suppressed. The Duke of Monmouth, it is thought will be there by to-morrow at night. He went hence upon Sunday morning, and resolved great diligence.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1679, June 17, London.—I have formerly interceded for your Grace's justice with favour about the lapse money, wherein I have a share of 3,000*l.*, whereof I never had more need, having lately married a daughter and agreed for a portion, but God knows noways provided to pay it but by this sum, which your Grace's kindness (now all surveys and the distribution of the particular sums on those who are to pay it are ready) may quickly make ready money : and will highly oblige your old servant who decays apace, and would gladly die out of debt after long painful service to His Majesty and the public. I beseech your Grace therefore to have some regard to me herein. I hope the business of Scotland will get over without putting Ireland to spare any forces thither. I send your Grace enclosed the copy of a letter of Duke Lauderdale's, the contents whereof seem to have raised this flame and are much jealousied here, being now under consideration at Council.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, June 17.—By the news from Scotland I hope that tumult will be soon over. However I doubt not but you will be cautious in answering the letter concerning your opinion what forces with safety you can spare from Ireland, since

I believe the number of those you have it were to be wished were rather augmented than diminished. This afternoon Mrs. Price, a daughter-in-law of Colonel Jeffrys, died suddenly in my wife's outward room. She only called Daniel, my *valet de chambre*, to hinder her from falling, and just as he gave her that assistance she expired in his arms without speaking a word. I have not any further trouble now to give you.

HENRY BALL to VISCOUNT GRANARD.

1679, June 18, Charlemont.—There came yesterday to my hands directions from Sir George Rawdon to several gentlemen in these parts, grounded upon an order from his Grace my Lord Lieutenant to provide quarter in this town, and Ardmagh and places adjacent, for eleven troops who are to come down under your lordship's command, which directions I immediately sent to those concerned, and by the return of my messenger finds that to-morrow is appointed a meeting at Ardmagh to consider of that affair, and doubts not but care will be taken to provide as well for them as the country will afford.

My Lord, the wants of this place has been viewed and returned by several, but are not yet supplied: wherefore I conceived it my duty (especially in these times) humbly to represent the greatest of them to your honour, beseeching you be pleased to acquaint his Grace with them. Besides the decay of some of our out earthworks, the gate of the fort is very faulty, the carriages of our guns are rotten and un-serviceable; we want bullets for them, we have no store-house for arms, ammunition or provision; nor any reception for men as to lodgings but this little castle, where our present store of arms and ammunition is lodged, though very improperly. This trouble I have presumed to give your lordship in discharge of the trust reposed in me, which I humbly beg you would be pleased to pardon.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, June 20, Castlemartyr.—The 18th instant as Captain Douglas and Captain Campbell (both garrisoned at Youghal) were riding together to go a-hunting, on some words which passed between them, Captain Campbell alighted, drew his sword, and then Captain Douglas did the like; but before they could be parted they fought, and Captain Campbell was killed.

A lieutenant of that regiment who quarters two miles off, and who had endeavoured to part them, came immediately to me with the account of this sad affair, and to know from Captain Douglas what I would order him to do, which he was ready to obey. I examined the said lieutenant, whose name is White, and one Skinner, a soldier of White's, who were both present, and who told me the whole passages.

I appointed Captain Douglas to deliver himself up to the King's justice, and I sent for two of the next Justices of the Peace to proceed in all things according unto law. I ordered the Coroner to be sent for and the dead body to lie where it was, till all the law required was done, which was performed accordingly. The Coroner's inquest, and what they found, I here humbly present your Grace. The justices have taken Major Hacket (who I sent for to Ccrk) and Captain Muncrieth's bail for Captain Douglas, who I have ordered not to go to his command until your Grace's pleasure be known concerning him, which I humbly beg to receive. This accident is the sadder, because these gentlemen were always dear friends. I cannot yet possibly learn what occasioned this quarrel, but it is evident that Campbell was the aggressor, and that Douglas must either be killed or draw.

Tho' three companies be quartered at Youghal, yet the chief officer there is a lieutenant whose name is Rivers. I have ordered him to be the more vigilant, lest the quarrel of the captains might infect their soldiers. I cannot in duty but humbly acquaint your Excellency that there has been of late at least five or six duels in this regiment between the officers of it, and one duel between the private soldiers. I have therefore spoken to the Major and some of the captains my sense thereof, and assured them that the first who either sent or received a challenge should be proceeded against according to the rules of war. And I humbly offer to your Excellency, whether it may not be fit for your Grace to publish prohibitions against duelling, and to appoint severe penalties to be inflicted on such as shall hereafter transgress. Major Hacket is extremely troubled thereat, and protests he never knew such duelling in the regiment all the while they were beyond sea as there has been within this fortnight. I have reason to believe this contagion will spread if not vigorously suppressed; and tho' they think to conceal such combats, yet I know three has happened within this fortnight, and not between the officers of that regiment, for I doubt our gentry look upon it as a fine mode, which may be imitated since it is not punished.

I had last night a letter from Captain Hodder signifying his arrival in Cork Harbour with the arms and ammunition your Grace has sent for the supply of the militia, which is very welcome. I have by an express desired Mr. Robinson to have it landed, and have acquainted the Commissioners of Array with the arrival of it, that those who want may know (for their money) where to be supplied. Captain Hodder writes to me that coming into the harbour at Cork by accident he fell on another ship, and has so broken the head of his own ship that he must go to Kinsale to repair her.

In such threatening times as these are I esteem it my duty humbly and heartily to assure your Excellency that in whatever concerns His Majesty's service I will most cheerfully

employ all the interest I have in the world and my life and fortune in the duty of it, and according to those commands which from time to time your Grace shall honour me with you shall receive a perfect obedience.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, June 21.—All affairs being in suspense until we see what becomes of those in Scotland I did not judge it proper as yet to discourse with His Majesty upon the subject of your letter of the 3rd, but shall by the first opportunity shew him both that and yours of the 13th, which I received yesterday. You will find my sense, in a letter I lately writ to you, wherein I spoke concerning the Council's inquiring what forces you could spare, to be the same with yours. I wish the forces you have may be sufficient to keep quiet the kingdom you govern. As to what relates to the twelve pence deduction in the pound from the soldiers in the regiment late of the Earl of Dumbarton, I obeyed the King's commands, and as you have most reasonably objected to the manner of their being signified unto you, and which I ventured to say before the King that you would do, so I doubt not but when His Majesty will consider of what you have writ that he will either alter that resolution, or else give you commands in such forms as to justify your obeying them. The King is very generous and just in resenting the aspersions laid on the Queen, and is thinking how he may save her from being named by those who I think absolutely accuse her in what they charge Sir George Wakeman withal. This being a difficult and a nice thing, persons skilful in law affairs have under consideration what to offer to the King, wherein he will also have the advice of the Council, where the other day he spoke with all manner of detestation of those who would blemish her innocency, of which he said he was most sure, and would not suffer her to be unjustly scandalized.

EARL OF ESSEX to ORMOND.

1679, June 21, London.—When I left Ireland there was a letter of His Majesty's which directed the clearing of the remainder of the charge due on the Establishment at Christmas, 1675, which the Lord Ranelagh ought to have paid, but by reason of a balance on the then Farmers' accounts due to him he did not answer. This balance, as I hear, has most of it been remitted to the said Farmers by the late Lord Treasurer and part of the army, and other the payments due as aforesaid do remain yet unpaid. I well remember your Grace was pleased to promise me that letter of His Majesty's should be complied with, but nothing having been yet done thereupon, there is another letter goeth this post almost to the same effect with the former. I confess I am much concerned for those of the army who were not paid up with the

rest, as also for the undertakers of the clothing, who delivered the clothes at my instance without being paid for them, and indeed I conceive it much for His Majesty's service that this pay should be made good to them: the sum will be about 13,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* Wherefore I earnestly desire your Grace that you would please to order it, according as is directed in the letter, which, though I have not the least advantage by it, yet it shall be esteemed as a favour done to, etc.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to SIR R. SOUTHWELL.

1679, June 22, Oxford.—It is long since I owe you humble thanks for the honour of your good last letter. I do confess I am to blame for having been so backward in acquainting you myself with my lord's good health and progress in his studies (which I know your honour hath been informed of by other hands).

I think myself obliged to tell you now that tho' his lordship looks mighty well and be very cheerful, yet, considering his age, he is too fat, and of late groweth so more and more, whatever care hath been and is yet daily taken with the help and assistance of our best physicians here in order to the preventing of it. I have a while gone given a large account of my lord's condition in general and in this particular to my Lord and Lady of Ormond, and according to their Graces's desire and command sent them also the doctor's opinion and advice concerning my Lord James, which, if you please, I shall impart to you.

Concerning his lordship's studies I crave leave to tell your honour that he doth improve in the knowledge of the Latin tongue (if not as much as could be desired) yet as fast as his inclination to and love of it doth permit. Whatever his tutor (that comes to him and spends half an hour in the morning and as much in the afternoon with his lordship) gives to do, I sit by his lordship to help him in after and afore, and to see and make him perform his task, endeavouring to render it as familiar and easy as I can possibly, explaining and acting it over and over. He makes better progress in arithmetic, and the table he had perfectly to get by heart hath been for a while a hinderance in his going very fast in it (which now he doth). His lordship is daily instructed in history, intermixed with geography, and according to his age and capacity we hope to accomodate and to raise his studies. He writes something every day to strengthen his hand by degrees. For his exercises of piety he is very diligent and careful in, and I do study to cultivate and improve those happy seeds of virtue, honesty and loyalty which have been with a large and bountiful hand sowed in his soul. I have often represented his lordship how much like an honest and generous man (as well as a good Christian) it was heartily to forgive and endeavour to forget the past differences between him and Mr. Berkeley, and to strive to be more civil and better

friends to him than ever, and I thank God I find it happily come to pass, and they seem very good friends. Now for my lord's expenses, I study to practise your good advice and to keep frugality as well as honesty. I keep also an exact account of whatever is spent and how the money I receive goeth, which at any time shall be ready for whose view and inspection shall be thought fit. I have lately satisfied the upholsterer and given him three pounds ten shillings for his quarter. Last week my lord's table expenses and mine were paid. His lordship's since his being here come to a matter of eighteen pounds both for the ordinaries and extraordinaries of his table (and for what others may have battled upon him), mine in particular (eating, as you know, at a different table in the college) are under four pounds only for ordinaries, having never had anything besides the commons. His lordship desires to be heartily remembered to you and to Mr. Percival, to whom I present here my most humble service.

Postscript.—My Lord Bishop and my Lord Courcy are both very well.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, June 22, Dublin.—I had intimation that one Bonell is a constant and dangerous correspondent with the ill-affected here, whereupon I have sometime opened letters directed to Watts, who is but an ordinary merchant, and as I think the intelligence is intended by him to persons of more consideration. That which I send you herewith is the most important I have met with,* and you will observe that the superscription is not the same character with the letter. If letters directed to Bonell were looked into, possibly some other of his correspondents here might be discovered. I thought it not amiss to send you this letter, and leave you to consider what use to make of it.

23 June.—I am sorry all the pains I have taken to keep me in my Lord of Essex's favour are like to be lost, but when the order for the payment of the sum he mentions shall come, I hope it will appear I have not merited his displeasure in that particular or broken any promise I made, taking with it the conditions that must be implied in all promises: in the meantime that you may see something of the state of that matter, I send you what has passed betwixt Sir Cyril Wyche and me in it. I shall gather materials for a full narrative of it, and if after that I shall receive positive orders to allow of the payment of that sum out of the growing rent of the Farmers (of which there seems to me at this time so great and indispensable use) I can obey with much more pleasure than I can contend.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 24, Whitehall.—Your Grace's two letters of the 20th instant I have received this last post, and shewed both

* See p. 134 *supra*.

of them to His Majesty. As to the larger of them His Majesty is very well pleased with the conduct your Grace hath held, nor hath he as yet thought fit to give any farther orders till we hear something more decisive out of Scotland, from whence an express came yesterday, which brought letters from the Duke of Monmouth, which informed his Grace to be within a mile of the rebels with nigh double their force, they not being above 5,000 strong or thereabouts; so that every day we expect some news of considerable action or at least the dispersing of the rebels. As for your other letter, I find neither His Majesty nor the Commissioners of the Treasury, at least my Lord of Essex, at all disposed to it; we are so extremely bent upon retrenching that we very uneasily receive any proposition that augmenteth expense. A retrenchment more pinching than any of the former is hourly expected, as I suppose your officers of the Green Cloth have already informed you. We are very busy about the two contrary Plots, and meet difficulties enough how to avoid the increasing one disease whilst strive to overcome the other. We every day expect a peace betwixt France and Brandenburg, and then where the French army will fall is not known, but the States General are alarmed.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, June 24, Castlemartyr.—I most humbly thank your Excellency for the honour of your letter of the 21st instant and for what your Grace has been pleased to impart unto me in it. I am very sorry the rebellion in Scotland is such that the Council there hath humbly craved His Majesty's aid both out of England and Ireland. I more than hope that since in the return your Excellency has made to the Order of the Council of the 10th instant you have not undertaken for the safety of this kingdom, tho' none of the forces of it should be drawn out of it, much less should a part of it be commanded out of it, that His Majesty will be pleased to leave your Grace the army you have entire. For if the rebellion be so great that neither the loyal party in that kingdom nor the forces ordered to help them under the Duke of Monmouth be not able to suppress it, 'tis to be doubted that the small party sent from hence will not be of so much benefit there as their absence will be of prejudice here, since 'tis but too probable if the rebellion there be prosperous it may have too much influence on the Scots of Ulster, who may be also the more incited to assist their associates if they see the forces which should awe them be sent into Scotland. And who knows if the discontented Scots in Ulster should rise, but the discontented Irish may do the like, and both do it with the less apprehension by the absence of a large part of this little army.

But should a body of men be sent out of it into Scotland, doubtless your Excellency's desire of recruiting this army

proportionately to the numbers sent out, it is in my poor opinion the best thing you could propose, tho' I am not without apprehensions that it will be difficult to get as many and as good men and horse in Ireland to fill up the vacancies as those are whose absence will make it. I most humbly thank your Grace for commanding Sir R. Aldworth's company to Limerick, and that your Excellency will send one other company at least to supply such as shall now be commanded out of that garrison, which I wish more expeditiously cleared of those who Sir William King and Sir George Ingoldsby have returned in a list may be well spared out of it. For since they expect to be removed I humbly think it may not be advisable (in such a conjuncture) to let them stay to hatch mischief. The securing of the principal towns is unquestionless very advisable, and since by doing thereof, as your Excellency writes, the country will be left to the guard of the militia, I most humbly offer it to your Grace's consideration that the care of regulating and of often training the militia in every county may be seriously recommended to some fit person or persons in every county who may be strictly required to see it effectually done, or be answerable if it be not done; and I presume to say the doing hereof is very needful.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, June 24th.—As yet I have not shewed the King either of your letters of the 3rd or the 13th of this month, expecting an issue of the affairs of Scotland, of which we do believe by the Duke of Monmouth's letter to hear very soon that there is an end of them. By yours of the 17th, which I received yesterday, I find you have given that answer to the demand of the Council concerning what forces you could spare which reasonably was to be expected. If I give you not quick accounts of my acting anything upon your letters, I beseech you to believe it proceeds not from slothfulness, but that as I am forced often many days to wait for favourable opportunities of discoursing with His Majesty, so upon other grounds I do defer it even when those do fall out, which are seldom enough. What has passed in the Council I suppose you will hear from more authentic hands. Last night the King commanded the Lords Chamberlain, Essex, Sunderland, Clarendon, Halifax to discourse about the Queen's affairs, and I happening to be in the King's bedchamber he called all the Lords of the Council into the inner room, and my Lord Clarendon was spoken unto to come up a private pair of stairs. I could not refrain from expressing to my Lord Chamberlain a resentment of my being excluded in this matter, averring with great truth that I looked upon it as an effect of the King's complaisance not to mingle me with company unto which I was not acceptable, and to be no mark of ill-will. My Lord Chamberlain said he heard the King send for me,

but I had no notice thereof ; upon his lordship's telling him this I suppose it drew this morning the King's excuse, laying the blame upon the forgetfulness of Chivins [Chiffinch] together with his being so taken up with his thoughts of the Queen as he minded nothing else. Since my writing this I shewed the King your letters and have got leave to deal with the Marquis of Winchester and shall drive that affair with all possible speed, and as much to your advantage as I can. As to the penny in the pound out of the pay of the soldiers of the Scotch Regiment, His Majesty thinks it no way advisable, so you will hear no more of this. He commanded me to tell you that he intended not to have this Parliament sit until October, unless some unexpected accident intervene, but will have this kept secret. I then offered to his thoughts calling one in Ireland, which, he says, he will within a few days consider of. If within two hours we learn anything I shall not fail imparting it to you. I hope you will pardon this odd way of writing by snatches. I am desired by my Lord Castlehaven to recommend his concern to you. He has the King's letter, and His Majesty commanded me to mind you particularly of him. This lord is very kind to you and your family.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 25th, Whitehall.—His Majesty hath at this instant commanded me to send this express to you to bring you the news of the happy success of his Grace the Duke of Monmouth against the rebels ; this enclosed paper will shew you the particulars of the action. This will answer many doubts and questions in your former letters as to shipping, provisions, etc. I suppose what will be chiefly incumbent upon your Grace will be to observe who of those that have been in the rebellion of Scotland or of their conspirators retire into the north of Ireland, and if any of eminency be amongst them to secure their persons till His Majesty shall send further orders. It is now very late, I will not deprive your Grace a moment in receiving this happy news, which I hope will have influence beyond Scotland.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, June 27, Castlemartyr.—When I received yesterday the great honour of your Excellency's letter, Lt.-Colonel Monro was with me, to whom I read that part of your Excellency's letter which concerned Captain Douglas, and I desired him to signify your Excellency's pleasure thereon unto that Captain, that he might pay his obedience to it.

I presume to acquaint your Grace that the new regiment is in want, having received but one month's pay since they landed. I have been necessitated to lend some of the companies money out of my own purse, and to borrow money for them till their own comes. I have lent the commanded

party out of my own troop and company one month's pay for officers and soldiers. For the 25th of March pay having been received before your Excellency's orders came, the money was paid to the soldiers, and they had paid it to discharge their debts, for now three months' pay more is due unto them. God knows, as your Grace writes, the army in this kingdom is too little and too ill-provided of all things to awe those we have reason to apprehend in this kingdom, and, therefore, I do not only hope but have also written to some friends of the Council that if possibly it can be avoided, no part of it may be commanded out of it, and I have given reasons why, in my poor opinion, I made to them that desire. My interest is very inconsiderable towards preserving the peace of this kingdom (which I am very sensible is of importance as to His Majesty's other dominions in all conjunctures of time and especially in the present), but all my endeavours shall never be wanting towards that duty, as your Excellency shall judge fit to command them.

I heartily wish we may not be found too sanguine in our hopes that this Scotch rebellion will be suddenly suppressed, for I much fear this fanatic people that have risen may be backed by persons of greater weight, if they find these first risers need help. The Covenant, I doubt, is deeply rooted in too many there, and I find even in the wild Declaration published the Covenant is mentioned. God grant I be mistaken in my apprehensions, but still 'tis best to provide against the worst. I unfeignedly lament the difficulties your Excellency struggles with. I would I were able to contribute anything which might be of ease to you. . . .

I most humbly thank your Grace for your so favourably accepting the conclusion of my last letter. All the actions of my life shall evidence the unalterable duty I owe my King and my perfect obedience to his service in all commands your Grace shall honour me with.

Postscript.—We had the other day an ugly mutiny at Cork by Captain John St. Leger's company who cried one and all, but the corporal who began it and one of the ringleaders have been both punished and cashiered.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 28, Whitehall.—Since the last to you by the express I have little more to add, only there is a confirmation come from the Duke of Monmouth of the defeat, seven or eight hundred killed upon the place, and about twelve hundred prisoners brought into Edinburgh.

My Lord Castlehaven hath made a complaint to His Majesty, that the interest money for his 5,000*l.* hath been unpaid for above a year and a half; His Majesty commanded to write to your Grace that he desireth justice may be done to the Earl in that particular. Mr. Fanshaw likewise that married the widow of Mr. Sarsfield complaineth that Sir

Theophilus Jones by a contract with His Majesty agreed to deliver up the estate to such and such trustees for the use of young Sarsfield, the minor; that he hath been by virtue of the King's patent reprimed, and yet retaineth both the reprimand and the minor's estate. His Majesty desireth your Grace will inquire into the true state of this affair, and if the complaint be found reasonable to see justice done. His Majesty goeth on Monday to Windsor. I shall remain here or hereabouts, and the Council sitteth two days a week here and once at Hampton Court. Your commands will find me by your usual address hither, and I shall obey them with the same readiness I have always done.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ORRERY.

1679, June 28, Dublin.—The reflections in your lordship's of the 24th and the advices are most solid and pertinent, and will continue to be useful tho' it should prove true that the rebels in Scotland are dissipated and subdued as a very probable report confirmed by concurring circumstances makes me believe they are. The report is that upon Friday last the King's forces, headed by the Duke of Monmouth, engaged the rebels, that the contest lasted Friday and Saturday, and that then the rebels were routed. The circumstances by which I am induced to believe the main of the report are that the Duke of Monmouth was the Tuesday night before arrived in Scotland, that the next morning by nine o'clock he went to the forces raised for the King twenty miles distant from Edinburgh, that the King's forces were superior in number to the rebels, and, which goes farthest with me, some persons fled out of Scotland with good horses and arms were apprehended in the north as they landed, two of whom have made their escape; which, though it be an ill argument of the care of the officers, is a good one of their guilt, and of the ill condition of their brethren in Scotland. I am of opinion what is said in the letter (whereof I send your lordship a copy) of three days' engagement was indeed three days' retreat, and, being overtaken the third day. I have upon this occasion divers letters and orders to send to the north, and must here end.

EARL OF OSSORY TO ORMOND.

1679, June 28.—I am not wanting in point of diligence concerning the affair of the bargain, but the person being out of town I cannot conclude it until his arrival, which I am told will be within two or three days. It is resolved but not declared that a stop shall be put upon the board wages of the great officers and all others to that degree as the household is not to cost more than thirty thousand pounds a year. I do much apprehend that this may disturb the bargain now in agitation. The loss I receive is more than anybody's of the Court, having considerable salaries

in the King's and Queen's service. I have often put His Majesty in mind of a Parliament in Ireland ; even this day he promised to consider of the thing, and of what preparation ought be made thereunto. Within a few days I will resolve upon some course as to myself with relation to the present disappointment, until which time I shall defer giving my mother the trouble of writing to her.

ORMOND to EARL OF ESSEX.

1679, July 1, Dublin.—As soon as the payments due to Bridges were over, I bethought myself of what your lordship at our parting was pleased to recommend to my care for the satisfaction of those of the army who had not been paid equal with the rest the quarter ending at Christmas, '75, and of those who had given clothes to the soldiers. And tho' I could not nor yet can find His Majesty's letter requiring it, yet I thought the thing so reasonable that I was preparing for it when another charge came upon this Revenue by His Majesty's sending over the Scotch Regiment and commanding that the pay of it should be added to the establishment, which comes to near 20,000*l.* a year. Having now received His Majesty's renewed and express commands for it I shall put it in execution as soon as the account of what is due shall be stated ; for which order is given to the Deputy Vice-Treasurer, not doubting but that your lordship, who is so well acquainted with the state of the Revenue and charge of this kingdom by experience and by the late representations which lie before you, will judge how insufficient the one is to support the other, and to make those provisions that even in times of highest peace and greatest security are absolutely necessary, of which it were in vain to give your lordship a particular enumeration, since you cannot forget in what condition the want of money forced you to leave the magazines, forts and stores of this kingdom, that is how utterly defective in most things and how slenderly provided in anything. When your lordship and the rest of my Lords of the Treasury shall have time to look upon what lies before you in relation to the state of the charge of the Revenue here with the attention requisite, and compare it with the posture of affairs at home and abroad, I do not question but you will so represent the danger of this kingdom to itself, and in consequence to the rest of his dominions to His Majesty, that now whilst by the success of his arms in Scotland God gives time and opportunity for it, some care will be taken so to provide against an insurrection or invasion as to discourage or resist them. And since it appears to me by the retrenchments which I hear are designed in England, that from thence His Majesty's service here cannot be succoured with money or anything that will cost money, I know no way how it can be supplied but by calling a Parliament in this kingdom, which I have taken

the liberty to advise and press for ever since I came last into this kingdom, and in order to which Bills have lain long on that side. I confess the transactions there have been so many and so important that I do not wonder those Bills have not hitherto been considered, tho' there have been some intervals that to me at this distance seemed long enough for the work. I confess also that since the sending over of those Bills some things have fallen out, which if they could have been foreseen it is possible the Bills had not in all parts been sent as they were, particularly that for confirming of estates, against which many objections were raised at first transmission of it, and some answers made to those objections, which lie in the hands of my Lord Chancellor, Mr. Secretary Coventry, Mr. Attorney or some of them. But since His Majesty had no design by that Bill but the security and satisfaction of his subjects, I should think it may either be mended there according to the sense of His Majesty and his Privy Council, and fitted to the present conjuncture and so returned; or it may be wholly laid aside, and it may be left to the Council here to prepare another Bill after the Parliament shall be met, agreeable to their desire for whose only sake it was ever thought of. I ask your lordship's pardon for the length of this letter, and your leave to put you in mind that several drafts of letters humbly proposed by me have lain long before your lordship, and the rest of the Lords of the Treasury, which tend in my judgment to the King's service and to the just discharge of your lordship's most faithful humble servant.

Postscript.—If there be any objections to the letters I humbly desire to know them, that I may acquiesce or endeavour to give your lordship satisfaction.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, July 1, Castlemartyr.—I have received the great honour of your Grace's letter of the 28th of June, and am very glad to find in it that those poor thoughts of mine which I laid at your Excellency's feet were not unacceptable to you! I am not a little pleased at what your Grace vouchsafed to write to me of the defeat given by the blessing of God to the rebellious Scotch by the forces under the Duke of Monmouth. I hope the next packet will bring us a confirmation, and all the particulars. God grant it may suppress the disorders of that kingdom. Your Grace is doubtless in the right that a fight which lasted three days could be nothing else but a retreating fight, unless the rebels, finding themselves overpowered, did post themselves advantageously, and I think the lands about Glasgow are so well enclosed that the place by nature was advantageous for such a manner of defence. I humbly offer it to your Grace's consideration, if this news be confirmed of the defeat being total, whether the commanded horse and foot out of every troop

and company in Ulster may not be better employed to be along the coast there than if they were rendezvoused at the Naas. For if the fugitives come over for shelter into Ulster they will this fair season never land but in by-places, for they will easily conclude the usual ports for landing will be guarded; and I doubt if those commanded men be drawn from that country, nay if not employed with others also for that service, divers may not only escape being taken, but also may endeavour to kindle a flame in the north of Ireland; tho' possibly the terror of the late victory may retain many in their duty. . . .

[The remainder of this letter relates to the cost of military tents.]

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, July 5.—I have writ to my mother concerning the late retrenchments. All I shall trouble you with upon that subject is to let you know that I have three very fine horses of the best breeds of Spain. If you please to make use of them, I shall send them unto you, presuming that you will furnish me with them or others to that proportion in case I should be again engaged in war, which I hope will not be my fate. If this proposition be not acceptable I desire soon to know your pleasure, that I may as soon as I can rid myself of the expense of them. Upon the notification of the marriage of the King of Spain and Mademoiselle, I engaged the King to let me be the bearer of his compliments if I could be spared from hence upon the score of his or the Queen's service or your concerns, unto which he easily consented. Having left myself a latitude of retreat, I give you the reasons that induced me: first, I believe the function is honourable enough, and, besides satisfying my curiosity, I may expect upon your account, who have ever been valued particularly by that Crown, and next upon my having served in their cause, to be at least as well received as any that could be sent from hence. The expense of the journey I doubt not but the King will furnish me wherewithal to bear, and if about October things absolutely necessary does not require my being here, I should not be sorry to have a just cause of absence. In this and all things I shall be determined by your pleasure, if you consent, and that this thing proceeds, which is yet secret, and I desire it may so continue. I shall then desire your letter to Don Juan and shall inform you of the style of writing to him. I am told of a grant to Percy Kirk, in which I am desired to mediate your favour therein. I spoke to the King about calling a Parliament in Ireland, and tomorrow at a meeting of a Committee of the Council, His Majesty said he would take that into consideration.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, July 5, Whitehall.—I have received your Grace's of 21, 22 of June, together with all the papers sent with them.

As to all things relating to the Scotch rebellion, His Majesty conceiveth himself sufficiently armed in Scotland without giving further trouble to his other dominions, unless it should break out anew, which I hope it will not suddenly do, though I doubt the discontents are not laid asleep, though some of the men are. As for the arms seized on at Belfast and distributed amongst the fanatics, it hath an ill aspect; but I should think the way good your Grace in one of your former letters intimated you had taken, viz., to order that whatsoever arms were brought in should be put into magazines and the names of those that bought them certified; in which case there ought to be a preference to the militia, and especially in those parts where there is so much cause to suspect some secret understanding with their brethren the Scots. I have moved in Council that my Lord Ranelagh's accounts may be sent back to your Grace, which I suppose will be accordingly done. I do not find any preparations in my Lord Ranelagh or his partners for that journey. They are at great differences with themselves, but his lordship is not without his friends in Court, though they do not much appear. His Majesty is now at Windsor, and the Council meeteth him but once a week. How criminal the words of Mr. Osborne are in law I know not, but certainly they are the indication of a very bad man, and as far as by law you may I suppose your Grace will resent it on him. The Duke of Monmouth is expected within a few days, and the Duchess of Cleveland. A suspension of all tables, pensions and what not?; if we can but keep the army and fleet as cheap as the household a little revenue will serve.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1679, July 6—Your Vice-Chancellor, the Warden of New College, being now upon the death of the Warden of Winchester likely to be removed thither, and consequently obliged to quit his interest in this place, there will be occasion for your Excellency to think upon the nomination of a new Vice-Chancellor sooner than is used to be done. The Warden of Winchester died on Tuesday last, and I think there is twenty days respite by statute required before a successor is chosen, and afterward a month is allowed before the Wardenship of the College here becomes void. I take this first opportunity of signifying to your Excellency what has happened, it being of great importance that he who has the honour to represent your Excellency may be qualified to support that dignity, and that the University may have the benefit of a diligent and able Vice-Chancellor. Your Excellency will have the less difficulty in your designation, there being very few heads of houses who are capable of the charge, many having been Vice-Chancellors already, others are disabled by sickness or age, or the faculty which they profess. I was bold formerly to intimate that the most probable person

was, in my apprehension, Dr. Timothy Halton, Provost of Queen's College, or Dr. Thomas Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College; tho' neither of these have fortunes which will enable them to bear the office with its usual splendour.

As to your Excellency's more immediate concern, I can assure you that my Lord James, by God's blessing, has perfect health, and I hope has received since he came hither visible improvements both of body of mind. He has the company of many very ingenious young noblemen who make it their business to pay him all respect and render his being here neither uneasy nor unuseful to him. It will be matter of great joy to me if I can contribute anything to my lord's future advantage and your Excellency's and her Grace's present content and security. Nothing shall be omitted within the power of your Graces, etc.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, July 8.—You are not to wonder at the uncertainty of persons' resolutions, especially if they have any dependence on those relating to the public. I thought the bargain sure with my Lord Marquis of Winchester, but this evening he has absolutely declined it, alleging the present suspension, but acknowledging with large expressions your favour, which he desired me to express from him. I have reason to believe that his friend my Lord President and he are not satisfied nor pleased with the growing interest of my Lords of Essex and Halifax. The latter is more assiduous than ever my Lord Lauderdale was. His aim, I am credibly told, is at the government of Ireland. I intend to shew the King your letter which I received of the first of this month, being advised thereunto. To that part relating to my son he will easily leave off when I point to him what it concerns. I am not satisfied with what I hear from him; in a short time, when I have seen him, I will give you an account and my opinion what to do with him. I am now busy about retrenching my family.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1679, July 12, London.—I received your last letter with the enclosed certificate of Dr. Meara, which came seasonably to help me in obtaining His Majesty and Council's order for Col. Talbot's liberty and their licence for his going into France for cure, both which your Grace will receive by this post.

On Thursday last at Hampton Court in Council His Majesty declared his pleasure to dissolve this Parliament. Some of us were sent for to Windsor last Lord's day, where, though we had large debate and discourse with His Majesty, nothing could divert this resolution. God send good success herein and guide the people to make a wise and moderate choice, or else I doubt we are out of the frying pan into the fire by

a new Parliament, which is to meet on Tuesday, the 7th of October next. We want your Grace's wisdom and experience at such a time.

The Duke of Monmouth returned two days since and left all quiet in Scotland by giving liberty for house conventicles. I wish this year may not prove fatal to this the best church in the world. I shall not trouble your Grace about the lapse money till I send the resolution of His Majesty and Council therein, but shall be ready to execute any your Grace's commands.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, July 12, Whitehall.—I received yours of the 6th of this month, which found me here, altogether intent upon reducing my family according to my income and pursuant to the advice you gave me. I do also intend to see my son very soon. My Lord Chamberlain thinks he has been long enough at Oxford and advises my bringing him to Windsor until further resolutions. Since you leave him to our care we will take the most justifiable course with him, and I hope to your content. Mr. Godolphn tells me of a person that has a mind to deal for your staff, but cannot name him till he has again spoken unto him. I will serve you the best I can, but shall not conclude without your approbation. I have not anything to trouble my mother withal.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1679, July 12, Whitehall.—Mr. Secretary being at his lodge I presume (by his command) to acquaint your Grace of the receipt of yours of the 6th instant, together with the report concerning the rubbish pretended to be thrown into the port of Kinsale, both which have been showed to His Majesty, and the latter will be communicated to the Council at the next meeting.

I have by this post sent your Grace the copy of Lord Ranelagh's accounts, of which Mr. Secretary gave your Grace advice by his last letter. I doubt not but your Grace will from all hands have the news of the dissolution of this Parliament, and another to be called to sit on the 7th of October next. This was declared in Council on Thursday last to be His Majesty's pleasure, but there is yet no proclamation issued out either for dissolving the one or calling the other, but I believe the proclamation will be signed next Council day.

On Thursday the Duke of Monmouth returned hither from Scotland, where he left much joy amongst the conventiclars, who have indulgence and liberty for house meetings, but not for those in the field. I wish the next Parliament be as good as this we part with, but as yet I have not seen that we have gained much by these bargains.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, July 12.—You will find [] last post that I am of opinion of the necessity of your good husbandry, and will contribute towards it as far as I can; if you cannot sell your Spanish horses to reasonable advantage you may send them hither, where they shall be kept for you and exercised as they ought to be. For myself I am past riding any upon any occasion but such as are easy and quiet. If you can be sure you shall spend no more than will be allowed you upon the expedition you project, I have nothing to object against it, but I do not see any possibility but that you must spend more, or appear there in an equipage unequal to the employment and to the reputation of our fortune and quality; for it is not to be expected but that (if such a ceremony cannot be accepted), yet it will be performed with all the frugality imaginable agreeable to the thrift now in practice; and so the allowance will be narrow, and you must run in debt or appear very unfit for so splendid a congress as that is like to be, so that you do well to keep yourself unengaged till you know that the character you shall bear will be equal to your quality and station and your allowance to them, but still remember that when you shall be once named for it, you will find it difficult handsomely to knock off for want of sufficient appointments or a character []. The one will certainly expose you to censure as not setting a right and necessary value on yourself, and the other to one of the inconveniences I mentioned of being a dishonour to yourself and your character or undone by supporting it at your own charge. This is all I can say to that matter, no better instructed than I am. For as to the duty you owe to the King and Queen, to the Royal Family and your own, I suppose you will prefer them to any interest (if you could have any separate from them) and much more to any curiosity of your own, and how you can foresee that none of those can have use of you I know not; so unsettled and so much more than ordinarily subject to mutations of the highest nature the times are. If you consult my Lord Chamberlain in this affair, as doubtless you do, unless you are unwilling to hear reason which may contradict your inclination, I desire you to shew him this letter.

R. SPENCER to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, July 13.—I conclude, my Lord, you hear before this that the last worthy Parliament is dissolved, and I hear men of honest principles will endeavour to be of the next, which makes me give you this trouble (which I ask you pardon for) to desire you to get a letter of my Lord Duke, your father, to the University of Oxford to recommend me to be one of their burgesses. If you can do me this favour, pray be pleased to give the letter to my sister Drogheda, and

she will convey it safely to me. I would have given myself the honour to have writ to my Lord Duke, but that I believed it would be more effectual to have your lordship recommend me and put my lord in mind of it, for if he pleases to do me this honour, the sooner I have it the better. I ask your pardon, my lord, for this trouble.

Postscript.—My lord and you know I am one of their body, being a Doctor and Canon of Christchurch.

ORMOND to EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1679, July 15th, Dublin—All I can tell your lordship of this kingdom is that since the defeat of the rebels in Scotland there seems to be a great calm. I confess before that I was not without some apprehensions of the common sort of the Scots in the north, being well assured that their false teachers held correspondence with their brethren in Scotland. The English (some few giddy and poor fanatics excepted) have no inclination to disturb the Government, tho' they do not in all things acquiesce or observe the constitutions of it, and I have not any fear of the Irish, beyond torying, but in case of a civil war amongst those that go under the name of Protestants or in case of an invasion. Your lordship has concern enough here to dispose you to pardon my giving you this general account of the place*.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1679, July 15, Exchequer.—I have sent you a letter from the King upon notice given that the Attorney-General did expect the order from your Grace for the prosecution of his title in the towns of Carlingford and Dundalk with what belongs to them, His Majesty being informed that he has been deceived in his grant, and that the title remains in him, in order to which he has been pleased to command me to send the Attorney-General instructions for the prosecution of it, which I have done, and humbly desire your Grace to give your commands accordingly to the Attorney-General for the prosecution of it.

Mrs. Nelly has commanded me to let you know that her agent, Mr. Melish, has not yet completed her pension for Michaelmas half-year, and also sends her word that he has no hopes when to receive the Lady half-year last past, for that there is a stop upon it. She begs your Grace's favour in this, and that you would please to command any of your servants to let me know what the condition of it is, and what she may expect, presuming she shall find your kindness enough to assist her in this particular, and has commanded me to assure your Grace that nothing would please her better than to have a share in serving your Grace.

The business now begins to be about elections, which I fear will not answer much to the counsel of dissolving the Parliament; nor can I anyway perceive why expectations

* The concluding sentences of this letter are illegible.

should be extraordinary for any change of proceedings, for the persons will be most the same, and whether the apprehensions of frequent dissolutions may breed compliance sooner than displeasure, I dare not determine ; but I fear the last, and the effect of that may be a demand of a prefixed time of sitting, which is the greatest shake to the prerogative, and was the fatal acquisition of that Parliament that built a civil war upon the Triennial Bill. But I will hope the best, and since there is no salvation but by the love of the King and his happiness, 'tis reasonable to believe that argument joined to that fatal memory will quiet all loyal minds from letting their resentments overrule their reason and experience. Here is nothing else worthy of your Grace's knowledge at present, when there is I will not omit my duty in giving you the best account that occurs to me.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to ORMOND.

1679, July 17, Oxford.—Il y a trois jours que je receus l'ordre qu'il a plu à votre grandeur de me faire signifier par M^r le Docteur Morton. J'espère s'il plaist à Dieu d'y obeir ponctuellement, rendant conte chaque semaine à vôtre grandeur de l'état de Monseign^r vôtre digne petit fils, et je le feray comme je fais a present selon ma conscience & avec toute la verité et la sincerité imaginable.

Sa santé Monseigneur est graces à Dieu touiours bonne, il est touiours gay & vigoureux & son embonpoint touiours le même. Il est creu visiblement depuis six mois et a beaucoup plus l'air d'homme qu'il n'avoit.

Pour ses etudes son tuteur en a icy la principale direction (suivant la coutume de l'université). M^r nôtre bon Evêque, qui continue d'être touiours tres bon et tres obligeant à my lord vient souvent le matin nous surprendre, voir ce que fait my lord & lire qu'elques moments avec luy. Le dit tuteur luy a doné durant qu'elques mois des *Epigrammes* de Martial à apprendre, et comme c'étoit mon devoir je les luy expliquois, les luy faisois traduire & apprendre par coeur ensuite Monseigneur il luy a donné des vers de Virgile. La matinée est employée au Latin apres les prieres particulieres et la lecture dans la Bible. L'apres dinée le tuteur luy vient montrer l'arithmetique, et je luy fais ensuite des leçons d'histoire meslée de geographie.

Mais, comme ma conscience, & mon zèle pour le bien de mon cher Seigneur ne me permettent pas de rien déguiser dans une chose de si grande importance je supplie tres humblement vôtre grandeur de ne pas trouver mauvais si je luy dis franchement que l'avancement de my lord ne répond pas à mon avis aus grandes esperances et à la bonne opinion que l'on peut avoir de ce lieu si fameux. Je le dis monseigneur avec un esprit désinteressé. J'estime et j'honore extremement cette belle université ou pour mon avancement particulier j'ay passé plus d'une fois un tems assez considerable ;

mais il semble que bien des gents ayant dessein icy de rendre la condition des jeunes gents de qualité aisée et agreable. Messieurs les Tuteurs ont leur maniere d'enseigner qu'ils ne veulent point changer, ils font ce qu'ils veulent, et quand ils veulent rien d'avantage. Le tuteur de my lord qui pour le dire franchement suit ce chemin aussy bien, ou mieux que les autres (soit par inclination, ou que ses cinq ou six autres pupilles, ses affaires particulieres, ou ses divertissements l'occupent fort) vient qu'elque fois enseigner my lord une demy heure, ou un quart d'heure le matin, autant apres midy, souvent il n'est pas venu quatre fois la semaine & il y a plus de trois semaines que nous n'avons eu la joye de le voir dans le cabinet de my lord. C'est icy un tres grand crime que de trouver a redire à ces manieres. Mr Gandy le vois aussy bien que moi, et c'en est un bien plus grand de l'écrire a vôtre grandeur, et qui s'il étoit sçeu par aucun de cette université ne me seroit jamais pardonné. Ce n'est pas Monseigneur que je craigne personne de pouvoir retorquer contre moy, et de dire avec apparence de verité que je m'attache à autre chose qu' au bien, à l'avancement et à la conservation de mon cher seigneur et que je n' en fasse pas ma grande et mon unique affaire : et que je n'y employe pas tout mon tems. C'est monseigneur ce que je supplie tres humblement vôtre grandeur de croire que je fais avec tout le zèle et l'affection imaginable.*

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1679, July 19.—This moment is arrived your Grace's letter of the 12th, together with the two others from yourself and Council concerning Lord Ranelagh and partners. Mr. Secretary is at his lodge, where he spends four or five days a week during His Majesty's being at Windsor, but these letters shall be immediately sent to him, and I am confident will by him be represented to His Majesty and Council the next Council day, which will be Thursday next. The great news we have here (besides that of Lord Halifax, Lord Gerard and Lord Roberts being made Earls, which I doubt not but your Grace has been already acquainted with) is the trial of Sir George Wakeman and three others concerned (or at least accused of being so) in the Plot; they were yesterday at the Old Bayly all acquitted, which has very much surprised many people here, supposing it may have some influence upon those great ones that are yet untried. We are likewise very busy in all parts in order to new elections of Members of Parliament, and by what can yet be guessed at, most of the same faces will appear there again, which, if they do, I believe they will not be in much better humour for having spent a great deal of money for the same place they had most of them paid dear for before.

* The orthography and the original has been followed in this transcript.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, July 19, Whitehall.—This night my son came hither, having sent for him to satisfy my curiosity. He is grown fat, but not to the degree I did expect. I am just now returned from Windsor, and having had no discourse with him or his governor I cannot now give you any further relation of him. I came hither upon the account of Sir John [George] Wakeman's trial, to see if I might anyways serve the Queen; the success you will have from the public news. It has very much rejoiced the Queen, since it is believed that she will have no other trouble than that of having been named for a fact, which even her enemies, I believe, in their hearts do not think her capable of. The King did express much kindness to her, and with tears of joy did express the satisfaction he had for the acquittal of this man, which he presumes will hinder the malicious attempts of ill men against her. However, he has promised to be steadfast in his justice and kindness to her. I sent an express immediately to her with an account of that transaction. She is pleased to be contented with my good will, which was all that lay in me towards her service.

My Lord Chamberlain's hand permits him not to write. He has enjoined me, upon my telling him that I was privately looking after a habitation for you in case of your removal, to offer you Euston, which you know is well furnished. You will also have his hounds and hawks, and be far from giving him any trouble in accepting this proposition. I can assure you he says this heartily, and not by way of compliment. You will be pleased to acknowledge to him this civility. If this suits not with your inclinations, Sir Stephen Fox tells me he believes my Lord of Clarendon may be contented to let Cornbury, which they say is a very fine place; all this is supposing a change, which, though reported, yet I cannot find any ground for it. My Lord Chamberlain desires you to think of the hawks you promised him, and to have them sent with all speed, the season drawing near for those sports. I beseech you to pay Savignon according to the King's pleasure, which, at my request when I waited on you at Dublin, you were pleased to promise him your favour herein.

EXAMINATIONS OF ROBERT SANDERS, H. GETTINGS AND
JOHN HORDEN RELATIVE TO AN ATTEMPT TO
ASSASSINATE THE KING.

Robt. Sanders, Master of the ship *Virgin*, from Barnestable, being sworn and examined, and Henry Gethings, pilot of the same ship, being also sworn and examined, say and the said Henry Gethings for himself saith, That he heard it publicly spoken at a christening in Barnestable that Mr. Edward Carpenter and Mr. Harvey, men of note in that country, wrote several letters to their friends from London, dated about the 9th or 10th instant, making report that

soon after the dissolution of the Parliament a person presenting a petition to His Majesty with a hat in one hand and a stick under the other arm, so soon as the petition delivered, let fall the stick with a skane or tack therein with some kind of spring thereto, which the person most dexterously recovered and made a pass at His Majesty's breast, but did not pierce him by reason his coat of mail or other defence under his coat made resistance, upon which the party was apprehended, and confessed he was to have three thousand pounds if he had killed His Majesty. The said Gethings further saith that he being a burgess or freeman of the said town of Barnestable had several debates about election of the same persons, Sir Hugh Ackland and Colonel Basset, Members in Parliament (the present being dissolved). A new Parliament are to meet about the 5th or 10th of October next, and further saith not

[SIGNED.]

HENRY GETHINGS.

And the said Robert Sanders, being master and part owner of the said vessel, saith that he set sail from Barnestable on the 18th instant, and that he heard several people say that the King was attempted to be stabbed, but prevented only by what he wore, and further saith not

[SIGNED.]

ROBERT SANDERS.

John Horden, master of the *Unicorn* from Barnestable, set sail from thence on the 19th instant, being examined, saith, That the aforementioned report was not confirmed to his friend the last packet relating to His Majesty, but the other part as to the dissolution of the Parliament and meeting of a new about the 7th October was confirmed by several letters.

Examinations taken before me, Edward FitzGerald als Villiers, Esquire, on the 21st July, 1679.

JOHN HORDEN.

Endorsed. "Received from E. of Orrery, 25 July, '79."

EARL OF LONGFORD to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, July 22, London.—It is a good while since I saw Mrs. Ferrers, and therefore I can give your lordship no account of her resolution concerning your children, which I heartily wish were safe with you. If your lordship had sent me a copy of the representation from the Board concerning my Lord Ran., undertakings, also a copy of the report from the Commissioners of his accounts, I could have made very good use of them by my application to my Lord Halifax and Lord Falmouth and others before that matter could be brought before the Council, whereas now it will two days hence be read in Council, and I cannot prepare them beforehand, because I cannot divine what those papers contain, no more than I can the purport of that letter written to Mr. Secretary, with whom I have now but seldom conversation by reason of his being out of town. And now my Lord Ranelagh's affair is at a crisis, methinks

'tis pity you should thus do business by halves, for though it is a matter of great importance to my Lord Lieutenant to crush now so dangerous and dexterous an enemy, for which he will never have the like opportunity, I do not find that vigour in the prosecution that is necessary to the accomplishing of it, which is some discouragement to those servants of his Grace's here who out of no other consideration than their zeal to his service have so heartily embarked in it. For, notwithstanding those material hints I have given both his Grace and yourself upon this subject, neither of you so much as take notice of them, which does not only leave me in the dark, but out of countenance too, when I am asked questions by those necessary instruments I make use of to gain our point. I understand Col. Bramston's company is removed from Longford, of which I am very sorry for several reasons. And, therefore, if your lordship could prevail with my Lord Lieutenant for their marching back again thither I shall own it as a particular favour.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, July 22.—I received yesterday three letters of the 17th of this month. Two of them spoke of one Mr. Stephens, who I have not yet seen, but shall be civil unto him as occasion shall offer, and the more willingly since he is recommended to my Lord Primate. The discourse continues of either the Lord of Essex or Lord Halifax to be sent into Ireland, upon which accounts my Lord Chamberlain did intend even before he saw your letters this day to discourse with His Majesty to find out his resolutions, believing that if nothing of that kind be intended that it is for His Majesty's service that those reports be quashed. He will also represent how much it may import the calling a Parliament in Ireland, and the injustice you suffer by my Lord of Essex's not having your accounts examined, but, as is said, on the contrary defers that and insinuates things tending to his being dissatisfied with expenses lately made. Of this last particular when I have an opportunity I shall speak of it unto His Majesty. By the next post I shall give you my Lord Chamberlain's and my opinion what is fit to be done with James. I received this morning a letter from Monsieur St. Helène, which shall be transmitted unto you; as to himself nothing can be said until we see what is to be done with James. For his son, who they say is a very good officer, I wish with all my heart he were a lieutenant or cornet of horse; if things continue in the present state I wish you would let him serve you as a gentleman until such provision can be made; he is a blunt but a very stout and a careful officer.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1679, July 23, Dublin.—If Parliaments continue to be so short-lived and I to be Chancellor of Oxford, the University

is like to have frequent recommendations from me. That which I have now given Mr. Lane, the bearer, is with much assurance that he will discharge the trust with zeal for the Church and the University. I wish the House of Commons may consist of none worse affected than he, and then we may hope for that temper we stand so much in need of. If I did not think thus of him I should not desire your lordship's furtherance to his pretensions as now I do.

PETITION OF INHABITANTS OF YOUGHAL TO ORMOND
RELATIVE TO LICENSES TO TRADE IN WOOL.

TO HIS GRACE JAMES, DUKE OF ORMOND, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, and the Lords of His Majesty's most Honble. Privy Council.

The humble petition of several the inhabitants, merchants, and traders in the Port of Youghal, in the County of Cork. Humbly sheweth

That in obedience to a late order from your Grace bearing date the tenth day of May last, forbidding the entering and shipping of wool, woollen yarn, &c., without due licence first had and obtained in the true proprietor's names for greater or lesser quantities, your petitioners have withheld their accustomed practice of buying small quantities of wool as heretofore from poor tenants, by reason your petitioners in former times had licences granted to them as known merchants and their assigns, for which they became security for one thousand five hundred stone in each licence, paying the Lord Lieutenant's dues four pence for each stone and one pound five shillings to the Secretary, as will appear by a copy of licences [of] old date, now presented to the view of your Grace and most Honble. Privy Council. That your petitioners are owners and part owners of a considerable number of ships and vessels that frequently from this port attend the carrying of small and great cattle as well as other goods for England, where it often happens that petty merchants do take freight for four or five bags of wool where cattle and sheep cannot be stowed, which for time out of mind they have had the benefit of, endorsing small quantities of wool on such licence as is usually taken out in some of our names, or in the name of the Clerk of the Custom House, for which we or some of us, as part owners of the vessel, become security for the true landing thereof in England, our port being too public a port to commit frauds of the like nature as is suggested in your Grace's letter of carrying wool into foreign parts. The premises considered your petitioners humbly pray

That according to ancient custom and practice in case of obtaining licence that your Grace and Honble. Privy Council may propose a way for the encouragement of trade by granting licence, as heretofore hath been used time out of mind in this port, or otherwise with such

restrictions as your Grace and most Honble. Privy Council shall think fit to direct, to the end that petty dealers in small quantities of wool may be permitted as our assignees to endorse it on our licences as heretofore. So as not to be exposed to the trouble and charge of taking out distinct licence for such small quantities which many times happen to be less than one hundred stone, and sometimes not above ten or twenty stone, they freighting our vessels with cattle, sheep and such small quantities of wool, for which we or some of us are and will always be obliged to have certificate returned as the law directs, without which not only your Petitioners (as at this day) but several petty chapmen that come from and are frequently passing to England, must and will desist both from buying and exporting wool, not only to the diminution of trade, but also to our considerable loss in the freight of our ships, some of us not dealing in that commodity, and that order may be given with all imaginable strictness to the officers of the Custom House to take good and sufficient security for any wool, woollen yarn, &c., to be entered and shipped off from hence, to no other end but that licence may as heretofore be ready in the office for the shipping off of greater or less quantities of wool at uncertain times when strangers and such as manage the affair of exporting cattle bring it either to sell or ship off by freighting our ships and other vessels, and as in duty bound your Petitioners shall ever pray.

EDWARD LAWNDY, MATHEW SPENCER, JOHN MERRICK, RICH. DANTER, JOHN ATKIN, EBENEZER MURDOCK, JOHN DANTER, JOHN MELHUISE (for RICH. YEATS), ROBT. BALL, JAMES DOWLEN, EDWARD CROCKFORD, THO. LAWRENCE, GEORGE HAYLES, JOHN JONES (for CHRISTOP. TUTTHILL), JOHN HITCHCOCKE, JOHN VAUGHAN, THO. BAKER, junr. 1679.

Endorsed 7th July, 1679.—Referred to the Farmers of His Majesty's Revenue in Ireland to consider of the within petition and certify what they conceive fit to be done thereupon.

ORMOND.

MICH. ARMACH. C., JO. DUBLIN, BLESSINTON, GRANARD, LANESBOROUGH, HEN. MIDENSIS, R. COOTE, RO. FITZGERALD, RO. BOOTH, JOHN KEATINGE, JO. BYSSE, OL. ST. GEORGE.

Further Endorsed July 23, 1679.—May it please your Grace and Lordships

In obedience to the above order of reference, we have considered of the within petition of the merchants and traders in the port of Youghal, and do humbly certify that we do not conceive it anyway prejudicial to His Majesty's Revenue or interest that licences be granted as formerly for the trans-

portation of wool in such manner as by the petition is desired. And that it will be a very great encouragement to petty dealers in that commodity and poor tenants if your Grace shall think fit to allow thereof to have the liberty to endorse upon any licence then in being (as heretofore was usual), such small quantities of wool as they shall have occasion to transport, provided good security be taken for the returning certificate according to law. All which is humbly submitted to your Grace and this honourable Board this 23rd July, 1679.

E. RICHBELL.
STAN. MILL.

J. GOURNEY.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, July 25, Whitehall.—Upon reading to His Majesty in Council a petition of several Protestant proprietors of houses in the town of Galway to your Grace, representing the great decay of trade in that town by reason of the removal of the Irish inhabitants out of the said town, and praying that such of them may be restored as shall give good security for their loyalty and peaceable deportment: His Majesty was pleased to declare, that his former directions for removing Irish Papists from inhabiting in Corporations having been grounded upon an Address of the House of Peers here, his Majesty thinks not fit at present to make any alteration therein. Which is all I have to return upon that matter.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1679, July 26, London.—Your letter of the 17th I received the 23rd instant, and the next day at Hampton Court in Council obeyed your Grace's commands therein for setting the Lord Mountgarret at liberty, which Mr. Secretary Coventry will send your Grace order for this post, and in other particulars that were the same day ordered at Council. This post your Grace will also receive His Majesty and Council's final orders for levying the lapse money, wherein I beseech your Grace's favourable despatch in kindness to my Lord Chamberlain and me, your old servant. Your Grace will also receive from Mr. Secretary Coventry the draught of a letter intended by His Majesty to settle my barren lands in Beare and Bantry, which was my reprisals for rich lands in Meath, to be made into two manors with some privileges, wherein I followed the pattern of His Majesty's grants to my Lord Lanesborough. I entreat your lordship's report thereupon may be transmitted by the first to Mr. Secretary, that I may pass my grant in Ireland.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, July 26, Blessinton.—I herewith send your Grace what I received yesterday from my Lord Ranelagh, by which your Grace will find that we are not to expect any of his

lordship's partners to attend their accompt here, if they can avoid it. What his lordship means by signing an accompt there I do not understand. Why Major Moore's applications should disgust his lordship to the degree of a complaint, I cannot see any other reason but that his partners here (from whom he must receive his intelligence) find themselves under some unexpected difficulty to answer them, for in my opinion they do not much differ from what your Grace is directed by a letter from His Majesty and Council for the discovery of compositions. I cannot recollect any reflecting or scandalous words in his paper other than that he is not performed with according to the undertaking, and if that gives the offence I doubt he will meet here with plenty of such entertainment.

What your Grace discoursed as very irrational in Sir George Wakeman's declining to plead, you now find is come to pass. All persons are not of the same temper, and despondency is not the effect of courage but of cowardice. I am in great pain until I shall hear how your Grace compassed your long journey to Tullogh, for there is no man living more concerned for your Grace's person and for your eternal happiness than &c.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1679, July 29, Sheen.—Since the honour I received of a letter from your Grace, I have met with nothing worth your trouble from hence, besides what I know goes constantly from better hands. That which I presumed your Grace would be content to know at this time is what I received yesterday in a letter from the Prince of Orange, whereby I find that after all the endeavours of the French to encourage and heighten a party in the State there in favour of alliances with France and in opposition to the Prince, which has been hitherto kept up for several months past by the town of Amsterdam alone, that town is now fallen in wholly with the rest of the towns and provinces into a perfect conjunction of interests and sentiment with the Prince, so that I look upon that State as more united at this time than it has been since that of his great grandfather, which is a point of very great importance in the present state of affairs in Christendom. The next thing to be desired were the same good fortune here, which His Majesty seems resolved to endeavour, but of which no man can yet make any judgment but that it must be determined by the event of next session of Parliament, and thereby I think the fate not only of these nations but the rest of Europe too. In the meantime I cannot but rejoice with your Grace in particular upon the happy success of His Majesty's affairs in Scotland, which could not have continued long embroiled without very ill effects upon Ireland, either by drawing off those troops which ought to preserve the peace of that kingdom or raising humours that might disturb it. I wish your Grace a long continuance

of all good fortunes and good health, and to myself many occasions of expressing the truth and passion wherewith, &c.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, July 29, London.—Had I received on Saturday last your Grace's of the 22nd and 23rd instant (which came not to my hands till this day, being sent in my Lord Ossory's packet to Windsor) my letter to your Grace on Saturday had been much shortened in those hints I gave relating to my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, which your Grace has, I find, put into so good a method that nothing is to be added to it. I did in my last tell your Grace that he now gives out that he suddenly intends for Ireland, having borrowed money in order to it, and if he goes (as your Grace guesses) he may carry strong and powerful recommendations to your Grace and my Lord Chancellor, and yet not with design to stand him in any other stead than a civil reception; for the approaching Parliament (to which my Lord Ranelagh will be as obnoxious as any person whatsoever) will keep everybody in awe, and therefore it will concern your Grace to have those accounts (if possible) determined before they meet. I have received your Grace's bill of exchange for the 30th, which I have this afternoon sent to be accepted, and then I shall deliver it to the party for whom your Grace designs it, who will, I dare undertake, with all duty and zeal imaginable endeavour to deserve your Grace's favour as far as his capacity can enable him. I shall call to Mr. Thynne for a sight of your Grace's letter, and when I next wait upon the King at Windsor, shall lay home to him the impossibility of putting that kingdom into a posture of defence or subsisting with the increase of the charge, without some additional helps from a Parliament. It is the Coffee-house news here that Sir Tho. Armstrong is banished the Court, which I have sometime since expected would be so, and I have given my Lord Arran the reason of it. My brother's account with the East India Committee is now preparing, and as soon as that is over I shall hasten into Ireland to pay my duty to your Grace. The Scotch Lords are not well pleased that their attacks upon my Lord Duke Lauderdale have met with no better success.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, July 29.—My Lord Chamberlain came to London and stayed two days upon the account of seeing James, and his opinion is against his returning any more to Oxford, but would have him in the academy as soon as the weather grows more temperate, which will be a more proper education than the other for one of his quality. I know the hazards and viciousness of an academy is to be objected, but in all things we must trust to fortune or rather Providence when the best

course is taken ; some propose his being an *externi* ; if of these two you will make a choice I submit mine to your opinions. I do think nothing will rid him so much of his fat and phlegmatic humours as the French air. He wants not sense, and if he be not lazy, but makes use of his understanding, I hope he may prove well. My Lord Chamberlain waits an opportunity of discoursing with His Majesty on the subject I mentioned in my last. I have not anything worth troubling my mother with a letter at this present.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, August 2, Whitehall.—The letter from your Grace and Council to me of the 23rd of July I communicated to the Board, who thereupon made this order, which I here enclosed send your Grace copied, that there may be no mistake on my part. They say some of the partners are gone over, and it is reported that my Lord Ranelagh himself will suddenly go. I doubt his welcome will not be very agreeable. You will see by this order that the Council have approved of all that you have done as to this matter and comply with you in what you desire should be done here. His Majesty is gone to the Downs to view the coast there. The Earl of Essex told me but two days since that three of your letters referred to the Commissioners of the Treasury were answered, and that the fourth should immediately be dispatched. We have here no news, at least to be believed. Elections for Parliament men employ men's brains and tongues very much ; most men think the Parliament will be much the same as to the persons, but more the same as to the humour.

I humbly thank your Grace for the recruits of horses, which I received from your groom in very good condition. Sir Nicholas is arrived and looketh as he did, it being hard to describe him otherwise.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, August 2.—To yours of the 12th and 22nd of July, which I received at the same time, to the first, which speaks of my journey to Spain, I shall give you an account of my proceedings therein. I did not motion this without consulting my Lord Chamberlain, who knows more of that place and those things than any person here. His opinion is that to go as an envoy rather than an ambassador does suit more with my quality, and considering that I make no stay, that nothing of an equipage will be expected ; as to the congress, where magnificences will be the fashion, my business will not call me thither, but to Madrid, where I shall not make so long a stay as anything like housekeeping will be expected, and which is not the custom of that Court. If I do not find that the King's allowance will bear my charges, or that I may be spared from hence without omission of my

duty to the Queen or of my service to you, I can easily withdraw any engagement I am under, having left that reservation when I made the proposal to His Majesty. I do not deny but curiosity is an ingredient in this matter, but as I shall easily depart from this, if it be not to your liking, so I assure you I shall not have a temptation to it if I think my presence necessary here upon any account either of duty or honour. The Spanish horses I thought might be acceptable to you, but since you intend not to use them I have let the master of an academy to be erected here to have them, who keeps and teaches them at a cheap rate. As to my son, since your pleasure is for his return to Oxford, I have ordered it on Monday next; my Lord Chamberlain thinks it no advantageous place, but rather an academy, and until the weather be fit for his going into one does invite and desire to have him with himself at Euston. He cannot be with a friend that is possible to be more concerned for him than I find my Lord Chamberlain to be. The King is gone a sea voyage, and nothing new among us.

EARL OF LONGFORD TO ORMOND.

1679, August 5, London.—The enclosed paper is an extract of a letter which Mr. Hayes had by the last packet from his father Ottrington, and I saw on Saturday a letter from Sir Robert Reading to Sir James Butler to the same purpose, which I then gave your Grace a hint of, and the enclosed I thought proper for your Grace's view that you may be prepared to take your measures accordingly. But I must beseech your Grace to keep it to yourself, for should it take air we shall have no more informations of this kind. My Lord Ranelagh has this week waited in the bedchamber for another, on purpose to have the opportunity of what favourable despatches he pleases to prepare from His Majesty to your Grace and my Lord Chancellor, for if he can but charm you two, he doubts not but to wheedle the rest of the Commissioners of his accounts, and I have it from very good hands that he brags amongst his friends that he doubts not but by a treat or two to your Grace at Ferrey's [?] and playing with your Grace at Umbra, to accomplish an absolute reconciliation and surmount the difficulties with which he finds himself now embarrassed. All I have to say upon the point is that if your Grace lets him now slip out of your hands and come over hither triumphant after all the representations have come over from the Board against him, he will be for ever established in the King's opinion and favour, and then your Grace must expect such a storm against you as none of your servants here can ever hope to weather, nor indeed will they have heart to attempt it when you shall leave yourself at his mercy after all the cautions you have had and the experience of his malice and treachery towards you which he has practised those several years. That mischief

is preparing against you I have reason to conclude from a rumour spread within this week about the town of a late letter your Grace has written, wherein your Grace in representing the state of that kingdom said that the fanatics there who began to prick up their ears upon the Scotch rebellion do now pull in their horns since the defeat of the rebels. This is taken as a clear argument of your Grace's disaffection to the Protestants, because your Grace by this seems to represent them in this conjuncture as more dangerous to the Government than the Papists of whom the generality of the people here have still very severe impressions from the discovery of the Plot. And it is said that it is very hard measure in your Grace not to unite all the Protestants there who are so disproportionable in number to the Papists. Whether your Grace has writ such a letter I know not; but if you have, the publishing of it in this conjuncture is very injurious to you; and if you have not, the design of your enemies in giving it out now is very palpable, for it is done only with intent to give the approaching Parliament a very ill impression of you, and consequently to prepare them for whatever attack is intended against you. I have not seen Mr. Secretary Coventry these ten days, but I hear he will be in town tomorrow, and then I shall discourse him upon this affair and advise how I may be most serviceable to your Grace in it. Sir Henry Ingoldsby was with me on Sunday, when I found him very full of acrimony against your Grace, of whose slighting him after all his services to you in opposition to the Earl of Orrery, and disobliging him in preferring Drury Wrey to the command of the militia troop in Limerick before his brother George he complains. What motives your Grace had to do this I am not to question, but I could wish he had not been disobliged, for he is a bold talker and has great acquaintance amongst that party who are now getting into the saddle. He, in plain English, says your Grace puts greater confidence in the Papists than the Protestants, that when the Plot was discovered first in Ireland your Grace took so little notice of it that, though the Papists thronged then to Dublin and into the Castle in greater numbers than they had done formerly, yet your Grace did not think fit to double the guards though pressed to it by himself and others; that the guards were without bullet or powder, and that there was no guard considerable upon the magazine where the powder was, and that the Government was then so negligent that the lives of all the Protestants were exposed to the mercy of the Irish; that the settling of the militia was very dilatory; and that when the Protestants contracted with merchants for bringing in arms and ammunition and had obtained licences for it, those licences were again recalled to the manifest danger of the Protestants; and concluded that the Protestants could never be secure while the Government was in your Grace's hands. And when he talks with this

freedom to me I leave your Grace to judge what his behaviour is towards you amongst others. I resolve on Saturday to be at Windsor, where I will take an occasion of acquainting His Majesty with this, that when the reformation of the Council there is taken into consideration it may be remembered. But this justice I must do him, or rather Sir Richard Stephens, who forced him to acknowledge before my Lord Shaftesbury that your Grace proposed the Irish should be immediately disarmed as the English were formerly, but that matter was overruled by another person, with whose opinion the Council there concurred. Perhaps it is not much for your Grace's advantage that your opinion did not take place. And I am as little satisfied as another that you did not exercise the power His Majesty has placed in your hands; but if you will expose yourself, what can your servants answer for you? All I can say is that if your Grace will trust yourself and nobody else I dare answer it with my head if you suffer prejudice, but if you will let the world believe you are governed by others, it is such a reflection upon your prudence as no man can atone for. My Lord, I have always been a plain dealing man, and if I have any place in your friendship you will value me for it. My humble opinion is that your Grace should let the world see you are not influenced by any whatever, and then the devil himself cannot hurt you. Captain Frazer, being by his more important occasions necessitated to attend here in England, begs your Grace's permission that he may dispose of his company there, which I suppose your Grace will not deny him, the same liberty having been afforded to others in his condition. And since your Grace may choose his successor, I humbly conceive His Majesty's service will not suffer by any indulgence your Grace shall think fit to allow him in this particular.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, August 5, Blessinton.—I received the honour of your Grace's of the 2nd instant, with a copy of Mr. Secretary Coventry's letter concerning the Irish inhabitants of the town of Galway. It seems somewhat strange that such a positive order should be sent to the Chief Governor here without first consulting him in the point, who must be supposed to understand the affairs of that nature which are under his present view and government as well, if not better than any other persons at a distance can pretend unto. But since it hath not been thought fit to advise with your Grace about it, I must think (with submission) that you are rather delivered from a difficulty than involved in one. It ought (as I suppose) to be your Grace's satisfaction rather than trouble that it is not done after your advice had been first taken, for should your Grace's opinion have been given disagreeable to the Address of the House of Lords, perhaps

it might have been ill interpreted if the bend of that House at the next meeting should incline the same way they did before. Besides it is not certain what use might have been made thereof by some who are not over kind to your Grace's proceedings, but now those difficulties seem to be over, you have nothing to do but to obey and let the consequence be what it will your Grace is without blame. As to the order of the Council in this kingdom, that cannot certainly stick much in your way, but will soon be reversed by the same Council, when your Grace shall acquaint them with His Majesty's directions in that matter. It may perhaps be some question with your Grace whether it may be convenient to acquaint His Majesty with this order of Council, for by that your Grace's and the Council's sense will appear to be differing from the sense of the House of Lords. I cannot suppose there can be any force in that objection to your Grace's disadvantage, for what your Grace and the Council did therein was upon the opinion that the exclusion of the Irish out of that place and at that time would conduce to the prejudice and enfeebling of that garrison, and was done upon the application of the Protestant proprietors and inhabitants, who were principally concerned for the safety of that place because it included their own, but since His Majesty hath his sense to the contrary your Grace and Council have immediately submitted thereunto and ordered it accordingly. So that my humble advice is that your Grace should transmit those very reasons to Mr. Secretary which were the ground of your Grace's and the Council's judgment in the point, but not with any shew of insisting upon the weight of them until His Majesty's pleasure be farther known, for this would look like a kind of arguing His Majesty's orders upon the Address of the Lords.

I have presumed to give your Grace this long impertinent nothing upon this occasion, not knowing whether your Grace will be pleased to command my attendance at Kilkenny at the time appointed, when your Grace shall be informed that the same time (the 19th of this month) is the prefixed day for my being at my visitation at Drogheda, where all the clergy of the diocese of Armagh are long since summoned to meet me, and I am under an obligation of giving them some sort of a public treat, and I shall not return hither until the Saturday following. I humbly beg your Grace's pleasure herein by the first conveniency, that I may dispose myself accordingly, for your Grace's commands must ever govern me.

I had not troubled your Grace with the enclosed from my Lord of Orrery, but that his lordship hath desired me to do it. The complaint you will find not much worthy your Grace's time or notice, for the gentleman complained of hath ever been of good repute as to his affections for His Majesty's service, and hath shewed himself such in the worst of times.

The truth of it is he hath the qualification of Sir Nicholas Purdon's chaplain, he is quarrelsome in his drink. Something my Lord of Orrery will expect from me in answer thereunto when I have received your Grace's directions upon this mighty concern. This is not that Stawell who was the receiver for the fort, but it is his eldest brother, a man not much considerable in the world, either for his fortune or his parts.

[Encloses the following letter.]

EARL OF ORRERY TO PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, August 1, Castlemartyr.—About a fortnight since Mr. Beversham came hither and first told my Lord Archbishop of Tuam that his new brother-in-law had some days before at Bandon said to him that the King was no king without a Parliament, and that he said so more than once, and spoke those guilty words with oaths, and after he told the same things to me. I said they were very criminal words, and therefore desired him to set down in writing what he would justify. He said he would and went out of the room, and, as I thought, to do then what he had said. But about an hour after he came to me again but had not written the words, and told me he begged leave that he might write them to me from Cork, where he was then going. I told him the sooner the better. I then asked him whether any were present when Mr. Stawell spoke the words, and when and in what place they were spoken. He told me they were spoken some few days before, and that they were spoken in Mr. Stawell's own chamber about ten at night in an inn at Bandon, and that one Mr. Philpot was present. I desired him then to write to me in his promised letter from Cork where this Mr. Philpot lived, that I might send for and examine him. From Cork I received a letter from Mr. Beversham, of which the enclosed is a true copy for so much as concerns this affair. I instantly sent an express messenger for Mr. Philpot, who came hither yesterday, and having enjoined him to give me a true relation of what he knew in this business, he gave me a verbal one. I then did appoint him to give it me in writing, which accordingly he did, a true copy whereof I here also present to your Grace. And this morning as my Lord Archbishop of Tuam was with me in my chamber, I received a letter by an express messenger from Mr. Jonas Stawell, a true copy whereof I here also present to your Grace. And having thus done, I desire your Grace's judgment what is fit to be done by me on the whole matter, that accordingly I may proceed. I am a stranger to Mr. Stawell, but I have often heard he was not only in the worst of times a loyal subject, but also an eminent sufferer for being so. And if your Grace will have my own private thoughts on this whole affair, I believe Mr. Stawell is still what he was, and is believed to be so by most who know him, but is not free from the vice of drinking, and I believe in his drink spoke

those vile words, for Mr. Philpot owns he was so drunk when he spoke them that next morning when he was sober and Mr. Philpot blamed him for what he had said, he was so far from justifying that he remembered not he had said them, but was heartily sorry if he had spoken them. However, one vice is so far from excusing another that it aggravates the guilt in my opinion. But I look upon it as the words of his wine and not as the words of his heart. This being the true state of the thing as far as I can learn of it, I beg your Grace to lay it before his Excellency and that I may receive his or your Grace's pleasur for the better guidance of, etc.

Postscript.—I had the welcome favour this post of a letter from my Lord Blessington, which I assure your Grace I was not a little pleased with. I beseech God long to continue him his health and under a full sense of God's mercy in this last deliverance.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, August 5, Castlemartyr.—I received last night with all imaginable gratitude the great honour of your Excellency's letter of the 3rd instant, and was very glad to find in it that the duty of mine on the occasion of your Grace's arrival at Kilkenny was so favourably received.

I am very sorry that during this vacancy (considering the ill state and condition of this Kingdom) your Excellency's reiterated representations both to my Lord Essex and Mr. Secretary Coventry for the redress of it have not received the return which in my humble opinion the need seems to require. I will hope yet that a business of that high importance will be its own solicitor, and procure for your Grace speedily all requisite orders, for if those be not hastened I more than doubt there will hardly be time to be spared about Ireland when the Parliament of England meets, which, as my London letters say, 'tis declared it shall on the 17th of October next.

However, your Grace will have the honest comfort that you have not omitted to represent and to press for what you did judge requisite for His Majesty's service and the safety of this his kingdom, the posture of which is such that I think a Parliament only can substantially mend it; for I fear such retrenchments as can be made and such frugality as can be designed are plasters too narrow for our sores. Such methods may be of good effect in private families, but where a whole nation needs quick remedies, I fear only national contributions will prove solidly effectual. But all that, I apprehend, will be but patching work, which I never was very fond of, for I have still observed it to be slow uncertain and commonly unacceptable. But God's will and the King's must always be obeyed, and their time must be waited for.

My Lady Clancarty is very desirous if it may stand with your Excellency's pleasure to have the Scotch company

continued at Macroom, and I humbly think it will be of safety to the country.

We have lately had two unlucky accidents. A Scotch drummer refusing to bring his drum on the guard when commanded by his serjeant, and, giving the serjeant ill language, the serjeant with his stick struck the drummer, who instantly drew his sword and ran it up to the hilts through the serjeant's thigh, who fell; the officers coming in the drummer was run through the body and died that night. Notice thereof being instantly sent me, I ordered the law to be fully prosecuted. I doubt the serjeant also will die of his wound. One of Captain Lockhart's servants, just as that company was ready to march out of Cork, shot by accident an English gentleman in the streets and killed him dead on the place. The soldier in Captain Melvin's company who killed his comrade in a duel, and who I ordered to be sent to Cork Gaol, is fled with the iron bolts on one of his feet. Some runaways of the Scotch Regiment being taken, and the officers sending to me for orders what to do, I appointed them to be sent to Cork, there to be proceeded against at a Court Martial according to your Excellency's Articles of War, but where life or limb is to be touched, first humbly to inform your Grace, and then to stop proceedings till your commands are signified.

I have just now an express from Kinsale, with notice that some of our West Indian ships are safely arrived there. I have a great complaint of false wall work made in the fort of Rincorran, which I have sent Thorsby to examine.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1679, August 6.—I am to take this first opportunity of signifying to your Excellency that my Lord James is now safely returned hither, a place, tho' perhaps not so desirable to him as the Court which he has left, yet, I hope, of more real advantage to him, and which may contribute to the rendering his future conversation in the courts of princes more successful both to himself and to the public. I am also to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's commands in behalf of Mr. Lane, which I shall endeavour to obey, as I doubt not but the Vice-Chancellor will, who is now entered upon his office, being hastened by the Warden of Winchester's earnest desire to remove to his new administration.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, August 7.—I return Mr. Recorder Worth's letter and beseech you to take the pains to thank him in my behalf not only for remembering so well what I recommended to his care, but for his kind invitation. I shall whilst I am in this Government have use of his diligence and prudence in his station, but I do not think I shall this year give him trouble of my company, but I depend on both as occasion shall offer.

The last letters I had from London confirm my Lord of Ranelagh's intention to pass over. Those that are not his friends do much apprehend his great dexterity will bring him off in triumph, and they say he brags that he knows all our blind sides and how to deal with us ; but I neither believe all that is said of him or by him. It concerns him to make use of all his own abilities and other men's defects of any kind, and it also concerns all that are to act any part in his affairs as judges or examiners to be as vigilant and circumspect of him and his partners and agents as fair and just towards them, and this is the temper and conduct I propose to myself and wish in [*two lines illegible through fire here*] in itself of great importance to the King and his subjects of this kingdom, and in the consequence may extend further than at first sight may be thought.

Your Grace, I presume, has seen the trial of Sir George Wakeman and the others that were acquitted, so much to the wonder of many and discontent of more. The consequence of that acquittal may reach far, and without question is well understood by parties most immediately concerned on both hands. God of His mercy direct all for the peace and good settlement of the Crown, Church and People of these kingdoms. It is written out of England that Sir Tho. Armstrong is dismissed the Court, and I suppose in consequence from his military employment in the Guards, the ground not said, but not hard to conjecture.

Postscript.—[*a line is illegible here*] the account signed by my Lord of Ranelagh's co-partners in England I know not what it imports or what change it may make in the manner of proceeding in that affair, but whenever I shall be told it may be necessary for me to be near the Comrs, I will hasten to them. It is said Roger Moore discourses more favourably of the undertakers than formerly. If he has raised the price of his atonement by getting into office under the Commissioners and under colour of preparing matters for them, it will be discovered, and he will lose ground in my opinion ; but I hope it is but groundless suspicion, and perhaps of such as would themselves do so if they were in his case. However, I thought it not unfit to give your Grace the intimation I have had.

REV. TIMOTHY HALTON to ORMOND.

1679, August 7, Queen's College, Oxford.—I should have esteemed it a very great happiness if your Excellency would have spared me from being Vice-Chancellor in respect of the great number of persons who are every way better qualified for that employment than myself. But since 'tis your Excellency's pleasure I shall discharge it as faithfully as I can. At the same time almost I have received your Excellency's letter in favour of Mr. Lane, whose interest I shall promote to the utmost of my power, as being always ready to manifest myself, etc.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1679, August 8, Whitehall.—I wrote to your Grace some few days past from Windsor, at which time I applauded much my Lord Ossory's journey into Spain, and nothing since could occur to me to make me like it less but that some letters from your Grace received since the writing mine seem to say it is not so agreeable to you, but I hope you will be pleased to give something to my being here upon the place and not altogether a stranger to that Court whither he is to go and to carry from His Majesty a jewell to his neice to the value of 10,000*l.* which must needs adorn his errand and is in itself one of the genteelest that can ever befall him to be employed in, and will not be either of so long a duration or expense as your Grace may perhaps fancy it will be : in a word, my opinion is that he need not spend any more than he gets by the journey, and the case being so that in honour and *éclat* he will be a gainer by it. Now if these or any other better reflections can induce you to like it I hope you will be easily prevailed with to write a letter to Don. Juan de Austria, to whom you were so well known in the Low Countries, and from whom you received much courtesy, at least at the rate that courtesy went then.

The next matter I have to trouble your Grace with is to give you an account of the discourse I had with His Majesty upon your subject at my leaving Windsor ; it will not be necessary to tell you how I introduced it and with how much impatience His Majesty heard me offer at giving him any reasons why he should continue you in that government. He protested it had never entered into his thoughts to remove you ; he would not deny but others (who are full counsel now as to his affairs) might wish it, but for himself he knew no subject fitter for it than you, nor in whose hands he could better trust it, and for conclusion bade me assure you with all confidence that as long as he kept his place you should keep yours, but added it would not be enough I should tell you this, he would do it himself and by the first post. This is what I hope will be very acceptable to your Grace. I am sure it was to me and all your friends to whom I imparted it, especially when I ventured to assure them they might believe it and depend upon it.

Now, if all this will not get me my hawk I am an unlucky man. I have a small business of 1,250 pounds from my Lord Ranelagh, and my share in the lapse money, which I will give you some leisure for. I am going to Euston until the Parliament meets, to make this time pass as quickly as I can, for at October we must look to hear things that will make our ears tingle.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, August 9.—The King, a little after his discourse with my Lord Chamberlain, told me the substance of it and said

many kind things in confirmation of them. I saw my Lord Chamberlain's letter concerning my Spanish journey, unto which I promise myself your consent, else I shall easily desist. I have formerly sent you an account of the method used in Holland for clothing the army, as also what their pay is, Since our soldiers have more and live in a cheaper country, I know no reason why they should not be as well accoutered as the horseguards of the Prince of Orange, who have little more than half that those in Ireland have, yet are much better clothed and mounted. You will pardon me if I mind you of having the army better exercised; the Scotch Regiment can instruct and let them see how wanting they are in this particular. I doubt not but you will think it proper to send over my brother towards the time of the Parliament's sitting and to consider of the several addresses made by the Lords concerning Ireland, unto which a satisfactory account will be required and very necessary for you to give. James is gone to Oxford. I have given him the best advice I could, but when I consider how little good the best admonitions did me when of his years, I cannot reasonably hope they will work upon him. Sir Charles Meredith spoke to me of an employment laid upon him by you and the Board in countersigning the orders of the Farmers, and that a recompense was promised to him and Dr. Topham, his associate, in Sir J. Cuffe's place. I do entreat you in this particular to endeavour to see him fair justice, and to befriend him in all other things, for I assure you I know not any of our friends that have carried themselves better towards you than he has done, and for myself I must own myself very much obliged to him. The sooner you write will be the better, and I will join mine with my Lord of Essex's endeavours to serve him.

SIR NICHOLAS ARMORER to ORMOND.

1679, August 9, London.—Since my being here I have not been able to give your Grace any account worth your trouble. The day I came hither the King was embarked in his yacht for Portsmouth. Your Grace's old friend, Ned Villiers, took me along with him down the river, where we overtook the King at Greenwich at dinner, His Majesty was in very good humour and asked with great kindness after your Grace's health, only used me as your Grace and Mr. Secretary does, was a little too bold with my countenance at first, but in the close was more obliging, and declared in the presence of all that I was returned an Irish beauty, that he had known me thirty-five years and never saw me look so well. I made bold to beg it under his hand. That the said was needless since the face would vouch for itself. Before he sailed, he told me we should have guns, and commanded me to go to the Commissioners of the Ordnance, whom I have attended at the Tower, who can do nothing until the return of Sir Tho.

Chicheley, who is now in Cheshire ; but Sir John, his son, tells me he will be here the next week, and then I shall attend and get them together, but in short they tell me we can have no guns without money, and how hard that will be to get here I think I need not tell your Grace. The King commanded me to attend him at Windsor after his return and bring him the draught of what was done, which I intend to do to-morrow morning with Mr. Powell, who expresses great honour and service for your Grace ; he is lately married to the lady Dorset and not like to have a great charge of children.

Sir John Chicheley took Mr. Crispine's papers to have them read at the Navy Board when it is a full Board. I was there with some of them. I think they will understand Crispine as he is. Here will be little business done till after Newmarket, all people being gone to their country friends or to the waters. I shall omit no opportunity to hasten my return, being weary of every corner already, except Enfield Chase and the old gentleman there. I hope he gives your Grace thanks for his garrans himself, he is mighty fond of *Dun* and hopes to recover him.

I have writ to my Lord of Arran of a discourse my Lord Chamberlain had lately with the King, which the King commanded my lord to write to your Grace, and said he would write it to you himself. God continue him in that good mind is the wishes of all good men.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, August 9, Whitehall.—The last week H. Thynne gave your Grace an accompt of the reports made by the Commissioners of the Treasury to the several letters. I have not advanced any further in that matter till I know how far you are satisfied with those alterations by them made, which when declared I shall get the letters drawn accordingly and transmit them to your Grace. Mr. Attorney wrote me a letter concerning the draught of a letter to be sent me by your Grace for putting in a son of his into the reversion of the Hamper Office, but there is no such letter come yet to me, so I am not able to serve him in it, but when the letter cometh from your Grace I shall endeavour it the best I can.

I cannot but acquaint your Grace that here hath been a malicious report raised that your Grace should write a letter to His Majesty with these or such like expressions :—That upon the news of the rebellion in Scotland the Protestants in Ireland pricked up their ears, but upon their defeat they seemed much crestfallen. Being told of it, I answered you had never wrote any such thing to me, and I believed not to His Majesty, but that I would inquire of the King, which accordingly on Thursday last I did, and he frankly declared never to have received any such letter from you ; but from thence fell into another discourse, which I cannot

but transmit to your Grace. "My Lord of Ormond is worse used then," said he, "for I hear the Coffee-houses have disposed of his lieutenancy ; but the gentlemen are very much mistaken, for I know no man whose service I can less spare than my Lord of Ormond's, and I had never more need of men of his principles than now," and seemed to say he would let you know it under his own hand, but that being a work he goeth somewhat slow to, I thought fitting to give your Grace this accompt as I had it from his own mouth. We have now a recess from Councils till the Wednesday after Michaelmas.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, August 12, Carrick.—I hope your children are by this time with you either with or without Mrs. Ferrers. I shall determine nothing concerning Tom Fairfax till I come to Kilkenny, nor of any vacancy upon Chester's death. I send you my Lord of Longford's letter to you, and assure you as plain as the English he writ is I cannot collect the sense. He expresses great kindness and I am sure means kindly, but every little story he hears gives him a hot alarm for me ; and the worst is he has forgot that he informed me of the same things before and had answers to them, which I have been fain to tell him and desire him to look over all the letters I writ to him since the discovery of the Plot.

Mr. N. in a letter to me says that my Lord Ranelagh doubts not but to make you his friend for a little money ; so there is plain dealing on all hands. But what angers me is that my lord as well as he seems to fear I shall be taken off and supposes we may toss my Lord Ranelagh in a blanket if we will. He tells me Sir H. Ingoldsby is fierce against me, and sets down all he says, which is just the libel supposed to be the Bishop of Meath's, to the material parts of which he remembers not he has answers by him.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, August 12, Dublin.—I am to acknowledge the honour of three of your Grace's of the 7th instant, and likewise one of the 8th. I have according to your Grace's commands writ to the Recorder of Cork that your going into that country this summer is somewhat uncertain, and that the probability lies rather in the negative, and I acknowledged from your Grace the civility of his invitation.

Captain Stone was with me at Blessinton and shewed me Sir James Shaen's paper, by which it is very evident that the partners do not agree amongst themselves, but that they drive on different designs, which may bring this advantage to His Majesty's service, that their wrangles may conduce to a discovery and detection of that mystery which they have hitherto kept private to themselves. Upon the receipt of your Grace's I sent immediately to Dublin to appoint

a meeting of the Comrs. upon the accompts, but I find nobody here but Sir John Davis and Mr. Yarnar. My Lord Chief Justice is ill of the gout, and could not come to us ; he sent his excuse.

The Auditor's Office is miserably neglected. Their peculiar employment in this affair is like that of the common apposers in the Exchequer. They should inquire into all the difficulties of the accompts and propose them to the Commissioners, but neither Chappel nor Pilkinton were present ; only a stranger attended who understood but little of the business, and indeed as it happened there was not much need of him, for Mr. Stepney, being called upon to know what he had to object to those accompts which were transmitted by your Grace and Lordships into England, he said that he knew not what those were, but that he had received the copy of an account which ended the 25th of December, '75, signed by all his partners in England, and that the original was in Captain Stone's hands, and that he was directed by them to proceed upon that account. I told him that it was very improper for us to admit of a new account at this time of the day ; that we (the Comrs.) had presented to the Lord Lieutenant and Council long since an account under our hands ; that your Grace and Council had remitted this into England ; that the Lords of the Council had returned this again to your Grace with directions how that account should be proceeded on to a final determination of the whole undertaking ; and for us to receive a new accompt, and that to determine the 25th of December were to lay aside all that hath been doing all this time, and to proceed contrary to the several directions out of England, which was for a final accompt ; and that by such an accompt as he mentioned, the King could not in any degree be satisfied of the true state of the undertaking. Mr. Stepney answered that they would proceed immediately after that accompt was stated to a perfect and conclusive state of the undertaking. I told him that was more than we could reasonably expect, they having delayed us all this time ; but if they would make use of anything in this new accompt either to enlarge or rectify what is amiss in their former accompt that we would hear them to it ; but to begin a new method now we found no reason to induce us, but must wholly submit that unto your Grace's and the Council's pleasure, unto whom he was (as he said) directed by his partners to present this new accompt. Mr. Stepney told us that the former account which was given us, and upon which we proceeded, was not founded upon a sufficient authority, for though the authority which he had was seemingly subscribed by all his partners, yet it was not Mr. Dashwood's hand, but that some person subscribed his name officiously thereunto ; unto which he was answered that he and his partners were to look to that ; that was not our business.

By discourse with Mr. Stepney I find that they have not brought into this new accompt upon which they would proceed either the 24,000*l.* which was borrowed from the King, or the 80,000*l.* to the King, and some other great payments besides, but they would refer these to a subsequent and final accompt, by which I apprehend that to recover their reputations they would conclude one account at December which must certainly leave the King in their debt, and for the great and final account which doubtless will change the balance exceedingly (those great sums being to be then accounted for) that they will take what time for that they shall think most convenient for their business. I was willing to give your Grace an account of all that hath passed in this matter as well as I could recollect, which is the cause that I have trespassed thus extremely upon your Grace's patience, for which I humbly beg your Grace's pardon.

I have since my coming hither inquired into Mr. Moore's proceedings upon the substance of his complaint, and for as much as appears to me he is as zealous as ever he was. And when those Commissioners for that inquiry were before us this day, and they doubted that the Commission by which they were to proceed was not sufficient to justify them in those particulars they might find convenient for the discovery and for the advantage of the service, Mr. Moore said that he apprehended that their present authority was sufficient, and that it was a nicety to scruple it. However, for their satisfaction they were desired by the Commissioners of Accompts that they would draw up into a paper the particulars wherein they thought their authority was short, that they may be presented to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, which is accordingly preparing, and will be presented to your Grace by Colonel Dillon, whom I find acting amongst them as one of their number; but until the return of your Grace's sense upon that paper they are resolved to proceed with diligence upon the authority they already have.

I do not suppose that Sir Charles Meredith will be here as soon as your Grace expects, for I find by Dr. Topham that his stay there at present is principally to obtain some favour from His Majesty in the behalf of himself and of Dr. Topham for the extraordinary pains they have taken in his service; for his encouragement therein your Grace was pleased to tell Sir Charles that you would recommend them both to His Majesty's favour by a letter in their behalfs unto Mr. Secretary Coventry; but Sir Charles having applied himself to Mr. Secretary Coventry upon that account, he cannot find by him that your Grace's letter is received; so that he supposeth that either your Grace's letter miscarried or that amongst the multitude of other business you forgot to write; and I perceive by Dr. Topham that he is resolved to continue at London until he understands your Grace's farther pleasure therein. If your Grace will be pleased to enclose your letter

for Mr. Secretary Coventry unto me, I will take care to have it sent unto Sir Charles Meredith. I must needs suppose that there is some miscarriage of this letter, for I very well remember that when I waited upon your Grace about Sir Charles Meredith, your Grace told me that you had written in their behalfs to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

I have sent your Grace the enclosed, which I received from Sir Wm. Davis, because it concerns the matter for which you now summon the Council to Kilkenny. I am not capable of giving him much advice in that matter, for I presume your letters out of England will govern that affair, notwithstanding any proceedings of the judges in the country. Since I came hither to Dublin I am surprised with a fit of the gout somewhat sharper than usual: what it intends to do with me I cannot yet foresee, but at present it appears somewhat unkind and very unseasonable. It is high time I should conclude your Grace's trouble and my own rudeness. I pray God bless your Grace and all yours.

Postscript.—Mr. Stepney tells me that he expects my Lord Ranelagh here by the next packet.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, August 12, Windsor. — I have not anything since my last to trouble your withal, only again to let you know that I find Sir Charles Meredith a very worthy friend, and one that though perhaps he may wish better to a person that has highly obliged him than to us, which yet I cannot perceive by any word or action of his; yet, granting that, I think he will be so far from endeavouring you a prejudice as I am confident he would be glad of any opportunity of serving you which may not oppose his other friendship; and if this be his mind, I see no reason why he should not from us receive all the testimonies of good-will that can be given him. I entreat you therefore to be careful of his concern, which I recommended to you wherein yours and the Council's word is engaged in a letter I think you writ by him to the Secretary. I find he expected you would, with the good things you said of him, have mentioned that affair.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, August 13, Carrick.—Having written to my Lord Chamberlain of your Spanish journey, I have no more to say to you of it than that tho' it is hard for you to determine in such times as these that there can be no use of your being in some of these kingdoms, yet is very possible it may so fall out that your being out of the way upon the account you propose may be convenient. The matter of expense will regard yourself principally, both in present and for the future, and so I leave it to your own conduct.

I am glad James is gone to Oxford again, having seen a letter from the Bishop to Dr. Moreton complaining of his remove and of the too much credit given to some little stories, and of the too little confidence reposed in him. All I desire is that he may not be stirred thence till I may have some knowledge of it and of what shall be designed to be done with him.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1679, August 14, Carrick.—I have not been far, yet I have been in so much motion, and that being of late unusual with me so indisposed me as to writing, that I must beg your lordship's pardon that I have not yet answered your letters dated before that of the 11th, which I received this morning as I was getting a-horseback. So that having left your letters at Kilkenny I am to say something in general upon my memory.

Whatever disorder or misfortune hath happened in the Scottish Regiment either amongst themselves or with any of the King's subjects, triable and determinable by law, ought and I presume will be so proceeded in, and if the runaways can be so prosecuted and the crime made capital, as some lawyers have told me they may by virtue of some statute, one fit example of that kind would do more good than anything that can be inflicted on them by a Court Martial, and of this I shall write to my Lord Chief Justice Keating, who is now at Waterford. But if he shall be of opinion that the law will not reach the crime, or if it be thought that a jury will be loath to find the matter of fact, the consequence being the loss of life, it will be best to proceed as far as we may prudently to punish deserters by a Court Martial.

As to what concerns Mr. Villars and Roe I return your lordship the information enclosed in yours, desiring that you would send for Roe and examine him how he durst presume to send a challenge to a gentleman of Mr. Villars his quality and place in the King's service; and if either he shall confess his having sent such a challenge, or if it can be proved against him, I conceive your lordship should take sufficient security of him to appear before the Council at Dublin the first Council day the next term there to answer for his misdemeanour. I conceive he will not be hard to be found, since he had the confidence to send me a petition this morning complaining of his having been disarmed, which that he may appear before your lordship I have referred to you. If I thought the law would sufficiently vindicate the honour and authority of the Board upon this occasion, I would refer it thither, but I think the Council will best judge of and determine the matter.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, August 15, Kilkenny.—I never complain of the length of letters, either that I can or need not answer; all that is

necessary to be said to your Grace's of the 12th is that as by it I have clear information of the present desires and pretensions of some of the accountants for the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners' undertaking, so it does not occur to me what your Grace and the rest of the Commissioners can yet do more than you have done. I know not how to judge of the agreement or dissension of the undertakers by any thing they say or do. I find them often railing at one another and refusing to act in concert, and yet it is visible enough they agree in delaying a conclusion of the matter; but there is no reason their falling out, tho' it should be in earnest, or their combination if it be artificial, should frustrate the industry and pains of the Commissioners or retard the legal prosecution commanded and expected, and that and nothing else is it which is like to discover the true state of that affair and all the mysteries belonging to it. When Colonel Dillon shall bring the paper there will be a want of some of the Commissioners to help me and the Council to judge of the fitness of any further authority that shall be required.

I did tell your Grace that I had written to Mr. Secretary Coventry much in the commendation of Sir Charles Meredith and it is true, but I did not propose any augmenting of his or Dr. Topham's salary, nor do I remember that I promised to do it, being unwilling that any addition of charge upon this Revenue should be proposed first by me; but what I writ I thought would incline the King to think it reasonable at least to refer a further allowance to them to my report, which I was and still am ready to make as favourable as I can when the consideration of it shall be referred to me; but it must be their labour to procure such a reference. The letter I writ to Mr. Secretary was about the same time Sir Charles went, and I found by returns to that letter that the Secretary did a little wonder that he had not received a visit or any kind of application from Sir Charles in many weeks after he was at London, considering how advantageous a character I had given of him. This is the true state of that affair as far as I can remember, which I desire your Grace to impart to Dr. Topham, that he, if he thinks fit, may send it to Sir Charles, from whom having no letter since he went, I know not what to say to him. I am sorry your Grace is so unseasonably attacked by the gout. I receive little consolation in that case when men tell me it will lengthen my life and therefore will not offer it for your case.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, August 17, Windsor.—As to what concerns my son, which is the subject of your last of the 11th of this month, you will before this have heard of his return to Oxford, there to stay during your pleasure. I assure you his education and welfare are the things in the world in which I am most solicitous; all your friends do believe him well provided

for by having St. Helene to go abroad with him and to inspect his learning, his exercises, and Mons. D'Arincourt [Drelincourt] to keep him to his study, and above all in his religion. Whether being in an academy or extern, I confess their being objections and arguments on both sides I know not what to advise; if you please to determine the point I shall rest satisfied, otherwise I am for taking the opinions of those persons unto whom he is intrusted when they are upon the place. Your allowance is sufficient, and I think more than others of his quality have there, of his years, and I charged Mons. D'Arincourt that he is not in the least to exceed when they are in France. I hope you do not think me capable of engaging myself in anything of importance without your leave; if my being absent and an impossibility of staying for it does not prevent it. In this concerning my Spanish journey I left myself room for a retreat until I knew your mind. To be exact in my duty towards you has been and ever shall be the care and study of my life. Being at London two days since, I received commands to hasten hither to accompany Lady Anne to Brussels. I found at my coming that this was not agreeable to the Queen, so she ordered things with the King as I am excused from that expedition. My Lord of Shaftesbury's emissaries are very busy in raising jealousies of your not being careful for the Protestant interest. They complain of the excessive rates of powder, and do little value truth in what they affirm. I wish you would early consider what the addresses of the House of Lords were relating to Ireland, that satisfactory reasons may be given why they were not complied withal. I have sent you formerly the method used in Holland for clothing their army, and what the pay is of horse and foot, and what is deducted upon the account of equipping of them, that as far as you judge reasonable you may follow such rules. If you see the regiment late of my Lord of Dumbarton you will find by them that in point of exercising our foot are very defective. The King said the other day that he would have them beat the Scotch march, and for their rank it should be the same as was allowed them here.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

[1679, August.]—I have received a lamentable letter from Sir Francis Brewster from Dingle. He complains mightily that the people in that place are so apprehensive of the Turks that they have quit their houses and the country in a great degree, and if your Grace will not recover them their hearts again by sending a company into Dingle to countenance them against the attempts of that formidable enemy, he doubts that part of the country will be utterly forsaken. Your Grace, as I remember, did promise them a company, and the Corporation upon your Grace's promise have raised 20*l.* to fit up the castle for the receipt of the soldiers (as he tells

me). I humbly presume to become your Grace's remembrancer in that particular, for certainly there is not a place in all Kerry that stands more in need of a company than Dingle. I begin my journey towards Drogheda upon Monday next, and hope to be returned upon the Saturday following.

[*Endorsed* : Received August 17, 1679.]

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, August 19.—I have received one from your Grace of the instant. I have not had any discourse with my Lord of Essex concerning the letter you mentioned. The truth is all of us Councillors are so scattered that we meet not but by accident, there being no day appointed for any of us to meet either at London or Windsor ; only I hear that Sir John Temple is come over and hath been some days at Cassiobury where his brother Sir William met him. I had some discourse on the 7th instant with His Majesty about a Parliament in Ireland, and can only tell you this : I find him no way of opinion there should be held two Parliaments together, so I suppose you must expect the event of this next session here before anything will be determined concerning a Parliament with you. But the coming of Sir John Temple will, I hope, remove a'l obstacles concerning the bills you sent us, that when the season shall be judged fit we may not lose time in adjusting those doubts.

As to the other letter from your Grace and the Council to me with the enclosed petition of Peter Talbot and the certificates, I could not shew it the Council for the reason above mentioned, that no Council is to meet till the Thursday after Michaelmas ; but I shewed it His Majesty, who commanded me to return this answer, that you and the Council can best judge of the matter of fact asserted in the petition, and if you judge him to be in that desperate condition, His Majesty is contented you should let him go into the country for the air, provided you take sufficient bail and all other ways provide against his escape. The King and Council here have given leave to my Lord Bellasis for a short time to go into the country, but besides his bail they have appointed two of the warders of the Tower to be with him at his house, but as to this I have no order to give your Grace any directions. I only acquaint you with it as my own observation, and I suppose your order if you give it will be that he return whenever your Grace shall think fitting to summon him. And this is what I had from His Majesty in answer to the letter sent me by your Grace and Council of the — instant. As concerning Mr. Hayes and my Lord Ranelagh's affairs, till the re-meeting of the Council I can give your Grace no further account.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, August 19, Dublin.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 15th instant, and shewed to Dr. Topham as much

thereof as concerned Sir Charles Meredith, and have given him a copy thereof according to your Grace's directions, which I presume is very sufficient in that affair. I hear nothing yet of my Lord Ranelagh's landing, but I have now received the enclosed from my Lord Conway, which speaks something of his purposes to leave London this last week, but I hear no more of it. I know not from whom your Grace received the copy of Mr. Ottrington's letter, nor is it material I should, but it appears by that that the partners are upon different interests, and it is to be hoped that those disagreements will bring the whole matter to some clearness.

I formerly acquainted your Grace that I writ to my Lord Conway about the necessity of a Parliament in this kingdom before the King's affairs could be put into any tolerable posture. His lordship shewed my letter (as I apprehended he would) and the enclosed is a return thereunto. If I may receive any further commands from your Grace upon that account or upon any other, they shall be faithfully observed. Your Grace will be pleased to return my Lord Conway's letter, for I have not yet made any answer thereunto.

Postscript.—I am now taking coach to Drogheda, and purpose to return upon Friday, where I may receive your Grace's commands if you have any for me.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to MAYOR AND GOVERNOR
OF GALWAY.

1679, August 20.—After our hearty commendations, whereas by order of this Board of the 23rd of July last several inhabitants of the town of Galway (upon entering into recognizance in such manner as by the said order is directed and upon certificate of the Judge of Assize) were to be admitted to return to the said town and reside and follow their lawful occasions there, we now think fit hereby to require you forthwith to return unto us a particular list of the names of all the persons who upon certificate of the Judge of Assize are before your receipt hereof admitted, and have actually removed and settled themselves with their families in the said town; and we require you also for special reasons of His Majesty's service to take care that none of the said persons by the said order to be restored, but such as are so actually removed and settled with their families be admitted to return and reside in the said town pursuant to the said order, notwithstanding they have entered into such recognizance and obtained certificate from the said judge thereupon. And so we bid you heartily farewell from the Castle of Kilkenny the 20th day of August, 1679.

To our loving friends the Mayor and Governor of the Town of Galway These, your loving friends,

ORMOND,

JO. DUBLIN, GRANARD, LANESBOROUGH, HEN.
MIDENSIS, ROB. FITZGERALD, CA. DILLON, RO.
BOOTH, JON. DAVIS, JON. COLE, THEO. JONES,
MAU. EUSTACE.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1679, August 21, London.—If I am the first that importune your Grace in the behalf of pious and learned Dr. Fall, it will be a testimony that none have more regard than I to your Grace's honour and esteem in the world. It is rare enough for great and good men to come over from the Church of Rome to our Church. This reverend man, as I have heard some of our most eminent bishops say, is the greatest divine since the Archbishop of Spalato that hath not only become a proselyte of but appeared a champion for the Church of England, and written that in defence thereof which our adversaries never had the courage to attempt the answer to. But how it comes to pass I know not (if we be in earnest for our religion) that this learned man is so far from receiving the patronage he merits that he is rather by the artifices of some and lukewarmness of others discountenanced, '*nec facile emergit cuius virtutibus obstat res angusta domi*,' whilst he works in the fire against the enemies of the Church and to establish weak ones in the faith, he is weakly supported for his livelihood, who ought to have rather a redundancy, that his studies so usefully employed may receive no interruption.

Your Grace's noble predecessor, the Earl of Essex, did not only give him countenance, but laid the first foundation for his maintenance, which is nibbled at (as your Grace will find by the enclosed memorial) in your time. My first request in his behalf is that he may have your Grace's protection, and after that I refer to your Grace's consideration whether many dignities and preferments have not been filled since your Grace's going over, and whether any more learned and worthy than he have had them. I am not herein an unfriendly remembrancer to your Grace, and I am sure it will be very welcome news to your old friends the Bishop of Winchester and me and many others, that you think of him at last, and I know nothing your Grace can do that will give so general satisfaction or more recommend your Grace's zeal to the Church and care of the conversion of that poor superstitious people and advancement of religion in that nation than to see you prefer such of them as come into us and are subject to none of the scandals that some of their converts have been. If my motion succeed I shall rejoice in it, not only as being an instrument of good to a deserving person, but as having thereby testified my being, etc.

CHIEF JUSTICE KEATING to ORMOND.

1679, August 22, Cork.—Since our arrival at this place we received letters from the Earl of Orrery, whereof the enclosed is a copy, which I presume to send your Grace, as also the copy of a letter which we received from a gentleman in Limerick. That which induced me to give your Grace this trouble is that I am assured by divers in this place that Henaghan the person mentioned so often in the Earl of

Orrery's letter, had divers friends at Dublin who endeavour to procure his pardon.

Your Grace will find in one paragraph of the Earl of Orrery's letter that he tells us of Mr. Henaghan's travels in France, Holland and Flanders, and that he had told him divers things of consequence which he affirmeth to him he will make good, from whence I took occasion to write to his lordship praying his further advice and letting him know that if we proceeded against Henaghan and he be found guilty and executed, the King would be at a loss for evidence to make good the matters discovered unto his lordship, except his lordship had some other means of proof than that of Henaghan's own testimony. We are in this place hard put to it for jurors to do the service of the country, the inhabitants of the county being in great fear to lose their harvest by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather, which makes them keep close at home to watch all opportunities, and indeed the rains and storms here have been extraordinary. So that I fear we shall with great difficulty (if at all) get into Kerry.

[Encloses letter from the Earl of Orrery to the Judge of Assize, concerning the evidence of one Henaghan, who is stated to be able to give information of treasonable conspiracy connected with the Plot, and also giving information of the arrival of two Irish priests in Ireland, as follows]:—
 "I must also acquaint your lordships that he gave me advice of two Irish Popish priests who were to land in Kerry out of France, and who came fully instructed from their confederates at Paris, whose persons and papers if I could take would discover much. I had secretly watches in all the parts of Kerry to apprehend them at their landing. Henaghan gave me notice that they would come over habited like gentlemen. The one of them landed last June, and as soon as the ship came into the harbour my men went on board, but the master at last confessed that a gentleman that came over from France a passenger with him would be landed in a creek and not in the port, he saying that creek was much nearer to the place he was going unto than the Ventry was, and therefore the master landed him there, the weather being fair, and so we missed of taking him. The other priest is not yet landed that I hear of."

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to HENRY COVENTRY,
 PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

1679, August 23, Kilkenny Castle.—Soon after the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant directed to me, the Lieutenant, His Majesty's service requiring a meeting of his Privy Council, I, the Lieutenant, acquainted them with that part of your said letter which gave me intimation of a malicious report raised that I should have written to the King these or the like expressions :—That upon the news of the rebellion in Scotland the Protestants in Ireland pricked up their ears,

but that upon their defeat they seemed much crestfallen. You further intimated that being spoken to of the said report, you answered that I had written no such thing to you, nor as you believed to the King, but that you would ask His Majesty whether I had or no, which you having accordingly done he was pleased thereupon not only to declare that I had written no words to that effect to him, but also to express his gracious opinion of me and acceptance of my endeavours in his service, for which just vindication and most gracious expressions of his favour and confidence in my fidelity I am most humbly thankful.

And we all presume upon this occasion with all humility to assure His Majesty that there was so little ground for that false and scandalous report that tho' the rebellion in Scotland was matter of great grief and trouble of mind to all His Majesty's good Protestant subjects of this kingdom, in that it might (tho' unjustly) bring some reproach upon the profession by the advantage that might be taken thereof by the Papists ; yet (to our unspeakable comfort) we found that not only His Majesty's army but his militia and all the nobility, gentry, magistrates and commons professing the Protestant religion (except some very few inconsiderable persons of the Non-Conformists) were and we are confident will be ready with us to expose their lives and fortunes to all hazards for the maintenance and preservation of His Majesty's Royal person and Government against all rebellions and insurrections whatsoever, being thereto indispensably obliged not only in duty and loyalty and by the dictates of religion and conscience, but in gratitude and thankfulness for the many testimonies we have received of his great clemency towards his subjects and most gracious protection of them in the profession of the true Protestant religion, especially in these times when the adversaries thereof appear to have laid desperate designs for the utter subversion of it, and whatever may be suggested or suspected to the contrary in these days of too much liberty of speaking and writing or whatever may be hoped for by those that are enemies to His Majesty's Government and the true religion established in these kingdoms (who can only hope for success in their pernicious designs by divisions amongst us, which God avert) we are confident by the blessing of God that this kingdom will be preserved in peace and loyalty ; and that it may be so maintained is the hearty prayer and shall be the faithful endeavours of us who account it our great happiness to be His Majesty's most dutiful subjects and most obedient servants. And so we remain from the castle of Kilkenny, the 23rd day of August, 1679.

[Signed], ORMOND,

JO. DUBLIN, ARRAN, GRANARD, LANESBOROUGH, HEN.
MIDENSIS, RO. FITZGERALD, CA. DILLON, ED.
BRABAZON, RO. BOOTH, JON. DAVYS, JOHN COLE,
THEO. JONES, THO. RADCLIFFE.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, August 24, Kilkenny Castle.—The Privy Council meeting here to consider what was fit to be done concerning the readmission or exclusion of some of the Popish inhabitants of Galway and some other things, I thought it might be convenient to acquaint them with the report you gave me notice of about the letter I am charged to have written to the King, which gives such offence and scandal on that side, and might do on this, if so false an imputation should meet with no contradiction. And tho' the Council would not affirm that I had wrote no such letter, yet what they have thought fit to say makes it very improbable I should have so little wit as to charge all the Protestants of this kingdom who only were armed and drawn together to suppress the Scotch rebellion (if need should be) with favour to it. I am sorry this letter you will receive herewith will not be so soon communicated to the Council of England as I think might be convenient; but if His Majesty shall think it may serve to any good use to have it made public you will easily find the way of doing it. I think it so necessary here that the Protestants should not believe they are falsely and maliciously represented by me that I have allowed as many of the Council as shall desire it to take copies of the letter, which is no ill way of publishing the contents of it.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, August 26, Kilkenny.—I have yours of the 17th from Windsor, and am glad you have missed the honour of conducting the ladies to Brussels; the Spanish journey is longer, but I think less dangerous, as you intend to make it. I would be glad to know when you begin it. You advise well that the addresses of the Parliament concerning Ireland should be considered. We are here upon them, and shall give the best account we can of them, the most difficult to come well out of for you and myself it is that relating to the guardianship of the children of Papists, wherein we are both bound in 10,000*l.* to see young Aylmer educated a Protestant, which has been neglected and the boy is in France, but I will do the best I can to have him suddenly brought over and then take order with him. For your son I am glad he is at Oxford, and desire he may continue there till the spring, by which time we shall see to what public affairs are like to turn. Sir Richard Stephens says my Lord of Shaftesbury at his own table spoke very favourably of me. I have seen some of the Scotch companies, and confess they have a more soldierly air than our men, and exercise better as I believe, but we must not disgust all the rest of the army as we should if we should give them to them as preceptors, and yet a way shall be found to bring them into the same forms. As to the substance, it is with very little variation the same with ours. You find how much easier it is to exercise a

regiment lying together than companies that lie thinly scattered all the kingdom over. It is not possible, but you must be mistaken when you say that the Prince of Orange his guards have but 15*d.* a day without any other help, unless they are composed of such men as keep themselves, for here the country troopers have about 15*d.* a day after their deductions, and yet if you reckon all that belongs to the keeping of a man, his horse and that it is very little he can save in this cheap country to provide for accidents, let him be as good a [obliterated] as is possible. I know not what rank was given the Scotch regiment in England, and so cannot tell what they should have here, the question is for the present at rest.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, August 26, Windsor.—I received this day your letters of the 13th and 18th of this month, which were partly answers to some of mine; as to the doing anything with my son, you may be sure I shall not so much as think of it without your approbation and knowledge. I will send Sir Charles Meredith your letter which concerns him, wherein he will see better your kindness and advice than by anything I can say. I here send you an account of His Majesty given me by Doctor Wetherly just now; it being near six in the evening, you may give credit to what he says. I hope the falsehoods spread abroad will not be believed in the place where you are; this relation being authentic, I thought it my duty to send that you may make use of it as well as for the satisfaction it will give you. I am glad you approve of my Spanish journey. I have neither time to write or indeed anything more to say at present,

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1679, August 26, Whitehall.—I am sorry I must disturb your Grace's repose in the country by the unwelcome news this will bring you of His Majesty's illness, who has been indisposed since Thursday last, occasioned (it's thought) by staying too late in the evening a-hawking after having played at tennis in the morning. It's now come to an intermitting fever whose fits return each other night (but thanks be to God) are now much abated, since His Majesty was let blood, which was yesterday, and has had the benefit of rest and sweats; so that now it's thought it may turn to a tertian ague, which tho' it may be of a longer continuance, yet is not accompanied with that danger which this year attend this kind of fever. I doubt not but your Grace will have a more exact account from my Lord Ossory who is now at Windsor, but yet I thought it my duty not to omit the giving your Grace the best account I can get at this distance.

Mr. Secretary is now at Windsor and has been there since Sunday last, to whom I have sent your Grace's letter by

the last post. I presume he will continue there till he sees His Majesty out of all danger, which God grant may be very speedily. His lodgings here are getting ready, for it's thought he will come hither as soon as he is able and may do it with safety.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, August 29, London.—I am now to answer your Grace's of the 12th, 17th and 18th instant, for which I had not time, as I told your Grace by Tuesday's packet. I have perused your Grace's letters to me, and I find answers to all the particulars of Sir Hen. Ingoldsby's objections, but that of powder and bullet being denied to the Guards in Dublin upon the first discovery of the Plot, and when I told him it was impossible there should be such a denial, and that if any such were wanting it was the negligence of the officer, he told me he had himself represented the defect to my Lord Arran, and had prevailed with some of the officers (whom he would not name) to make demand of powder and bullet, and yet neither his nor the officer's solicitation and importunity could then prevail.

As to my Lord Ranelagh's affair, I am fully convinced your Grace has put it into the best method it can be. And if your Grace will please to pardon my past impertinences and importunities upon that subject, I shall promise your Grace to trouble you no further in it. The right Sir Richard Stephens has done your Grace is this, when in the presence of my Lord Shaftesbury there were reflections endeavoured to be cast upon your Grace for the method was taken there to disarm the Papists by giving them so long a time to bring in their arms, and comparing it with the sudden disarming of the Protestants formerly upon Blood's &c, from which some inferred that this time was rather an indulgence to them to give them an opportunity of hiding their arms, Sir Richard then averred in your Grace's justification that your Grace propounded to the Council that the Papists should be without any intimation given of it generally disarmed throughout the kingdom, but that your Grace was overruled by the Council, which Sir Henry Ingoldsby then also confirmed. I humbly acknowledge your Grace's generosity in allowing my freedom, which I shall always exercise with that duty and respect is suitable to the obligation I have to your Grace. The charge against your Grace by some men here for labouring to disunite the Protestants in Ireland is grounded upon the reflections your Grace has made upon those whom you thought too inclinable to join with the late Scotch rebels, and is easy for your Grace to imagine out of what quiver this arrow is shot at you. Mr. Nettervilles's mentioning to your Grace that I would give you an account of the knight's discourse was upon some discourse he himself had with Sir Henry Ingoldsby, which he communicated to me. For I assure your Grace I make no other use

of him than in those circumstances your Grace proposes, and in them only and in my Lord Ranelagh's concerns do I treat with him.

As for the proposition I sent your Grace concerning the Revenue, it is an affair of that consequence that your Grace cannot hastily make a judgment of it, and therefore I do not press for your resolution in it. I was only a little impatient because you did not take notice of it, fearing my letter wherein it was mentioned had miscarried. And though your Grace has not sent me my Lord Chief Justice Keating's sense of it, I acquiesce entirely in your Grace's resolution. I do not hear that my Lord Ranelagh has left Windsor, nor do I believe he will [] who is now in a hopeful way of recovery, though very weak, yet having twice escaped his [*page torn*] well last night, is out of danger and in a condition to write those despatches of recommendation which he expects to carry with him. Mr. Oates has put in articles in the Council against my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs and Sir Philip Lloyd, and 'tis said he will in Parliament do the like against my Lord Privy Seal. It is also said Mr. Jennison has reflected much upon my Lord Privy Seal and my Lord Marquis of Worcester. I here enclosed send your Grace a letter from Sir Robert Howard in which is His Majesty's letter in favour of Mrs. Nelly's pension, to which I have undertaken your Grace will be propitious and obliging. Mr. N. tells me the Bailiff of Westminster is dying, and if your Grace be not pre-engaged to another, and the disposition of that place be not a considerable perquisite of your Stewardship of Westminster, your Grace's granting him that employment will be an establishment of his fortune and put him into a condition of being able to pay his gratitude to your Grace by all the services within his power, while he breathes. I have made an end of my affair with the East India Committee here, so that I hope by the time I mentioned in my former to have the honour of waiting upon your Grace in Dublin.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1679, August 27, Exchequer.—Yesterday being at Windsor I received this enclosed for your Grace, and was desired by Mrs. Nelly to dispatch it to you, which I have done, by the favour of my Lord Longford. I did formerly presume to give your Grace notice that Mr. Mylius was very slow in his returns and pleaded at last the stop in Ireland, but of this I had no return from you, but I knew not anything of this till I received it yesterday. I doubt not but your Grace has daily accounts of the King's condition, but since I was with him I will not neglect my duty to you in giving you my observations. On Monday last I went to Windsor and found the King newly out of a fit of a fever, which had kept him fourteen hours. The original of his disease was looked upon

as the new fever and the mingle of a surfeit. Dr. Pichenson was alone with him when he fell ill, and the King confessing what he had eaten, which he supposed offended him, upon which the doctor ventured to give him a gentle purge of manna, which yet worked sixteen times and is thought to be the foundation of his recovery. After the rest of the doctors came and let him blood, and found it to be a tertian; after his fit he grew pretty well and had no ill symptoms, his sweating relieved him constantly at night. After his fit he grew very well composed and slept that night exceeding well, seven hours at a time. In the morning, being Tuesday, I was with him two hours and found him so well that it overjoyed us all. The doctors gave him the *decoctum amarum*, which in this new disease they find very effectual. We are in some doubts of his fit again.

I left off here because I doubted the Thursday night's post would not be for Ireland. On Thursday I returned to Windsor, where I found the King had a fit on Tuesday night, but lessened. The next time the King was very well without any the least symptoms of it; Wednesday he continued well and all Wednesday night; on Thursday I waited on him and found him continue so, and I left him yesterday being Friday in a perfect restored condition in all respects and circumstances; this morning at 12 I hear he continues so, and I find that both city and country were sensible how much depended on his well being. I hope it will make such an impression that all will tend to good and to a happy accomodation between the King and Parliament, which is not only the wishes but I hope will be the zealous endeavours of all good men. I believe the King has contributed much to his recovery by that extraordinary calm temper that he has shewed in all his sickness, and in those fits, which are of great pains and uneasiness, he never changed from that calmness that he had in health. I will not beg your pardon for giving your Grace this long narrative, since I am satisfied that though your Grace will receive as much as this better presented to you, yet the subject is so welcome to you that an honest repetition will not be unpleasant, and I can by an accident assure your Grace that at this time there is nothing will pass with your wise and kind master to your prejudice, which is an entire satisfaction to, etc.

Exchequer, Saturday, 30 Aug., 1679.—Mrs. Nelly has commanded me to present her faithful service to your Grace, and is assured, she says, of your kindness.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to REV. ———.

1679, August 30, Oxford.—After the assurance of my Lord James's good health, which I give you now as I did this day sevensnight, I think myself obliged to tell you (tho' with grief) that my lord of late is grown both very remiss in his studies and little observing of what I tell him for his good. He hath

in his head (either through his own arguing or through some idle and pernicious persons suggesting) that being born of such illustrious a family, and to such great estate as he is, and being not intended for a doctor, he needeth neither much learning neither a governor, being both old and wise enough to govern himself, and to do what he pleaseth, and in this humour he hath been about these three weeks, tho' two days since it is somewhat checked and altered through the frequent pain and industry of our good and worthy Dean, who continues to be extremely kind to and careful of his lordship.

Early rising is necessary for his lordship, both in respect of his studies and of his own temper inclining him to fatness, but of late also all the courting, the civil entreaties, the good words, patience and promises cannot get him out of his bed before eight the clock, and sometimes later. I do bear such tender respect for the noble and most illustrious family he belongeth to and such love and particular affection to his lordship's own person that I cannot (neither would I without a special leave) use any severity with him and that I must say he knoweth well. But certainly in this case I must crave leave to say that I know nothing so necessary and so convenient, nor which is like to be so effectual than their Graces taking notice of this in a letter to my Lord James and this which I have deferred till now to acquaint you with (in hope it would not last) I leave to you to impart as you shall think best. In the meanwhile, Reverend Sir, you may be assured with a perfect truth and sincerity that I write this merely in hope and desire that it may turn to my lord's own good, which in conscience and honour I am bound to procure by all possible means. For I cannot humour him in things which (however pleasing now to his lordship) will certainly turn to his great disadvantage (as some do), nor write that all is well and right when it is not, yet there is one favour which I must humbly beg, that this be not mentioned to his lordship as being come from me, but in general as heard from this place, for I should otherwise lose his lordship's goodwill for ever. I hope after that thro' God's blessing to see his lordship return to his former good humour and good train, yea, to see him redeem the time and double his diligence.

LORD BLAYNEY TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, August 30, Dublin.—I am just returned from Ringsend, where I saw our friend Antony take shipping, we had some brimmers at parting and often drunk your Lordship's health, who I hope will be as soon weary of the country as I was, or else this town will be unpleasant to everybody, for already 'tis as rare to get company as claret in London since the Act, and the grass of the bowling green is long enough to make hay for one's horses. All the diversions I can find is playing quoits with Joe Ashbury and long bullets

with your butler Harry. Yet there is one blessing attends all these misfortunes, the women have but Hobson's choice, they must make use of me or nobody. I could say a great deal more of the place but that I long to tell you how much I am, etc.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, August 30, Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 18th instant I have received and was then at Windsor, but His Majesty was under so great an indisposition that there was no possible entertaining him with any business, and myself during my stay there fell into a very violent indisposition occasioned by a very great cold, so that I had much ado to get me removed to this town, where I am for the most part a prisoner to my bed threatened with the gout, but whether it will end in a formal fit of it I yet know not. I left His Majesty in a very fair way of recovery, if he miss his fit this night as he did on Thursday, at least but with a very little grumbling, our fears will be mightily allayed, which I will assure you were once very high. I have not yet seen my Lord Longford, nor by consequence your letter to him, when I do I shall give him the best advice I can in order to your service. A Privy Councillor told me at Windsor he had received a letter of four sheets of paper taking notice of that rumour of your Grace's having laid an imputation upon the English in Ireland as ill affected to the Government, and the letter was to vindicate the army in Ireland. I asked the Privy Councillor whether he had ever heard any such letter read at Council, he acknowledged no, nor any expression in any letter of yours derogatory to the reputation and loyalty of the English, much more the army in Ireland; but only you sent the copies of some intelligence sent you of some disaffections appearing amongst some of the Scotch in the north of Ireland, and of the number of them that continually flocked over thither. He acknowledged he never heard other. For myself I am ready to attest any way your Grace shall think it fitting that I never did receive, see or know of any such letter wrote, sent or read either in public or private from you, and that the King did absolutely deny the ever having received any such letter from you. I am under such an indisposition as maketh writing a very disagreeable exercise to me. I hope you have received His Majesty's letter under his own hand confirming the contents of mine, if not you must expect some time till he be in a condition of writing. This letter wrote to the Privy Councillor was from a great officer in the army, he told me.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, September 2, London.—Last night I received your Grace's of the 26th of August, and am sorry your Grace labours to convince me that you have done your utmost in the affair

of my Lord Ranelagh, as if your Grace imagined anything had stuck with me. I confess I have writ to your Grace with some warmth upon that subject, and I did so because I thought it my duty to represent to your Grace the sense of your friends here who think the prosecution of my Lord Ranelagh now your Grace has so fair scope for it, (which till now could never be obtained) a matter of the last importance to your quiet and settlement in the Government. And their concern for your Grace in that particular has made them apt to be alarmed upon every artificial report he has cast out here to support himself in his sinking condition. As for my own share, I am convinced that your Grace has taken the best method in it and have done all that is proper and fit hitherto. And that which is further to be done is to follow your blow by punctually and briskly pursuing the orders of the Council from hence. For he delays the coming to his accounts upon a belief that this Parliament will not sit long, and if his accounts be not ended before the Parliament shall be dissolved or prorogued, he will then hope to shake off all in the interval by his powerful interest at Court. Therefore your Grace has nothing more to do than to speed the dispatch of his accounts, and if he will delay his journey and not appear there to proceed to the declaring his accounts *ex parte* according to the latitude given you by the last Order of the Council. And this is Mr. Secretary's opinion as well as mine. My Lord Ranelagh was at Windsor late yesterday and gave it out that he intended to begin his journey, but most there were of opinion that he would not at least be gone till His Majesty were in a condition to write some despatches which he expects to carry with him. The King (God be thanked) is quite recovered of his fever, of which he has not now the least symptom remaining, but he is brought very low, being so weak that he can but crawl up and down his chamber; yet he looks very cheerfully, though thin. I am now going in some haste to Windsor to wait upon the Duke who arrived there late last night, and is gone to Windsor very early this morning. Mr. Secretary being ill of the gout has sent your Grace's and the Council's last letter of the 23rd of August to my Lord Ossory to shew it to the King and obtain his leave for printing it, which I believe will not be denied. As for the proposition concerning the Revenue, I made the same doubt to the proposer as to the practicability of it as your Grace has done, and therefore he offers if your Grace thinks it fit to repair to your Grace immediately for the removing any doubts that may stick with your Grace concerning it. And if he can clear the point it is all one whether it be set on foot before or after my Lord Ranelagh's accounts are determined as he affirms, for his chief drift and aim in it is to rout him. The enclosed print I have sent your Grace, that you may see with what industry your enemies endeavoured to reflect upon you in the account of Colonel Talbot's liberty, though they know he has it by Order of Council from hence.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1679, September 2, Windsor.—My Lord Ranelagh being now by the King's command going into Ireland to adjust the accounts of his late undertaking there, His Majesty directs me to recommend to your Grace the despatch of that business as soon as may be, and he would have you give him an exact information of the state of that kingdom and of the affairs of it by the said Earl when he returns hither.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1679, September 5, Blechington.—Knowing by long experience that your Grace delights to be attended by persons of good extraction and breeding, and finding Sir Charles Wolseley, your Grace's godson, and his lady ambitious to have one of their numerous family receive the honour of being in your service, I thought it my duty by this bearer, Cornet Wolseley, Sir Charles, his brother, to tender one of his sons to wait upon your Grace, which, if you accept, I shall take such care that he be sent over in an equipage fit to attend your Grace as soon as I receive your pleasure herein. If your Grace's family be full, I hope, having been bred a soldier, he may deserve a colours from your Grace which he will wait in Ireland for.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, September 6, Windsor.—I shall not fail to give you an account of my Spanish journey. I am not so engaged nor at all resolved to make it if I find not appointments both certain and sufficient. My Lord of Essex did assure me of his assistance in this matter. I am very glad that the late addresses of the Lords are now under your consideration, to give them satisfaction will conduce much to the King's service as well as your own advantage. The affair of young Aylmer will certainly be made use of both to yours and my prejudice, therefore all diligence ought to be used to bring him hither and afterwards to our religion. Whatever my Lord of Shaftesbury may say to Sir Richard Stephens I am of opinion that according to the course he steers he will endeavour to remove from posts of power all persons of your principles. However I think it prudent to receive civilly any expressions or overtures from him. I have formerly sent you the detail of the pay both of the guards and army of the Prince of Orange, if you please I shall again transmit it. I have had it from Sir Alexander Colear, who, I am sure, would not give me an imperfect account. Since troopers must be clothed I know no reason why they should not be contented to have them of the same sort and colour, so that in providing them they be not abused by their officers. The care you take and the method for having the foot well trained will be of infinite use. I do easily comprehend the difference and disadvantage of companies being scattered

and not regimented. I wish some inconsiderable pay in time of peace, if a Parliament in Ireland sits and gives supplies, may be settled upon field officers, and that regiments might at some time of the year be drawn together, otherwise you will find a great defect whenever they form a battalion. You will pardon me if upon this occasion I remind you of a company for myself, it being without example that any in my station should be without one. Last post I gave you an account of the Duke's arrival. I am informed that generally his coming is well taken, whether he returns or remains here is not as yet known. I believe you will, however think it necessary to compliment him upon this occasion. Mr. Fitzpatrick, that formerly was page to my Lord of Oxford and since a captain of foot, desired me to mind you of some hopes given him that you would make him lieutenant to the guard that Tom Fairfax commands.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, September 7, Blessinton.—I am humbly to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 31st of the last and of the 2nd instant. It was very seasonable that I left Kilkenny when I did, for the same night I was attacked with a smart fit of the gout, which upon the first assault disabled me from the use of one of my feet, however, I thought myself concerned to put the business of the accounts as forward as I could, and as soon as Sir John Davys could be at Dublin to make up a committee, I writ to my Lord Chief Justice to hasten on the accounts, the copy of which letter I here enclosed send your Grace, with his lordship's return to me which I received this morning, which will give your Grace a perfect account of the present state of that affair. I have not had any time to keep a copy of my Lord Chief Justice's letter. I have at this instant received notice that my Lord Ranelagh landed this morning. I have yet heard nothing from his lordship, but I presume it will not be long before I shall. Your Grace shall have an account of anything that I shall learn that may be worth your knowledge. The last packet brings us the very joyful news of His Majesty's perfect recovery. I pray God in Heaven bless him with long life and a successful reign. It brought us likewise the surprising news of the arrival of his Royal Highness at London and from thence to Windsor. I am not to make any conjectures upon this unexpected adventure. I pray God direct His Majesty's counsels and bless your Grace and all yours.

ORMOND to BISHOP OF LIMERICK.

1679, September 7, Clonmel.—Something of the matter mentioned in your lordship's of the 6th instant I received from the Sheriff of that county whilst I was at Thomastown, and directed him to bring Mr. David Fitzgerald to me, my intention being not only to give him full assurance of his pardon,

but of all other fit encouragement to discover whatever he knew of any design against his Majesty or the peace of His kingdoms; but in return to this direction I was yesterday informed by the Sheriff that Mr. Fitzgerald was under confinement, so that I ordered Ellis to write to the Sheriff to let Mr. Fitzgerald know that I desired he would give his information to my Lord Chief Justice Keating, who is not only the chief judge in that circuit, but a Privy Councillor and therefore very proper to receive an information of that nature, and this is all the direction I can yet give unless Mr Fitzgerald think it better to stay till he shall be delivered from his imprisonment, and then if he have any more to say than is set down in his letter to your lordship he shall be at large heard by, etc.

SAME to SAME.

1679, September 8, Clonmel.—I thank you for your care in sending me Mr. Fitzgerald's letter to you, he is now here with the Sheriff of that county, but returns to undergo his trial. When that is over I have directed how he shall be further disposed of, so that your lordship is like to receive no further trouble concerning him.

If your lordship has had time to finish the picture you took the pains to draw I shall shortly have an opportunity to send it to my daughter Candish, for whom it is intended. Pardon the liberty I take.*

INTERROGATIONS TO DAVID FITZGERALD.

1679, September 8, Clonmel.—Have you had any discourse with any of the persons engaged since the first breaking of the matter to you, when, with whom, and what was the discourse?

Have you had any discourse with any of the said persons since the discovery of the plot against the King's life or before? or have any of these persons told you of any rising of the Papists that would be in England or of any invasion intended of that kingdom?

How were you to provide yourselves of arms and ammunition to be in readiness at the time that the invasion should be? was there any money to be raised for that use or were there arms and ammunition expected from any foreign parts? Declare your knowledge.

Was there any town or fort to be surprised before or at the time of the expected invasion, what town or fort, and by whom to be surprised?

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, September 9, Blessinton.—I must humbly beg your Grace's pardon for the false alarm that I gave your Grace of

* Simon Digby, Bishop of Limerick 1678-9 to 1691-2 to 1720, is mentioned in Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* as "a good limner."

the Lord of Ranelagh's arrival. It was sent to me by a sober person, and from the mouths of Sir John Cole and Sir John Champante, who were then going to Ringsend to attend his lordship with their coaches; but whether this were out of design or by mistake I cannot say, for Dr. Topham now writes to me that my Lord Ranelagh neither is come nor designs to come, but that all his lordship's preparations for his journey hither have been only artifices to amuse us in the expectation of his coming, but not intended.

I send your Grace here enclosed a letter of Mr. Worth's from Cork about Lavallin. The man's flight doth not look very well, though it may be thus far excusable that most men will naturally keep themselves out of danger's way as far as they can. I have writ to Mr. Worth that he did very well in his inquiries after Lavallin and what became every good subject to do that was in his or the like employment. When I attended your Grace at Kilkenny I moved your Grace in the behalf of Mr. Synge for a living which would be resigned by one Mr. Davis; but by a letter which I yesterday received from the Bishop of Cork I find that his lordship hath a design to set up a quire in the Cathedral of Cork, for which that living would be very convenient and in some degree necessary. I am clearly of his lordship's opinion, for I formerly intended it for myself while I was Bishop of Cork, and since his lordship hath present purposes of erecting a quire there, it is my humble opinion that to so good and so public a work Mr. Synge's preferment should at present be postponed (who may be provided for hereafter, for as yet he is but a young man) and this living being without any cure but what is discharged by that Church of St. ffin Barrys in Cork, it would be very convenient for that Quire; but care must be taken that in his warrant (if your Grace thinks fit to dispose it that way) the trust and use may be expressed for which it is put into the bishop's hands, otherwise it may perhaps be void, for as I suppose a commendam cannot be granted to any bishop without the King's letter for that purpose. I heartily pray for your Grace.

Postscript.—The name of the living is the Rectory of St. John's by Cork.

LORD JAMES BUTLER to ORMOND.

1679, September 9, Oxford.—I do heartily acknowledge my fault in not writing to your Grace so often as my duty engages me to do. But if your Grace will pardon this omission I promise to be more dutiful hereafter. In the meantime, having assured your Grace of my good health and of my endeavours to improve in my studies, I make bold to present an humble request to your Grace, which is that you would be pleased to give me leave to keep another horse. If your Grace grants me this favour it will be to me a further encouragement to perform my exercises with more diligence and cheerfulness

and by all possible means to strive to shew myself more and more, my Lord, your Grace's most humble and most obedient grandson, James Butler.

Postscript.—Pray my humble duty to my Grandmother.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, September 9, Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 26th of August from Kilkenny I have received and acquainted His Majesty with it. I have given copies of it to my Lord Longford to distribute, but neither I nor any other of your friends that I know were for the opinion of printing it, the design of the dispersers of that rumour being more to disaffect those under your government in Ireland than that they could make any great advantage here but by the clamours from thence. The arrival of His Royal Highness will be no news to you, but I believe we shall not for the present enjoy him long, but when the precise day of his remove will be I cannot yet tell you. We are in great hurly burly about our elections, and whether we shall agree better when we meet or no I know not. I have received your Grace's and the Council's letter about the imputations upon Colonel FitzPatrick, and shall not fail to acquaint the Council with it. His Majesty is, God be thanked, perfectly recovered and resolveth some time the next week for this town and thence to Newmarket. When I see the Lords Commissioners I shall speak about these reports, but I suppose if they are imperfect your Grace must represent to them the exceptions you have to them. I have not more to importune your Grace with.

DR. JO. TOPHAM to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, September 9, Dublin.—I had by Sir John Davys the honour of your lordship's, and my great expectation of my Lord Ranelagh's arrival made me so rude as not to acknowledge it the post following. But after all there has been as much artifice used to persuade persons to believe he intended for Ireland as would make an excellent farce. He and his servants the very hour they left London writ Sir John Champante that that minute they designed for Ireland, the post following the two Lady Ranelaghs by their letters obliged Sir J. Ch. to take care of that noble person and to secure him from all bad company. Liveries are made and after all his lordship cannot leave Windsor, where he was the last packet, and was (as they say) resolved to stay for some days. In the meantime Roger Moore is very active, and his debt increases, which makes me believe he intends really to proceed. I cannot give your lordship the debt which is stated by the Commissioners, but it increases daily, and I will not fail the next post to give your lordship the true balance. Last night happened a fire in St. Thomas Street, consumed a stable and part of a malthouse and did no further mischief. There is great mourning at Bellamont for

the death of my Lady Parsons' father. Does your lordship know that Mr. Wicherley, the poet, was in this country. He landed about three weeks since and went aboard (I saw him) on Thursday last. He has been all the while in the country, but I cannot yet learn where nor what his business was.

REV. SAMUEL LADYMAN, Vicar of Clonmel, to ORMOND.

1679, September 12, Clonmel.—May it please your Grace to vouchsafe your pardon while I humbly present the enclosed instrument to be disposed of by your Grace and my Lord Bishop as yourselves think best. For although my own ignorance in concerns of that kind and the non arrival of my counsel hindered me the last night from subscribing my Lord Judge's draught, yet to prevent in everything your Grace's disappointment (now on your journey to Waterford) I have thus adventured out of his lordship's draught and out of that which myself a few days since had penned, sealed and delivered unto our present Mayor) to compile (and offer yet once again) what methinks any curate might conclude sufficient security, especially from him whose word alone can still be taken for more pounds than the double yearly value of this vicarage.

Nor may the term only of two years give any just distaste, since should I ever be so recovered as again to preach constantly myself (and who knoweth what God's blessing (and a release from heavier burthens than my sickness) may effect) it would then be very hard that I still should be obliged to give my assistant the whole revenue of this parish, the rather because my purse and my [*illegible*] and not without abundance of obloquy and ill will) purchased for it more than the two full thirds of all its income.

And since I have thus taken upon me to speak unto your Grace, let your Grace's wonted propensity (still so to mind the affairs of church and state as to forget your own) be my humble apology if I here am your remembrancer that their fixing the prison on part of Braye's building (besides the largeness of the street [and] its open air and vicinity to the now guard house) will be of greater moment (in the sequel) for this town's improvement than (at this time) your Grace may have leisure to read or I to mention.

For as (in my letter of January the 15, one thousand six hundred seventy three) I did humbly suggest unto your Grace (then at Whitehall) that the continuance of your Regality Courts where they then were kept would (by building the west suburbs soon have driven your Grace's town out at one of its own gates) will now in too great a measure be affected at the other end by erecting good houses without Kilsheelan Gate, where the situation is pleasant, the water near, and one good slate house already built and converted into an inn, which indeed must be somewhere

without the walls, but had been much better placed for your Grace's advantage on a piece of land of your own ancient estate lying just at the North Gate, where your Grace's Manor Courts were formerly held, entertainment now kept, and by one whose industry doth promise in some little time to build a better house.

Also never is Lough Street like to be improved (though the longest and best accomodated with gardens and back-sides of any street in this town) yet never like to be improved while the town's great thoroughfare is turned another way (even the little narrow street of Kilsheelan where only are three houses worth the notice). Yet next the better safety of all His Majesty's walléd towns (or a necessity that may not be unfitly pleaded for building a bastion or flanker in the room of Kilsheelan Gate, as a needful security for that weaker side of this garrison) there cannot be a more just pretence to make the North Gate the only passage this away into Clonmel than that the prisoners (when there placed must starve should it not be so.

But it is time, great Sir, that most humbly I do beseech your Grace's pardon for the rudeness and the interruption of this confused address which your wonted most noble candour I am assured cannot deny unto him who heartily doth pray in your Grace's behalf as he did for his best *Mæcenas ut serus in cælum redeas diuque lætus intersis populo*, that being his only requital for all those undeserved and signal favours your lordship hath vouchsafed.

To the Most Honourable James, Lord Duke of Ormond, His Grace Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the most humble Address of Doctor Samuel Ladyman, Vicar of Clonmel.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, September 13.—This morning the Duke of Monmouth returned hither in order to settle his appointments. Before coming to the King he sent to desire permission. His Majesty answered that he had not forbid him the Court, but that he looked upon it as necessary that his command of the forces should be taken away, and that for some time he should absent himself from his dominions; the Duke is to go away, but not until the other obeys the same commands. You may imagine that whoever pretends to suffer upon the score of religion will not want friends. I am told that in the town great rancour and partiality does appear in this conjuncture. Wednesday next the Court removes to London and from thence to Newmarket. The time has not been proper to move anything concerning my Spanish journey: whether it will be proper for me to undertake or to desist, or when to be in it, depends upon accidents not to be foreseen, but whatever my resolutions shall be I will endeavour to give you soon notice of them, and hope for your approbation.

DR. JO. TOPHAM to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, September 13, Dublin.—Contrary to all expectation, my Lord Ranelagh landed yesterday with Mr. Loftus ; intends to wait on my Lord Lieutenant next week. I have fully discoursed Roger Moore and find him triumphing, though before the victory. He has made me a perfect master of his notions, which I think are very clear and true. He has registered his debts, which is some thousands more than formerly, and assures me that the December pay (75), the deductions and endorsements amount to 37,000*l.* and more, which is already entered with the Commissioners. I am in daily expectation of Sir Ch. Meredith, and then I hope for leave from his Grace to pay my duty at Kilkenny, when I shall be able to demonstrate as clear as the sun that after all defalcations my Lord R.'s debts must be above 60,000*l.*, I mean allowing his last demands. Alderman Jervis presented your lordship's order to me to examine a difference betwixt him and Lieutenant Farley, which had been readily obeyed, but that the lieutenant had broke his leg, and so would not trouble presently ; several accidents of that kind have lately happened here, the scaffolding at the new tennis court having lamed four, and most of them will die by the mischance of the fall.

I would not trouble his Grace with a letter this post, tho' our Farmers have neither assigned nor paid one farthing of June pay to the army or regiment ; it is very late with the pay, the next three months being so near at hand. I could wish they had a reprimand, it would not be amiss ; but how they will satisfy the arrear is past finding out. Your lordship may see Sir John Champante's balance of the last month with my Lord Lieutenant.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, September 13, Dublin.—I lately gave your Grace the trouble of a false alarm about my Lord Ranelagh's arrival (for which I have presumed to beg your Grace's pardon) but he is now come in earnest, and with him Mr. Loftus. They landed yesterday in the evening. His lordship was pleased to visit me this morning and pretends to desire nothing more than a despatch of his accounts. He complains much of the agreement between Sir James Hayes and Sir James Shaen ; he saith he doth not understand it and disowns having any concern therein. We have appointed a meeting of the Commissioners for the accounts upon Monday morning, that if his lordship and partners hath anything to say to us it may not in excuse of their delay be objected, that the Commissioners did not meet. I find that his lordship intends to attend your Grace this next week at Kilkenny.

I here enclose to your Grace Mr. Maxwell's letter, it was without a date, but the receipt is endorsed. It is writ in such general terms that I have sent to him to be particular in his instances. Your Grace will find that we are quit of

that suspected person Mr. Campbell. The testimony which Mr. Maxwell hints at in his letter is, as I suppose, that which was proffered to your Grace by my Lord Granard in the behalf of the Presbyterian Ministers in the north, which it seems they cannot now agree upon, and which I am sure was less, much less for the security of the Government than Peter Walsh's Remonstrance, which was subscribed by a great part of the Romish nobility and gentry in this kingdom.

Wilson's refusal to exchange the brass halfpence that have gone in his name have made a great hurley-burley in this city, especially amongst the poor retailers. I doubt he will prove a knave, for I am informed since my coming to town that it will be proved that he hath lent his tools and instruments for coinage unto another person to counterfeit the halfpence that were made by Tennant and allowed by the Government. This is part confessed already by the person himself who made use of them for that purpose, but inquiry will be fully made into that matter against your Grace comes to town, and I presume upon the whole matter your Grace will think it necessary to establish some way for small money, that the poor traders may not be surprised by beggary by such abominable cheats before they do expect it.

I came hither upon Thursday last and my return to Blessinton is very uncertain, because it depends upon my daughter Blessinton's delivery, so that your Grace may direct your commands, if you have any for me, unto this place. I heartily pray for your Grace's health and happiness. The strangest news that I meet here at Dublin is a confident report that old Mrs. Fernely is married unto one Captain Desborough, and being demanded about it by some friends, she makes this answer that he is so handsome a gentleman that it is very hard for any woman to refuse him.

EARL OF ORRERY to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, September 16, Castlemartyr.—I am unable to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's letter of the 13th with my own hand, God having been pleased on Friday last to visit me with a violent fit of the gout, a great cold, and a stoppage of urine, from the last of which by His mercy I am freed. I here present your Grace the copy of a letter, the original whereof I had by an express from my son Broghill from Limerick. I have written to Mr. David Fitzgerald, the writer of the letter, who married Lieutenant Colonel Eaton's wife's daughter, at least to send me word who those magistrates were to whom he gave notice of the Plot, that they might acquaint my Lord Lieutenant and me with it. that I may immediately have them questioned for their great negligence or worse in not giving me the least notice thereof. I have not yet heard one word from my Lord Lieutenant concerning this affair, tho' Mr. Fitzgerald were about it with his Grace. My son assures me that the said Mr. Fitzgerald positively

tells him that the design is still on foot against the city and the King's castle of Limerick, and therefore methinks the speedier care should be had for the purging of that town. I have written so often about it that I doubt I may be judged troublesome in doing it, but sure this fresh alarm should make us look speedily and effectually about it.

I am very glad my Lord Ranelagh is safely come over. I hope now he is here he will justify and clear his accounts.

I rejoice very much that your Grace's alarm of the gout is proved a false one. I beseech God preserve you from it and all other evils.

I humbly beg the favour of your Grace that you will order my cousin, Richard Boyle, of Shannon Park, to be put into the Commission of the Peace for this county, and my cousin, Will. Supple, of Ahadda, to be put in for the counties of Cork and Waterford.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, September 16, Dublin.—The Commissioners for the accounts met yesterday, and the Lord Ranelagh and his partners appeared, and desired a week's time longer to bring in their answer to those objections which have been made to their accounts in regard the Lord of Ranelagh is but now come over, and it will be necessary to advise with his lordship before they put in their return, and his lordship intending to wait upon your Grace at Kilkenny they could be sooner ready, which was accordingly granted them, and the rather because it is hoped that by that time we may have some prospect of Sir Joshua Allen's Commission.

Since we met upon the Commission I received the enclosed from my Lord Longford. It is much to the same purpose which was formerly said by Captain Stone; however, I hold myself obliged to represent it to your Grace without any observations of my own upon it, being wholly at your Grace's government in this affair and in everything else. It may perhaps be seasonable to inspect farther into this new account when the Lord Ranelagh and partners bring in their answer, and then to make the best use we can of both accounts for His Majesty's service; but in the meantime it looks a little strange that Mr. Stepney hath not yet presented that new account to your Grace according to his direction from his partners. I think it would not be amiss if your Grace would call for it, that it may be considered before that time.

The enclosed paper is a copy of what was sent to the Provost of the College of another philosopher's lecture in the north, besides that whereof I formerly gave your Grace some advertisement. These Presbyterians it seems begin now to follow the methods and ways for discipline of their brethren the Jesuits. If some seasonable stop be not put unto these things I doubt they will grow much upon us in this kingdom to the prejudice as well of the civil as of the ecclesiastical government.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, September 17, Kilkenny.—I received yours of the 13th at Waterford and came from thence hither but yesterday. With your Grace's I had one of the same date from my Lord of Ranelagh giving me notice of his purpose to be here in the middle of this week, which makes me conclude that being away any return from me will miss him. I am told that his lordship since his landing threatens that those who have complained of want of payment shall be last paid. I wish it be made good and that they will be paid one time or other.

My Lord of Orrery sent me copies of all the examinations taken concerning Lavallin, of which Mr. Recorder Worth's to your Grace gives the full substance. I know not what can be done more in that matter. Mr. Maxwell is, as your Grace observes, too general in his information. If we could be certain who are come hither that were in the Scotch rebellion they might be secured till it should be known whether they are of the number of the pardoned or of the proscribed; and if the Nonconformists in Scotland were in the posture he mentions, methinks we should hear of it out of England.

I send your Grace the extract of a letter I had out of England the week before the last. You will easily guess what great officer of the army is most like to write four sheets of paper upon such a subject. I believe he thought I had really written such a letter as was falsely laid to my charge, and that he had found a fit occasion to display his eloquence, court the army, and in a civil way to do my business here and in England. I propose to stay here about three weeks longer, but if anything relating to the public shall require my going sooner I am ready for the journey.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, September 18, Whitehall.—I am by this to acknowledge the receipt of one from your Grace of the 8th instant, for which I most humbly thank you, and I shall give you what account I can both of that and your former of the 4th, which I acknowledged in my last. As to the last of the 8th, though His Majesty believeth as your Grace, and indeed the Minister seemed to fear that it is but chimæra or a trepan: yet he approveth the course you have taken to find out the truth quietly without making a great noise to no effect, as the sending for Rutherford upon that single witness which a man of that character would easily invalidate by a base denial, the fact being treasonable; but if there could be more witnesses than the condition would be altered and the dependance he would have on His Majesty's mercy for life and estate would with much more probability extract from him what the design is at bottom, for if anything of what the godly minister alleges be true, *rebus sic stantibus*, I should suppose

the present design was only to test the pulse of the Ministers, and if they would relish such a proposition from France, they would *a fortiori* from others that they should have reason to think better affected, and if they discovered a thorough averseness to any such proposition, the reproach of the temptation to lie upon France, and those that possibly were really in the design not to be mentioned. But without undertaking at all to answer how little or how much France will do in point of interest, I do not at all conceive it their business during the present conjuncture to engage in such an interest.

But as to what you mention in both your letters, the great increase of those Nonconformists in those parts, His Majesty agreeth with your Grace not to exercise an over-hasty severity upon so great a multitude, but in case they shall come to such overt acts of rebellion as your Grace mentioneth, as setting upon the covenant or publicly avowing a separate jurisdiction, what your Grace adviseth upon that matter is approved of. In the meantime as your Grace seemeth to apprehend the recruits coming from Scotland into Ireland, so my Lord Duke Lauderdale seemeth to apprehend something from Ireland in Scotland ; it appeareth from both your conjectures and apprehensions that there is a correspondence betwixt the sectaries in the north of Scotland and Ireland which ought carefully to be regarded ; and, therefore, His Majesty hath commanded me to write to your Grace that you would keep a constant correspondence with the Duke of Lauderdale, who His Majesty will take care shall have orders to do the same with your Grace, that their motions may the better be observed in both nations. In the meantime His Majesty hath sent the same instructions to your Grace that were sent to my Lord of Essex some two years since, that my Lord of Granard may be sent with a body of men into the north. The number and places to quarter in will be expressed in the instructions which I hope to get signed to send with this letter.

I cannot answer particularly to all the points in your letter of the 4th instant ; but as to that of the army, my Lord Treasurer saith the money is already gone, though here as well as there there are different opinions of the rate the army payeth for the three months' advance, and from those differences some reflections are raised upon the excessiveness of the demands of those that made the first offer of that way of advance, but His Majesty and my Lord Treasurer seem very well satisfied in the bargain as it now is. Concerning the calling a Parliament, it hath not yet been debated, and I believe hardly will till the King's return from Newmarket, whither he goeth the next Monday, and there he thinks he shall see the Prince of Orange. My Lord Ossory hath had a fever, but is well recovered.

As to the allowance for my Lord Granard's table, and all other extraordinary expense relating to this march of the troops,

His Majesty would have them provided in the same manner as they were upon the same occasion in my Lord of Essex his time. This is all I have at present to acquaint your Grace.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, Sept. 18th, Kilkenny.—I have received yours of the 16th and am told this will find you at Blessinton. I had a letter to the same effect from my Lord Longford with that he sent your Grace, whereby all I can collect is that there is a difference betwixt the English and the Irish undertakers concerning the 24,000*l.* borrowed of the King. In all other things they seem to agree. Those in England would not be charged with it, saying it was neither borrowed or employed for the ends of the undertaking: the other I suppose affirm the contrary. Which are in the right is not for ought I see material to the King, only his security is the better if they prove all to be liable. As I told your Grace yesterday I am ready for Dublin at twenty-four hours' warning, but am content to stay here till my presence there may be useful.

I am glad the Provost inquires after the Scotch Academies. It concerns this university, and they may very reasonably take notice and complain of such an invasion by some address which may be so drawn and enlarged as to fit the present conjuncture and prove of great use to the church, which I hope will find many friends in both Houses of Parliament. I cannot find any address from either House concerning the putting of Papists out of towns and garrisons, and yet it is in my head there was some such. I have sent to make search in the journals in England, but if there was any such methinks it might be found at Dublin. I wish your Grace would desire Dr. Topham or any other to make search among the booksellers and coffee houses, where such things possibly may be kept. I keep all your Grace's papers to be given you when we meet.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 20, Whitehall.—Your Grace will receive a letter from me this post concerning the letter from your Grace and the Council about the accusation of Colonel Fitzpatrick. Sir Robert Southwell will acquaint your Grace of some expressions made, though not at the Council, upon that business that looked very odd. The letter concerning the false reports of your Grace in relation to the Protestants of Ireland, I have given copies of to my Lord Longford, and shall to others of your friends, but did not think it necessary to produce it in Council, for reasons my Lord Longford may better tell you than I.

My Lord of Essex telleth me this night that he hath by this post received a letter from my Lord of Orrery mentioning the report of a master of a ship coming from France

that a ship were ready to sail for Cork from thence that brought 6,000 horse arms, and that he had given orders for the seizing of them if they came. If the intelligence be true, I wish he had acquainted your Grace first with it that the notice might here come from you.

The King is here and intending for Newmarket in very good health, but the day for his going is not yet fixed, nor I believe will be till both the Dukes go.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 20, Whitehall.—The discourse of this place is that next week the Duke returns for Flanders, but the Duke of Monmouth first leaves this kingdom. Soon after it is said the King goes to Newmarket. You know his custom is to advertise very late his officers when he makes such journeys. The Dukes of Monmouth and Lauderdale are taking out their pardons. I leave it to your consideration whether you ought to follow that example. You may be sure that those who wish ill to the Government will endeavour all they can against you; the doing the same thing may perhaps shew something of fear which will embolden your enemies on the other side. I know not in point of quartering, which has been the custom of almost all your predecessors, how liable you may be to the law upon your first accession to the Government after the King's restoration. The articles of the last Lord of Meath and everything of that nature ought to be inspected to guide you the better in this particular; probably they may have so many things on their hands, as that you may not this session whether short or long be troubled.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 20, Blessinton.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 17th instant. I presume the Lord Ranelagh hath been with your Grace before this can come to your hands. I heard nothing of what was writ to your Grace, that he should say that those who complained most should be paid last. He hath I suppose too much skill to expose himself so lavishly considering the circumstances of his affairs.

It is easy to guess at the author of the long letter into England, but it is difficult to imagine any other reason for it but that he was willing to take any opportunity even from misinformation itself to expatiate upon his own zeal and diligence, for the untruth being detected it cannot have the least reflection upon your Grace; but it is the delight of the times to infuse jealousies, they are soon raised and easily credited.

Your Grace will pardon me that I refer you to the enclosed from Dr. Topham for the news at Dublin. If his intelligence be true it is high time for those of other principles to strike off.

I doubt our good friend my Lord Longford hath been most contributing to the later part of his news, if it be so. Your Grace may be pleased if you think fit to return me my Lord of Orrery's and Dr. Topham's letters.

Endorsed: "Received and answered 21 Sept. 1679."

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 20, Whitehall.—I received a letter from your Grace and the Council of Ireland dated from Kilkenny Castle the 26th day of August last concerning an information of one Darby Costigan against Colonel John Fitzpatrick, which letter I had no opportunity to produce in Council till yesterday, at which time it was ordered by the Council that I should write to your Grace to commit the said Colonel John Fitzpatrick to prison if he be in Ireland; if not that you would cause him to be indicted of high treason upon the evidence against him; and if the said Colonel Fitzpatrick appear not to the indictment you are to give order to have him outlawed. And your Grace is to give an account of your proceedings hereupon as soon as may be. I do also send here enclosed an authentic copy of the Order of Council in this behalf.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, Sept. 21, Kilkenny.—I return you my Lord of Orrery's and Dr. Topham's letters, but believe very little of either. I have had discourse with the Fitzgerald mentioned and have his informations signed by him, but not sworn as yet. He promised me to be shortly with me here and tell me more particulars; he does not tell me that he has any other testimony to confirm his. However nothing that comes under the notion of a discovery shall want due encouragement. I do not propose to be at Dublin till the 2nd of the next month, perhaps by that time I shall have seen Mr. Fitzgerald and send or bring him thither. I shall also defer the consideration of purging Limerick, and do not doubt but that in the meantime it will be safe enough.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, September 23.—Since my last I am informed that an impeachment is to be delivered against you at the meeting of the Parliament; and I am promised the particulars and notice of these proceedings from a man of quality. You may be sure that I am not wanting in point of diligence, and on the other side I endeavour not to make appear my timorousness, but according to my small talent do govern myself between these two extremes. My Spanish journey is resolved, and I am promised money to support it; but upon that account shall not omit anything by delaying or relinquishing it, if I think I may thereby be useful unto you.

The Duke of Monmouth goes away tomorrow, being Wednesday. The next day the Duke embarks for Flanders, and on Friday the King and Queen goes to Newmarket. My wife has had a great defluxion upon one of her eyes. All the rest of your family are well. I have not anything to trouble my mother withal.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, September 23, Whitehall.—I have very little to trouble your Grace with but what you will have from several hands. Our two Dukes, His Royal Highness and the Duke of Monmouth, both go beyond the seas immediately, the last tomorrow, the former on Thursday, and on Friday His Majesty intendeth for Newmarket. On the 30th of August I wrote your Grace a letter with one enclosed, to be (after your report upon it) signed by the King, in favour of the present Lord Mayor, who hath eminently served the King, and His Majesty this very day enquired of me why it is not despatched. I pray my lord be pleased to send your answer with all possible speed, if it be not already done. It is of concern in this present crisis, and I pray let there be no delay in it. To avoid the precedent of signing letters without your knowing of it I have withstood many shocks in this business, and I find His Majesty very pressing in it, and he hath some reason to be civil to this Lord Mayor. I pray God the next may deserve well of him.

EARL OF ESSEX to ORMOND.

1679, September 23, London.—There is an affair which concerns Sir James Edwards, the present Lord Mayor of London, which now stands referred to your Grace. It is for satisfaction of an adventure he has a right to. This gentleman having carried himself with great respect and loyalty toward His Majesty, the King desires much that he should have his satisfaction with all the despatch and favour that can justly be given him; which occasions me to give your Grace this trouble on his behalf, being a witness of his merit on several emergencies that have lately happened. Therefore if your Grace shall be pleased to return your approbation to his claim, I will take care to pass it at the Treasury here.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 23, Blessinton.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 18th inst., and I shall make the best inquiry I can to find out the address for putting papists out of towns and garrisons. I well remember such a thing, and I presume I shall be able to retrieve a copy of it at my being at Dublin, which I intend (if it please God) upon Thursday next, having been a week here longer than I intended by the unpreparedness

of my house there. The want of packets leaves us under a great uncertainty of news out of England. The same continues with us yet, of which I gave your Grace an account in my last.

I understand by a letter received this post from Derry that the Bishop* continues very ill, with very little expectation of recovery, or that he will hold out above one month longer. I presume your Grace have not forgot to write to Mr. Secretary Coventry about him, to prevent the applications for his successor; for his long distemper might possibly give opportunity to some there to beg his grant or promise of it before the man dies. Clergymen are not altogether free from such indecencies. I have not heard one word from my Lord Ranelagh since his return from Kilkenny.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1679, Sept. 26, Dublin.—I know not how the loss this kingdom may receive in the [retirement] of my lord of Essex from the place he held in the affairs of the Treasury could be better supplied than by Sir Stephen Fox having a seat there. Upon occasion whereof I have written to him by this post, and desired him that he would, when he shall be settled in the employment, allow you some opportunity to discourse with him concerning the affairs of this kingdom as they may relate to the Treasury of England. And some mention I have made of that sum detained somewhere from the service of Ireland out of the money advanced by the present Farmers, and of which I desired you to make inquiry. He is like himself to have some knowledge of it, having, if I mistake not, about the time of the mislaying of that money, had commerce with, or at least good information of the proceedings of all that had to do with public monies. You will when you find it seasonable speak with him on this subject, and it comes into my mind that Sir Robert Southwell may be a good adviser and assistant, because he is so in all things that concern Ireland, and he has particular reason to wish well to the finishing of the fort of Kinsale. To both of them I desire you to show the papers I sent you, or if they desire it to give them transcripts of them.

ORMOND to LORD JAMES BUTLER.

1679, Sept. 27, Kilkenny.—James, I was more glad to receive yours of the 9th than you will be with mine of the 20th of this month, and should be gladder if I were sure it were of your own dictating and that you did not send it to prevent just complaints of your miscarriage. However, if you will keep yourself to your promise and that I receive assurance of your performance you shall not want any encouragement or satisfaction that is fit for you. I am well

* Dr. Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry 1666-1679, died Dec 21, 1679.

content you should keep another horse, and will be glad to hear you make often use of him, and of any other exercise that shall be allowed by my lord bishop, and at such times as he shall permit. I am much troubled to hear that you grow fatter than is agreeable with your age, and much more that it should be imputed to your laziness and long lying abed—the thing in the world the most abhorred by me, having never seen any youth so addicted ever come to any good.

I am further to warn you that if anybody shall go about to flatter you with your parts, birth or fortune, that you look upon them as your greatest enemies, and that you still remember that though you may be above some in these things, yet there are many that are your equals, and many more that are above you ; and that if there were not, yet all those qualifications are but trappings that will the more expose you to contempt, unless you fit yourself to them by civility, humanity and affability to all sorts of people, according to their degrees and merit. Consider these things, and what else you shall be taught ; and let me at all times know your desires, and you shall find me ready to satisfy you in all reasonable things

Your affectionate grandfather,

ORMOND.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 27, Whitehall.—I am commanded by the King in Council to send your Grace a form of a Commission to depute some lords of the Upper House to swear the Parliament men upon the meeting of the Parliament. The thing requireth expedition, and therefore I beseech your Grace to return it with all haste. The Parliament will be prorogued till the 30th of October.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1679, Sept. 27, Kilkenny.—I send you the copy of an Order of Council concerning Col. Fitzpatrick which I received but last night, as you may find by the date. The manner of proceeding may, for aught I know, be legal ; yet I have not observed that the like is taken with fugitives in England. Such I call those that being accused have evaded since they were so. But he went out of the kingdom before any accusation was brought against him. Other differences there are betwixt his treatment and others. However, I have sent order to my Lord Chief Justice to proceed as the order directs, adding only these words “ and according to the course of law and justice,” at which I hope no exception will be taken. I might have kept the Order and given no direction upon it till my being at Dublin, but I thought it better to lose no time, the Lords expecting a speedy return of it.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 27, Dublin.—Though I presume your Grace has received a much better account than I can send you of the late occurrents in England, yet I thought it not amiss to trouble your Grace with the enclosed, for variety's sake and to compare notes : wherein your Grace will find something for your diversion, but much more for your wonder. I shall make no descant upon the particulars, but I hope I may, without offence, pray to God that He would continue us right in our wits, that we perish not for want of understanding ; lest we suffer under the same reproach that David said of Abner—*We die as fools die.*

The Lord Ranelagh's business is appointed the first of the next month, which I shall not fail to attend that I may give your Grace the best account thereof that I can. I cannot but suppose from the earnestness of my Lord Longford's letter that there are some considerable persons in London who have a severe eye upon the proceedings in that matter, though not for the advantage of this Government or Governor, yet to take a rise from thence for reflection and quarrel. I am heartily glad that your Grace had some thoughts of returning hither some time this next week, which you are pleased to intimate in your Grace's of the 21st inst., which I received at Blessinton the 23rd in the afternoon.

My Lord Mountrath and his lady are not yet come over. They have been at Holyhead this week, but they want a little courage to adventure upon the Irish seas this blustering weather, and truly they say that the dogger was very near losing by the tempestuous storms. My daughter Blessinton hath been very ill, but I thank God she begins this day to be somewhat better. My Lord of Orrery continues so ill that he is not able to write letters or his name.

I cannot retrieve either at Council Table or anywhere else the address for expelling the Irish out of our garrisons ; but if any such hath been I am promised to have it procured for me within these two days. But I now begin to think that there never were any such sent to your Grace ; but that it was taken up upon the authority of the newsletters.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to ORMOND.

1679, Octobre 2, à Oxford.—J'ay reçu la lettre dont il a pleu à votre grandeur de m'honorer du 20^e du passé, avec la copie de celle pour mon cher seigneur à qui je rendis moy-même l'original. Cette excellente lettre monseigneur qui luy étoit fort nécessaire a déjà à peu près produit l'effet que votre grandeur s'étoit promise. Mylord en est devenu et plus studieux et plus traitable ; et j'espère, monseigneur, avec l'ayde de Dieu, qu'en peu de temps la raison, le bon naturel et les belles promesses de mylord, les remontrances et les bons avis de M^r notre excellent Doyen ; les soins et l'affection de son tuteur et de moy, amèneront cette bonne

œuvre à sa perfection avec quelque reformation dans notre petite famille. C'est le sentiment de M^r notre bon évêque par les avis salutaires duquel je me conduis en tout ce qui regarde le précieux dépôt qui m'est commis.

Puisque votre grandeur me commande de luy écrire librement ce que je say des mauvais conseillers de mylord, je lui diray sincerement que pour ses compagnons je ne puis pas en donner aucun jugement positif, faisant mon affaire d'empêcher mylord de frequenter aucune mauvaise compagnie. Pour les serviteurs j'en crois M^r Gandy incapable, mais je suis bien marry de ne pouvoir pas dire la même chose du jeune homme qu'on lui a donné pour serviteur dans le College. Il y a du temps monseigneur qu'il seroit tellement entesté du desir de voyager bientot avec mylord, qu'il l'en entretenoit continuellement à son lever et à son coucher et en d'autres temps aussy bien que de quantité de sottises avec une familiarité insupportable meslée d'un dégoût d'étude qu'il inspiroit insensiblement à mylord. Ayant voulu rémedier à ce grand désordre, et ayant prié doucement le dit jeune homme de n'être point si fort assidu ni familier avec son jeune seigneur qui a assez d'autre gents pour le servir soir et matin dans sa chambre il s'est coléré contre moy il a méprisé mes prières pris plaisir de faire pis, exhorté mylord à me mépriser et à ne me dire jamais *je vous prie*, mais *je veus*, M^r nôtre bon Doyen qui en a été informé a trouvé a propos de l'envoyer. M^r Gandy même qui est l'amy du jeune homme dit qu'il est nécessaire. Le Colonel Vernon, parent du dit jeune homme, vint hier icy, il promet de le retirer dans quelque temps. Cependant il est offensé de ce que je trouve à redire à son neveu, et son déplaisir contre moy le pourra porter à faire des efforts pour me rendre de mauvais offices. Mais je veus faire mon devoir envers mylord quelque chose qui en puisse arriver. Voilà monseigneur l'état present et véritable de mylord James, et de nos petites affaires. Je demande mille pardons à vôtre grandeur de l'en avoir entretenue si longtemps et de si mauvaise grace. Mylord ne manquera pas à la première poste de demander pardon à Madame la Duchesse.*

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1679, October 2, Oxford.—I perceive you have lately taken notice of some miscarriage in the conduct of my Lord James, and know not whether I may not seem negligent in forbearing to advertise your Excellence of what happens amiss in this place. But I have so much consideration of your time and occasions, as not to think it reasonable to give you trouble upon every little accident; especially when I know that in the conduct of youth the interposition of parents is always to be reserved as the last remedy: and thanks be to God nothing of that nature has appeared here. By the grace

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

of God when anything shall happen worthy your notice I will not fail to communicate it. As to what is passed, the truth is here was an idle lad recommended to be with my young lord as a servitor, who had entertained hopes of travelling with him, and filled his head so much with these expectations that he became impatient of his own attendances upon study, and consequently my lord's. And unto him rather than my lord may be imputed what has been amiss. But he being taken off 'tis to be hoped the inconvenience will immediately cease, and that the remaining part of my lord's attendants will take warning not to think of ingratiating themselves by flatteries, but to approve themselves to your Excellence by faithful duty.

JOHN FFOLLIOTT to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, October 3, Cork.—Having some reason to believe your lordship may not be fully informed of the great indisposition of health my Lord of Orrery is now in, makes me presume to tell your lordship he is in a very desperate condition, although 'tis given out he is not so ill. But I have information from one very near him that 'tis next to a miracle if his lordship lives a fortnight. 'Tis not the gout, but a sudden violent decay in nature. Nothing they give him continues in his stomach, and he is hugely lethargic. If the knowledge of our Major General's deadly (I fear) distemper may be anyway serviceable to your lordship, I have my end.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, October 5, Newmarket.—At the time that you will receive this letter I doubt not but you will receive orders for dismissing from the Council Sir Henry Ingoldsby. This morning the King commanded me to inform Mr. Secretary that it was his pleasure that in his name he should signify so much to you. I suppose that both Mr. Secretary and you will not require any other signification. If in point of form more is necessary, I will endeavour to procure it. You know who is that gentleman's patron, and if the thing be not despatched, perhaps powerful endeavours may be used to alter His Majesty's mind.

I have it for certain that the King has sent to have the Duke and Duchess to come to either Dover or Margate, and at present it is ordered that they shall go into Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth is to remain abroad. I beseech you to keep secret this information. I am also told that my lord of Shaftesbury and others may be again put out of the Council. I do neither decline nor pursue my Spanish journey. As yet I am free, and shall for the future take that resolution which the advice of my friends and my own judgment shall dictate to me to be best.

SAME to SAME.

1679, October 6, Newmarket.—The King leaves the affair of the choosing bishops to you. In case the diocese of Kilkenny become void, if you have not fixed upon a person already, I presume to recommend Dr. Young, who was my chaplain in Flanders. He is an Oxford man, eminent in preaching and for a good life. I believe you would receive all manner of satisfaction in him, both as to the public and your own content. When I know your pleasure I shall accordingly govern myself. I am just taking coach for Euston, where I wish the hawks out of Ireland were come.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, October 9, Whitehall.—The letter you wrote me that related to Sir H. Ingoldsby I gave my lord of Ossory to show His Majesty at Newmarket, and yesterday he sent me word that His Majesty consented to what your Grace proposed in that point, and that I should write you word so in His Majesty's name. But I suppose there needeth something more of ceremony than the bare hand of a secretary to that matter, so I humbly desire your Grace to send in what form you would have the order come from hence. If by letter send a copy of one to be signed here. I suppose there is no great haste, it not being likely he will return before the Session of Parliament.

This day we have had an election for the City Members. There was great expectation of great opposition and contest. But just now I am informed the former members are all chosen again without the least dispute. It is supposed Friday or Saturday will bring His Majesty back hither, where he will find less agreeable diversements than at Newmarket. A report of His Royal Highness his going for Scotland hath made great noise here, though I cannot judge the reason of it. If it should be so intended, methinks it should be a more justifiable counsel to keep the presumptive heir of the Crown within the King's own dominions than in any other princes.

Postscript.—His Majesty hath not yet declared his pleasure concerning Dr. Ward's removal to Londonderry in case of a vacancy.

ORMOND to EARL OF ANGLESEY.

1679, October 8, Dublin.—Though yours in behalf of Dr. Sall was dated the 21st of August, yet it came not to my hands till the latter end of September, a few days before I came to Kilkenny; and then I found not with it the memorial mentioned, by which I might have understood what injury was designed to have been done him, and how to have prevented it. I am no good judge of Dr. Sall's learning; but I know he has the best reputation for sobriety and piety of any that I have known to come from the Church

of Rome to ours : and if either he had been upon the place, or if I had known he desired either preferment in the Church or better maintenance in this kingdom, I had certainly provided for him, as I shall do yet if he thinks fit to come over, and if anything in my disposal shall fall proper for him to have ; and tho' I do not think I am to be blamed for not knowing what Dr. Sall desired, when neither he nor any friend of his took the pains to tell me, yet I hold myself much obliged to your lordship's admonition.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, October 10, Newmarket.—Since my last orders are gone to meet the Duke, appointing him and his Duchess to repair to Whitehall. I received your two letters of the 27 September, which were in answer to some of mine ; only the account of the Dutch army I shall not fail to send it speedily to you, and if I find it defective I will order Cole to let me have a particular and an exact one. I return you my humble thanks for the foot company you intend me. My care of my troop at this distance will, I hope, incline you to believe I deserve that addition ; for I shall shortly make them a present of horses and facing for holsters. The King and Queen are in good health, much pleased with this place. On Monday next we all return to Whitehall. Yesterday the Queen dined at Euston with my Lord Chamberlain, a worthy friend to you and yours.

SAME to SAME.

1679, Oct. 10, Newmarket.—Since my closing of my letter of this day's date, I am informed that my Lord of Essex affirms that my Lord Ranelagh can never come off, unless you be favourable, if not in some measure partial, unto him. The first I believe is not likely ; the latter I am sure neither has nor will be your way of proceeding. From the same and several other ways I am informed that my Lord Ranelagh expects much favour from my Lord Chancellor, and that as a mark of a beginning friendship a great part of his Grace's arrears have been paid. I received a letter from Sir Robert Southwell giving an account of my Lord of Orrery's having a discovery made him of a plot that had been carrying on these two or three years. The informer is one David Fitzgerald, who affirms he told it to Sir Thomas Southwell and another justice of peace, who having omitted to make it known to him or the Lord Lieutenant, he intended to have them accused for misprision of treason. This story was writ from Limerick the 16th of September, and your letter being on the 27th I find [neither] Mr. Secretary nor any else has any notice of it from you, by which I guess this is an old trick of his lordship's. I told it to the King, who, calling him rogue and rascal, seems much incensed.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1679, October 11, London.—I was upon my journey to this town when I received the honour of your Grace's letter, which gave me very great satisfaction, since by it I find that the condition of that kingdom is not in an apparent danger of falling into a disorder if we continue quiet in this. That there will be great endeavours in the factions and discontented party here to put things into a disturbance I do not doubt ; but I hope the prudence and care of those that are loyal and moderate will defeat those designs and preserve the kingdoms in a peaceable condition.

The oaths of two creditable witnesses who have lately been examined before the Lords of the Council and came out of Yorkshire, persuade many who before did little believe there was any such thing as a Plot now to believe it. For they swear that in May last Sir Thomas Gaskin, a Papist of our county and of an estate of 2,000*l.* a year, did offer one of them 1,000*l.* to kill the King, after he had given to both of them the oath of secrecy, which though they took they have since accused the Knight, as also Sir Arthur Stapleton, who married my lord of Lindsay's sister, of the same crime. My Lord Chancellor yesterday told me that the evidence appeared to them so full that they would this time proceed against the accused.

There are yet few of the House of Commons men come up. In our shire most of those that were in the former Parliament elected are now again chosen, and without any charge to the elected, the electors coming in upon their own expense ; and this they have in many other shires practised.

My Lord of Ranelagh being now in Ireland to settle his accounts, some order will be, I hope, by your Grace taken to make him satisfy those arrears which by his contract at the end of the farm he was obliged to discharge. But there being a sum of 1,500*l.* a month to be paid by the present Farmers for the discharge of the arrears of the civil and military list contracted by him and his partners during a part of that time that they held the same, and there being upon that account some money due to me, which was left unpaid when the judges, as I am told, were satisfied, I am honestly a suitor to your Grace, since these monies are to be issued out by your order to my lord of Ranelagh, and since I am in the civil list one of the first that have a just title of preference, that your Grace will be pleased to favour me with an order for my satisfaction out of that fund, which will be an addition to those many obligations your Grace has bestowed upon me.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, October 12, Dublin.—I was the last post informed that my Lord of Essex had called for the Bill of Confirmation of Estates sent from hence above a year ago in order to the

calling of a Parliament. Ever since that and other bills were transmitted I have frequently put the Ministers in mind that they lay these before them. I have as frequently represented the defects of all things here for defence. I have put them in mind of the cloudiness of the times at home, and of the dangers threatened from abroad, and I have proposed the calling of a Parliament here, which only could, and I am confident would have provided supplies. To all these representations I have had no material returns. I saw the thing was not done, but could never receive any reason why it was not. All I can collect, and that from letters directed unto others, and by discourse, was that it was held inconvenient that Parliament should sit in England and another here at the same time. I took it for granted that this was the only reason that could be urged in debate, and therefore I took pains to show that any inconvenience from the sitting of two Parliaments at a time might easily be prevented, tho' they should be both in being, by precasting the intervals, and by suitable adjournments and prorogations. And therefore it was that soon after the separation of the Parliament in England the last winter, I took occasion from a letter I received from my Lord of Essex to send him the original of the enclosed copy, to which I have yet had no suitable return. And finding that now his lordship has called for that Bill, and only that, against which great clamours have been raised by my Lord of Orrery, Lord Massereene, and other interested persons, as too favourable to the Irish, I cannot imagine what use he can make of it, unless it be to give credit to the calumnies cast forth against me; for which this conjuncture seems more seasonable than for taking that and the rest of the bills into consideration in order to a Parliament. I am further informed that his lordship discoursing of the Revenue here, let fall some words as if the Scotch regiment should be disbanded, which perhaps may be his opinion; for I remember when he would have had the Regiment of Guards disregimented at least. But I will be bold to say whoever shall advise any diminution of the King's forces at this or any other time that I can figure to myself, either does not understand or does not wish well to the interest of the Crown.

I know no reason why you may not show the King this letter, and the enclosed copy of my letter to my Lord of Essex; by which it appears he may either mend, or (which I think is much better) wholly lay aside that Bill of Confirmation. I mention not other little interruptions I receive in the King's service by that lord's power in the Treasury, because I may impute them to the peevishness of his nature, and the vanity he takes to understand figures better than other men, and to save sixpences. I have no reserve from my Lord Chamberlain or Mr. Secretary Coventry, the latter having long since had a copy of my letter to my Lord of Essex.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, October 14, Whitehall.—Last night the King and Queen arriving here, met the Duke and Duchess returned out of Holland. I did observe much kindness among them all at their interview. As variety of rumours spread abroad, both false and true, according to the designs men drive at, so I am credibly informed that some give out that you are worked upon to be favourable to my Lord Ranelagh in the business of his accounts, upon an agreement that for that reason you are to continue in the Government. It is also reported that forty thousand pounds he says he has been given by order of a person much in credit, and that besides this he will remain fifty thousand a debtor to the King. These reports, how frivolous soever, I thought it not amiss to trouble you with them, that you may see how necessary it is that you let the world see, upon all occasions, that in this affair neither partiality nor animosity will in the least have influence upon you, but that you are guided by the same justice which has appeared in all your actions. I might have stayed giving you this trouble, but that for custom's sake I will not omit writing to you.

LORD KINGSTON to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, October 14, Boyle.—The sense I have of your lordship's civilities and favours assure me that your lordship will be pleased to pardon this trouble which I give you in desiring your lordship's assistance in an affair that concerns this town. Here is my lord, a patent come to remove Captain Morley's company from hence to Galway, which will be a very great prejudice to this country, in regard that Hanlon and other rogues, do often frequent the same; and the absence of the company will be a greater invitation to them to perplex the inhabitants, and will also be a very great obstruction to a fort that is here abuilding for His Majesty's service. I humbly beg your lordship would be pleased to obtain a countermand, and that the company may still continue here.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, October 18, Dublin.—I have yours of the 5th and two of the 10th of this month from Newmarket. I have also one of the 7th from Mr. Secretary Coventry, concerning Sir Henry Ingoldsby, wherein he desires to have the form of a dismission, which, though I think it may be better found in the Council Books there, shall be sought out here and sent time enough. For I had rather he should be put from his seat at the Board than dismissed in his absence; and therefore it will be best to keep the intention secret till he arrives here. All the letters that came with yours were full of the Duke of York and his family going to reside in Scotland, with reasons conjectured for and against it suitable to the

dispositions of those that gave them. I cannot doubt but that it is the result of serious consideration and that his reception is preparing. If he passes by land it will be a long journey, and neither safely nor decently to be performed without a considerable guard, and as the multitude are now disposed they may take it for an army raised against the meeting of the Parliament. But I know not why I talk of what will be past before you can receive this.

I had occasion to send Sir Robert Southwell a narrative of what had passed concerning the plot David Fitzgerald undertook to discover, of which I send you a copy. The matter stands as it then did; for yet the gentleman is not come to me. My purpose was when I had completed the examination of Fitzgerald and any concurring witnesses he could produce, to transmit all to Mr. Secretary (for a single witness in this case I am told will not be of much use); but before I could proceed further and with the secrecy necessary, my Lord of Orrery got notice of it, writ it over, and so it is gotten into print, with such reflections and remarks as I doubt not he designed. Howsoever, if there be any reality in the discovery (as very well there may be) the publishing of it in print will in a great measure frustrate the success of our further inquiry, instruct such as may be guilty what defence to make, and perhaps warn them to fly from justice, as the putting of Levallin in print for one of those that should have killed the King at Windsor hath done him; insomuch that all the search I have caused to be made after him hath hitherto been in vain. And now seeing it is more to be feared that those whom Fitzgerald has named to me may evade than that any other whom he may name will stay to be apprehended, I have sent to take and secure them by an express before the print can come to their hands. What it may be fit to do more upon Fitzgerald's further information shall thereupon and according to the best advice I can take be put into execution. Upon consideration of this part of my letter I have judged it might be fit to convert it and my former to Sir Robert Southwell into one to Mr. Secretary, as I shall do by this post if I find it not necessary to say for a narrative from the Judges that went Limerick circuit of their part and knowledge in the matter.

EARL OF OSSORY TO ORMOND.

1679, October 18, London.—You will receive an account of my son from your worthy friend Sir Robert Southwell. I shall therefore forbear troubling you upon that subject. We hear from all other hands that my Lord of Orrery is either dead or in a very dangerous condition. Upon serious consideration, as well as with the advice of able friends of yours, who wish cordially well in the first place to the King's service and next to your quiet and well being during the time you are in the Government, I intend to move His Majesty that

my Lord of Burlington may have the commands, all but that of Major-General, which shall become void by his brother's death. My reasons are these, that this lord has never been against the King, that his open professions are to be true to the Crown and the lawful successors, that his interest being great he may be useful if ever unhappy times should befall us. If he goes by these principles, I think you ought not to suspect his carriage towards you. Besides this, I cannot accuse him of any want of kindness towards you; for besides his open professions I am informed that he has with scorn refused to join with those that pursue malicious designs against you. When the world will know that we are the persons upon good grounds that advance this affair, I cannot but think that it will have a good effect with the King, if I find him inclined to it, and afterwards with the people when it will be seen that you make choice of a man of interest and not regard the falseness of his brother. I hope, therefore, upon this so extraordinary occasion that you will not dispose either of the troop, company or governments which shall be vacant, and that you will not blame my presumption in acting without your knowledge, if I find it necessary not to stay for it.

My Lord Maynard expressing how great respects he ever had for you, complained that you had left him out of the Commission for swearing the members of the House of Commons. He told me that if any malicious person had said any false thing of him, he hoped you would not condemn him without hearing him. I undertook that it was not a voluntary omission, for that I was confident of your regards towards him. If you have no prejudice to him, I should be glad if either by a letter to him or by some direction to me, you would clear that mistake, and have his name inserted in the Commission, the prorogation affording time enough for such an amendment. Between me and Sir Robert Southwell you have all that comes to our knowledge.

Postscript.—At this instant I have yours of the 12th, together with a letter of yours of the 7th of July last to my Lord of Essex, and will make the best use I can of them.

EARL OF LONGFORD to GEORGE MATHEW.

1679, October 18, London.—On Tuesday last Lord Shaftesbury was removed from His Majesty's Council, and yesterday the Parliament was prorogued to the 25th of January next. By which means our friends will be freed from some trouble which was intended against them by malicious people. I fear we are in some danger of losing Sir John Temple; it being reported here that Mr. Attorney-General presses hard for leave to quit his employment and retire; which when His Majesty consents unto, it is said that Sir John Temple at the mediation of my Lord of Essex will succeed him. My Lord Lieutenant has outrid hitherto all the storms his enemies have endeavoured to raise against

him, and I doubt not but he will do so still, His Majesty being immovable in his resolution of continuing him there in the Government.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, October 18, London.—I doubt not but your Grace will have an account from many hands of my Lord Shaftesbury's being removed from the Council, the intimation whereof he received from my Lord Sunderland (who was commanded by the King to signify his pleasure to him,) with so even a temper that he was very pleasant with Mr. Bridgeman, who brought him the letter; and his lordship told him the news of the prorogation of the Parliament, the intention whereof was not then known, but was executed yesterday, there having a competent number of both Houses met to that purpose only, when the Commissioners to that end prorogued it to the 26 of January next: by which means your Grace and my Lord Chancellor will be for some time free from the trouble and malice of your enemies.

My Lord Ossory having acquainted His Majesty with Sir Henry Ingolsby's manner of proceeding in the coffee-houses here against your Grace and the Government, as well as against my Lord Chancellor, His Majesty is resolved to remove him from the Council there. But before it be done Mr. Secretary thinks it will be of advantage to have the testimony of some persons who knew his discourse in the coffee-houses, which I think I shall be able to furnish him with in a day or two.

What materials the journals of the Lords' House would furnish in the affairs of Galway, Mr. Mulys tells me he has already sent your Grace. But I can trace no other footsteps of it in the minutes or journals of the Council Books than the direction to Mr. Secretary Coventry, a copy of whose letter to your Grace upon that subject I have formerly writ to your Grace. My Lord Chief Justice's report upon His Majesty's order concerning Col. Fitzpatrick was yesterday read in Council, of which, as also of the Council's sense upon it, Mr. Secretary intends to give your Grace an account by this night's packet. But I received last night the copy of a letter which 'tis said Darby Costigan, the accuser, wrote to Denny Muschamp, which is so full a discovery of the intrigue and malice of the Colonel's enemies, and tends so much to the clearing of his innocence, that I wonder your Grace mentioned nothing of it to Mr. Secretary. For I cannot believe your Grace can be ignorant of the letter, if such a thing were really writ by Costigan, it being very unlikely that Muschamp, who is a friend of the Colonel's, should conceal the letter, of which so good use may be made to his advantage.

There has been a strong report this week past at Whitehall, and indeed all over the city that my Lord Ranelagh has so

perfectly reconciled himself to your Grace, and made so fair a progress in his accounts, that all matters there relating to his accounts will certainly end to his advantage. And because it has been discoursed of at the end of the Gallery it is so universally believed that several of your Grace's friends have been with me to know the truth of it, to which I was able to give no other answer but that I did not believe it ; and thought it one of his lordship's accustomed rhodomontades. But by the method I understand is taken by the Committee in proceeding upon the first account, I foresee his lordship may possibly slip out his own neck and lay load upon his partners. For how can the advantage of law be taken against his lordship in the 24,000*l.* (for which I am informed a *scire facias* was issued out the last term) this next term while his account is depending in which the said 24,000*l.* is included ? And if by this means the cause of difference between him and his partners be removed, he will easily reconcile himself to them, who finding themselves over-powered with his conduct and interest, will be glad to patch up an agreement with his lordship : the consequence whereof will be that he shall command their purses to make compositions for what remains of his contract. And when by this means he has disentangled himself from the difficulties he was under he will be at liberty to play over again his old tricks, and come back hither with greater credit and force to do it.

The Duke is invited by the Artillery Company to dine with them on Tuesday next, which invitation he has accepted of. The day for his journey into Scotland is not yet fixed, and it is said the Duchess, who was to have continued here, has promised to accompany him thither, and order has been given to my Lord Duke Hamilton to prepare Holyrood House for their reception. Mr. Secretary told me this morning that the present Lord Mayor of London, Sir James Edwards, is very importunate with him for the despatch of some grant the King has made him of lands in Ireland, the consideration of which is now before your Grace. And Sir James having in this critical time behaved himself very worthily towards the King in the government of the City, His Majesty is also in some pain till Sir James is satisfied. Mr. Secretary therefore begs of your Grace to hasten your report to him upon it. I presumed in my last to your Grace to make an humble request to your Grace about the command of the ship designed for Loughneagh in which your Grace's sense (be it what your Grace pleases) shall entirely satisfy me.

The extraordinary rains which have continued here these three weeks past have raised the waters and rivers beyond the observation of most men now living, and the ways are so bad for travellers that I almost conclude it impossible, as well as very unfit for my wife to undertake a winter journey, from which I shall have no easy task to dissuade her. But

whether I prevail or no with her I shall however hasten myself into Ireland time enough to be there before the beginning of next term.

Mr. Attorney-General here has several times petitioned His Majesty for leave to quit his employment and retire, which His Majesty has not yet been pleased absolutely to grant. But it is generally believed that when he does it is resolved that Sir John Temple shall succeed him; and it is so far believed that I find Sir John Mead (who is the Duke's Attorney in Ireland) puts in to be Sir John Temple's successor there: for prevention of which, because I take it to be an injury to your Grace to have a place of that importance to the Government disposed of without your Grace's knowledge, I have desired Mr. Secretary to move His Majesty that no grant may be made of it till your Grace is consulted in it. Sir Richard Stephens, who cannot for 3,600*l.*, which he has offered to Sir William Temple, obtain the Mastership of the Rolls' place, thinks he has some title to the Solicitor's office (in case Sir John Temple be removed) from a promise your Grace has made him, of which I know nothing but by his information, and take not myself to be a proper judge of men's fitness or qualifications for such an employment, so I am no further concerned in this affair than for your Grace, whom I would not willingly see passed by in it.

SAME to SAME.

1679, October 21, London.—Since my last to your Grace there has nothing of moment occurred here, and I had foreborne giving your Grace this trouble had I not found Mr. Secretary Coventry very uneasy in the affairs of my Lord Mayor: who being on Wednesday sennight to quit his Mayoralty is jealous that when he is out of so useful an employment (wherein he has with great advantage to His Majesty's service behaved himself in opposition to the tumultuous spirits of the City) the merit of his past services will be forgotten. And therefore he does with great impatience solicit both the Secretaries and the King himself, who has often repeated his commands to Mr. Secretary Coventry for the despatch of it. And Mr. Secretary says till your Grace make your report he cannot move further in it, and therefore he beseeches your Grace to hasten it to him. The Duke and Duchess, encouraged by these last three days of fair weather, have resolved on Monday next to set out for Scotland. Captain Legge's troop attend them to York, and thence the Lord Fretwell's troop convoys them into Scotland. His Majesty last night knighted the two new Sheriffs of London, and this day His Royal Highness dines with the officers of the Artillery Company.

There has been a whisper of my Lord Chancellor's removal here, but I find no ground for it, His Majesty having within these two days spoke with great kindness of him. There is

great exception taken here at my Lord Primate's having taken away a sinecure which my Lord of Essex while he was in that government gave to Dr. Sall, and which was his chief support. And he being thought the considerablest convert from the Church of Rome, it is much wondered he should be so discouraged. And really this is made matter of great reflection, of which I have by this packet given his Grace intimation. My Lord Burlington told me yesterday he was resolved this night to give your Grace some cautions in Col. Fitzpatrick's business, concerning which he says several great men here have a jealous eye upon your Grace.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, October 25, London.—I had an opportunity the other day of showing the King your letter of the 21st of this month, which he read with much attention and seemed satisfied with the contents thereof to that degree, as you will see by Mr. Secretary's letter orders are given to consider of his Irish Bill in order to a Parliament. By His Majesty's command I waited on my Lord Chancellor to desire his care that all things might be soon despatched that you may soon have occasion of serving the King and kingdom by such Acts as may conduce thereunto. I pray God you may have honest and good members chosen, wherein all manner of care and diligence ought to be used. Just now I have yours of the 18th, and shall enjoin secrecy in the affair of Sir Henry Ingolsby, in which I think you take a better course to remove him when he is present than during his absence. I shall with advice of your friends make the best use I can of the relation you are pleased to give me concerning the information of David Fitzgerald.

Last post brought news of the death of my Lord of Orrery ; not finding it confirmed in your last makes me doubt of the truth of that report. Perhaps others may have information. As yet I have not seen anybody that has heard out of Ireland. The King has given orders for a jewel for me to present to the Queen of Spain, and my Lord of Essex was to know His Majesty's mind in relation to my appointments. What relates to the Duke's journey you will learn as much from the news books as from anything I can tell you, so at present I shall not give you any further trouble. I beseech you to be mindful of Savignon, who has served me with so much zeal ; and so much to his loss, having quitted very great practice to serve me by land and sea.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, October 26, Dublin.—I agree fully with all you say concerning my Lord Burlington's affections to the King's service and friendship to me in your letter of the 18th inst., which I have but some minutes to answer by this post. But

you will not wonder, or he take it ill, that not knowing that he affected any command in the army, and lying under his Majesty's injunction, I have disposed of his brother's troop and company, the first to Captain Edward Brabazon, and the other to my Lord of Granard, who else would have been the only general officer in the army without a foot company. The Government of the City of Limerick I have given to Sir William King; but if my Lord Burlington desires to have that I do not doubt but that Sir William may be persuaded to resign it and content himself to be his deputy. The Constableness of the Castle of Limerick I have given my Lord Blessinton, who has a considerable interest in that town, but the small perquisites belonging to it I have secured to Sir William King, who performs the duty. Whether my Lord Blessinton will resign to the chief of his family I cannot say, but methinks it would be a deference that might become him. There is now no Governor of the Counties of Cork, Limerick or Clare, out of which my Lord Burlington may have which he shall please, or all three, unless His Majesty shall think it fit that my Lord of Thomond have that of Clare. If you had spoke with the Secretaries they would have told you how I was commanded to give Captain Brabazon the first troop that should fall, and upon what grounds. I should be sorry that my Lord Maynard should think I could be capable of doing anything disrespectful towards him, believing him as I do to be as worthy a gentleman as I know, and my particular friend. But the truth of the matter is it was not, as least as I thought, in my power to change any of those names that were sent me to put in the Commission for swearing the House of Commons. Yet had I read them over, and missed his name, as I did not, I think I should have ventured to put him in. I pray you assure his lordship that I am so far from having the least dissatisfaction with him that I beseech him to believe me to be his very real friend and servant.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, October 28, London.—I writ to you some days since, humbly offering my opinions as to the disposal of some places vacant by my Lord of Orrery's death. The Duke spoke on behalf of my Lord of Burlington as to the troop, but the King would not hear of it, and talking to me about that lord seemed unsatisfied with his actings in Parliament. But I that observed him cannot see any just reason to blame him. If being against my Lord of Danby be the thing, many more are in the same case. However, I have not spoken anything to my Lord of Burlington, so that he cannot say I have failed in my design of assisting him towards the King or you. I wish you could oblige him for many reasons. My Lord Chamberlain thinks it would be proper for you to alter the

late Commission for swearing members of the House of Commons, and that you would empower some of them to administer the oaths, which he thinks will be well taken. I am ignorant of the forms, but leave the thing to your consideration. I have not anything more to say, although I am not pressed in point of time.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, October 28, Whitehall.—We begin to consider of your bills for a Parliament. The Bill of Settlement is ordered to be considered by the Committee for Ireland. Yours of the 20th is the first and only letter that brought the news of the Earl of Orrery's death. His relations do not yet avow it. His Majesty is well pleased with the dispositions you have made, and promiseth to hold his hand for the rest till he hear further from your Grace; but I perceive he hath had very good impressions of the Earl of Thomond's just pretences to the government of Clare. Yesterday His Royal Highness and family took their journey towards Scotland. The Earl of Radnor is made President of the Council. No news of importance from home or abroad.

ORMOND to SIR HANS HAMILTON.

1679, October 28, Dublin.—It would be an extraordinary service to the King and of great advantage to me that Oliver Plunket, the titular Primate, and Tyrrell, the titular Bishop of Clogher, might be apprehended; and therefore it is that I recommend it to your uttermost care and diligence, presuming that no man can be more like to effect it than yourself: and the better to enable you I give you liberty to engage me for any reasonable reward to any that shall discover them or any of them to you, so as they may be taken, or any one of them. The thing is of more than ordinary importance, and therefore let me once more recommend it to your best industry.

Copy.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, October 30, Dublin.—On the 28th I received yours of the 21st of this month with the enclosed information, and by that night's post sent orders to the fittest persons I could think of to search for and apprehend the two persons named in the information, and shall give the like orders concerning some others of the same degree and profession as soon as I can have probable notice whereabouts they are harboured. I do not know of above seven or eight men of that sort in the kingdom, and I think I can guess which of them are most like to have signed the paper of recommendation, if any such there was. But in case any of them shall be taken I doubt it will be hard to discover by them whether there was really any such paper signed by them or no. Nor can I imagine

from what other hand, or by what other means to go about the discovery of a thing the knowledge and concealing whereof is so criminal. Yet I will turn all my thoughts and supply all my endeavours to find out the truth, being besides the performance of my duty engaged to it by reasons that are peculiar to, Sir, etc.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, November 1, London.—I need not bespeak your favour or assistance in anything relating to my Lord Chamberlain, knowing how well and with how much reason you are disposed to anything wherein his interest can be concerned. To my Lord Privy Seal, who shares in the same business now before you, I think I ought to inform you of his late behaviour, which has been with all the vigour and steadiness imaginable in the House of Lords and elsewhere upon the occasion of the King's service and the right of the Crown and the lawful succession. Besides I cannot accuse him of any want of goodwill towards you, especially when the affairs of Ireland were mentioned in the Parliament, where there was no wanting many false and malicious reflections. I beseech you to make as speedy a return of that affair as conveniently you can. I question not but if there be room to show friendship you will afford it upon this occasion. My Lord Privy Seal repines that a letter was sent for erecting some land into two manors, and that nothing has been done upon it. Both these lords hope you will show them your friendship in the business of the lapse money, as well as in that due to them by the Lord Ranelagh.

SIR HANS HAMILTON to ORMOND.

1679, November 1.—Having received your command to return to you the names of three discreet justices of the peace, in order to your Grace's sending down to this country a commission for trying the three Tories lately taken, I humbly offer to your Grace Sir George Acheson, Edward Richardson, Esq., and Mark Middleton, Esq., who are discreet and understanding persons, and now in the country. The Irishman's name who so eagerly pursued the Tories, and to whom I allowed to carry a carbine, is Torlogh P. Hagan. Your Grace was pleased to promise him a license for so doing, which will encourage him and others of the country to do a like service.

I gave John M'Ginnis your Grace's order, and with it an order not only to those of my own company, but to those at Newry and Tanderagee as being near to the places where he hopes to find him napping. This was M'Ginnis his own desire; but I ordered him to keep all the orders private to himself until he had immediate occasion to make use of them. He is as likely to do it as any I know.

SAME to SAME.

1679, November 1.—Your Grace's of the 28th of October I received, in obedience to which I will leave no means unattempted to obey your commands. I am confident if David Fitzgerald comes to this country I shall hear of it. But I was about four days ago told by a popish priest, who some days before had gotten induction to a parish from him, that he had left him at a certain place within seven miles of Dublin; that he had cut off his beard and hair, had got a light coloured wig, and went by a feigned name which I have forgot, for then I had not had your Grace's commands. I have sent for the same priest and will get by discovery from him the name of the place he resided in then and for several weeks before, and will by the next give your Grace an account of all. I am confident he keeps much, if not in Dublin, yet near it. I assure your Grace if he comes within his own pretended diocese I shall meet with him. I have laid out also for Tyrrell, who if in this country or county of Cavan will also be found. But his absconding places I know not so well as the others.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, November 2, Whitehall.—This is only to accompany a petition of my lord of Thomond referred by his King to your Grace. I acquainted you in my last that the King had a very good impression of his right, and a letter was once proposed; but I desired it might pass by reference to your Grace. He is not himself in town, but when he cometh you will easily believe it will not be pursued with less activity. Your Grace may take your own means, but the manner of your compliance is worth considering. If you concur you will have share in the obligation; if you oppose you will have a struggle: for the King seemeth much resolved in it.

This is from the Council table, where we have a detail of a new discovery relating to the Plot, made by one Willoughby, not as an original informer, but a delinquent confessing; which will involve many men in the Plot, both as to trial of several persons not yet accused, and the great disadvantage of those that are; very foul practices being sworn by him, and with very particular circumstances. It is said Col. Talbot is as well at Paris as ever in his life, which hath some reflections upon your Irish attestations, though there hath yet nothing been spoken openly of this.

SIR HANS HAMILTON to ORMOND.

1679, November 3.—Since my last of the 1st instant I meet the priest I mentioned, whom I told I had a desire to send a letter to Doctor Fitzgerald (in favour of the parish priest of the parish I live in, whom the said Doctor was turning out) if I might know where to send it to him. He told me that I was confident that it would find him at the place he

left him at, which is an ancient lady's house in a castle about a mile and a half from the Naul, near or in the road from Naul to Dublin, but could not remember the lady's name. He told me that I must direct my letter to Mr. Meleady, near the Naul (for he goes by that name). It is possible he may be there still, unless he have been alarmed from Dublin. I am resolved to send my parish priest with a letter about his own concern to find him out, for such can best do it; but I have laid out all his haunts in the whole diocese; so that I am confident that he shall not come thither but your Grace shall have a good account of him.

Postscript.—I have also laid for him in the County Donegal, where he often lies quiet at a Papist house of my name.

SIR THOMAS WHARTON to ORMOND.

1679, November 7, York.—I had the honour and satisfaction of your Grace's of the 17th October about a week since, but would not sooner give you my acknowledgments for it, intending to acquaint your Grace with what I have seen and been told (by those that waited upon the Duke from London hither) of his Highness motions to these parts. He lodged the first night at my Lord Salisbury's house in Hatfield, where his lordship was not, nor any that gave the Duke's servants what pleased them. The second night at an inn in Bigglesmouth in Bedfordshire, where my Lord Ailesbury waited upon his Royal Highness with some gentlemen. The third was at Huntingdon, where he lodged at Sir Lionel Walden's, and was nobly treated. The fourth was at Stamford, in my Lord Lindsey's lieutenancy, where his lordship and some other persons of quality attended, and so likewise at Grantham the next night, that town being too in Lincolnshire. The sixth he came to Newark, in Nottinghamshire, where the Duke of Newcastle, being lieutenant, waited upon His Highness. There they rested Sunday, and on Monday came to Welbeck, my Lord Newcastle's, and were treated that night, and the next morning came to Doncaster in Yorkshire. Upon the way, at the entrance into the county, was the High Sheriff and some few of us neighbours, and he not being known to the Duke desired my acquainting His Highness that he was there to wait upon him, which when I had acquainted the Duke with he commanded his coach to stop, and the High Sheriff presented himself to His Highness (who had come above sixty miles to perform that duty, living very near the bishopric of Durham). Before we got to Doncaster divers others of the county met the Duke stragglingly, and my Lords Derby and Strafford in a coach, and the Duke stopping they lighted and kissed his hands. At Doncaster was my Lord Derby, Strafford, my Lady Anna Laugh, [Ranelagh], and Margaret Wentworth, and other ladies to kiss the Duchess's hands; and many county gentlemen waited on him to Pomfret on Wednesday,

and last night to this town, and I suppose will stay till Monday that the Duke moves northwards. My Lord and Lady Derby stayed much longer with my Lord Strafford than they intended, purposely for this courtship. At Tadcaster (eight miles from this place) the Archbishop of York kissed the Duke and Duchess's hands in their coach, and so waited on them hither. The Sheriffs of the city were about three miles off, and after the Duke alighting, the Dean and Prebends first, and a little after my Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs presented themselves in their formalities, and the Deputy Recorder made a speech, in which he complimented the Duke, who himself brought them to kiss the Duchess's hands. My Lord Marquis of Athol came from London with the Duke, and his lady in the Duchess's coach, which troubles some left behind at London, as I am credibly informed. My Lady Roscommon has that honour too, and the Duke likes the company in the coach so well that he has not been on horseback all this journey, but sometimes walks a mile or two when the way is good. The Bishop of Durham was the last week five days' journey from Durham towards London, and upon notice of the Duke's going by land into Scotland returned back into the Bishopric to receive the Duke there, and ('tis said) to treat him three or four days. My lady Marquis of Winchester intends the being here this night, coming from her house about thirty miles northward. Your Grace will pardon this long scribble, which is only for a winter night's diversion. The Duke's retinue is but small, my Lord Roscommon and a few of his family, and my Lord Lumley, a volunteer. One single troop came hither, and my Lord of Sackville's [?] marches along from hence and the other returns.

I fear the page's intelligence of my Lady Derby is not authentic. I had the honour of seeing her and her sister at my poor house, where it is to be supposed your Grace and my lady Duchess were wishing her. My Lord Derby within this month has given me thanks for that I was instrumental in getting him so good a wife. Truly I hope he values her as he ought. I have both his own and aunt Strafford's word for it, who commanded her this evening to present her humble service to your Grace, with her thanks for your kind wish to her sent in your letter, which I told her of. After all this ramble it is time to ease your eyes, when I have begged your Grace's giving my humblest duty to my Lady.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1679, November 8, Whitehall.—Mr. Secretary being again confined to his bed by the gout in his right hand, which makes him incapable of writing to your Grace with his own hand, has commanded me to acquaint you that His Majesty being informed that your Grace is disposing of the pension of 800*l.* per annum which my Lord Orrery enjoyed in lieu of his government of Munster till a certain sum of money was paid

him for that government, His Majesty desires your Grace not to dispose of the said pension, he not being now in a condition to pay the money which will be demanded by the children or executors of the Earl of Orrery upon the stop of that pension. By the next I hope Mr. Secretary will be able himself to write your Grace more fully upon this matter.

The Council is frequently employed in the examination of Mr. Dangerfield, *alias* Willoughby, about this second Plot of the Papists, upon which my Lord Powis is committed to the Tower. But as yet this matter not being thoroughly examined, but imperfect, I shall not presume to give your Grace any account of it, presuming you have it from better hands.

Postscript.—Thursday night the Duke and Duchess of Grafton's marriage was confirmed.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, November 11, London.—Yesterday I showed my Lord of Burlington your letter. He is extremely satisfied, and all he desires is that you would keep void for him the lieutenancy of the county of Cork until he waits upon you, which he designs doing about the beginning of the next spring, and any other intencion he absolutely disclaims, and he does express great kindness to you and all related unto you. When Mulys went to my Lord of Essex concerning my appointments for my Spanish journey he told him the King had altered that resolution. As yet I have it not from His Majesty's own mouth, but considering the present wants I little doubt the truth of that assertion. I have not anything more to say. Sir Robert Southwell I am sure informs you much better than I can do of further transactions.

WARRANT to CAPTAIN THOMAS FITZGERALD for ARREST of PATRICK LAVALLYAN.

1679, November 12, Whitehall.—Whereas we have been given to understand that you have some information that Captain Lavallyan, one of the persons accused for designing to assassinate us, is in Ireland, and of the place where he is harboured, we do hereby direct and authorise you to repair forthwith to such place or places where you suspect he may be found, and having seized and apprehended him to deliver him into the hands of our right trusty and right entirely well beloved cousin and counsellor James Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be by him sent over in safe custody into England, in order to be proceeded against according to law. And in the execution hereof all Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other our officers and loving subjects are hereby required to be assisting to you as they will answer the contrary at their perils. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given, etc.

A like warrant for apprehending of Denis O'Kearney.

Signed SUNDERLAND.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1679, November 12, London.—By reason of Mr. Mylius his unjust and ill conduct of Mrs. Gwin's affairs, I have been necessitated to send one Mr. Alexander Adair, and to constitute a new person, one Mr. St. Vast, to look after the business, and to call Mr. Mylius to an account, and return such moneys as are due at the Exchequer. Mrs. Gwin has commanded me humbly to desire your Grace that if there be any application made to you in her behalf, that you would be pleased to help her by your commands. She presents you with her real acknowledgments for all your favours, and protests she would write in her own hand, but her wild characters she says would distract you. This, my lord, was her own natural notion when I showed her your Grace's kind return upon the King's letter, since which I have not heard anything from Mr. Mylius, which gives me some apprehensions of him, and caused my sending a messenger on purpose.

I will not lose this opportunity of giving your Grace some account of things here. Mr. Dangerfield, *alias* Willoughby, has now finished his information and his pardon is ordered. He has proved most of the particulars, which would not have been of so much importance had they not been denied by my Lady Powis, and one Mrs. Syliard [Cellier] a midwife. His charge was that he was taken out of Newgate to my Lady Powis, and supplied with money, and carried to the Lords of the Tower to speak with the Lords, and that my Lord of Arundel and my Lord Powis treated with him, and offered him 2,000*l.* and then 3,000*l.* to kill the King; which he said he scrupled to do as a matter of so difficult a nature that if he could compass it he should not get off to enjoy his reward; but acknowledged he undertook to kill my Lord Shaftesbury, and was then about it and spoke with my lord; but it seems that he was so jealous that he would not let his servants go out of the room; by which means failing he was afterwards upbraided by Mrs. Syliard as wanting spirit, and she resolved to execute it. These things lay upon his own testimony, but all the circumstances of being fetched out of prison, supplied with money, carried to the Tower to the Lords and several meetings with and at Mrs. Syliard's house, he proved by others. He also had my Lord Peterborough sent for by the Council, who confessed that he had carried Sir Robert Peyton privately to the Duke, and from these particulars and others made out the discovery there was a counterplot designed to involve the Protestants in it, that divers considerable persons and their estates might be laid hold on.

I have run over this shortly because I am confident your Grace has the account at large. Only I shall add what effects it works here. In the first place 'tis confidently reported here that on the 17th of this month, on Queen

Elizabeth's birthday, Sir Robert Peyton will be burned with the Pope, and 'twill seem a just resentment of people that such a man that out of pretence of conscience appeared so high against the Duke not only in Parliament, but in all places and upon all occasions, should be found out in secret addresses ; at least where he had behaved himself extremely ill. I wish it may be a motive to induce all persons to hate unbecoming violences.

The business has given new ferment to that which seemed more quiet than formerly, and has now confirmed belief and wakened apprehensions, rendering most men of the moderate principles eager for a Parliament, which the last Council day was moved to the King, and seconded by many. My Lord of Essex, my Lord Russell, my Lord Cavendish, and Sir Henry Capel spoke in it, but the King appeared not then ready or easy to have it debated, but it was left as the thing resolved again to be taken up. The City is with those that think it necessary for a Parliament to sit in January, and I believe this opinion is so universal that it will come with more weight to the King than can be conveniently resisted. Besides, I fear that if the King depends to subsist by his own revenue without further help, he will be deceived in that opinion, let what severity or good husbandry be used that can be. For the consideration of the debts on the revenue and the sad prospect of 300,000*l.* a year ceasing by Midsummer next come twelve months will make it appear too desperate to depend on such a proposition, and I hope there are none that undertake such a dangerous piece of service.

With these things joins this day the news of the Dutch having made a strict alliance with the French. How true that is I yet know not, but enough is believed to increase the particular desire of the Parliament, which yet hangs in suspense. This short account I have given your Grace to continue all testimonies of my duty and inclination to serve you.

Postscript.—I write more freely because I send it by a safe hand, who returns again to me.

SIR STEPHEN FOX to ORMOND.

1679, November 18, Whitehall.—I think it very improper that your Grace should be informed by any other hand than mine of the change it hath pleased His Majesty to make in my condition. For upon the Earl of Essex his withdrawing himself from the Commission of the Treasury, the King hath thought fit to advance me (tho' unworthy) to be in that Commission. And as it is a mark of His Majesty's great goodness I cannot but value it, but otherwise I assure your Grace I should have been much better pleased to have continued in my old station, with which, being better acquainted, I could have been more useful than I fear I can be in the difficult post I am now going to, which will be inconsistent

with the Paymaster's place of the Forces, but not with that of the Green Cloth, which giving me accommodation especially for lodgings in Whitehall makes me desire either to keep that office, or so to resign it that I may find my conveniency thereby still continued ; which His Majesty hath been pleased to leave to my choice, either to remain Clerk of the Green Cloth still, or to resign it to my brother, His Majesty's ancient servant, who being sixteen years older than myself and coming in to be youngest at the Board, will not, I think, occasion repining in anybody, which makes me the bolder in humbly desiring your Grace's favour in concurring with His Majesty in granting me that liberty if I shall find such a resignation expedient shortly after I am in the Commission ; for as yet I am sure it will be for the good of the service of the house if I remain an officer, for it may not be impossible to increase the sum of 48,000*l.* per annum for the good of my fellow servants, which if I can I am sure I will. But as yet that is the sum fixed for the expense of the House and Stables, which 107,000*l.* did never amply defray. In short, my humble request to your Grace is that I may by your Grace's leave resign my office when it is seasonable to my brother, if I find it expedient so to do.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, November 18, London.—A monstrous national concern of a greyhound match between the Duke of Albemarle and Sir Ralph Dutton obliging my judgship to appear here, gives me a specious pretence of addressing to your Grace that if any journey work of any sort is cut out I may have your Grace's custom. As for news, some is too dangerous and some too doubtful to be written. Of the former sort I dare not so much as think. Of the latter, the two main points are whether a Parliament or no Parliament, and whether a League offensive and defensive. They say that my Lord Essex last Wednesday moved in Council that His Majesty would be pleased to satisfy the longings of his people by some assurance of that kind, and that Roberts, Cavendish and Sir H. Capel all seconded it, but the King did answer he had not yet thought of it. As to the other, the two rivals for our strict alliance are France and Holland. We believe the former are the franker chapmen, and consequently will carry it. And the greater the alliance the greater the sum, so that it comprehends all enemies, both domestic and foreign. And some resolve the meanness of touching French money to be the reason that makes my Lord Essex squeasy stomach, that it can no longer digest his employment of first Commissioner of the Treasury, who certainly is quitting his seat in that Chamber, and Mr. Hyde (now making Viscount Killingworth [Kenilworth] is to slip out of his own into it, being next to it, and Sir Stephen Fox makes up the number of five. One passage I must repeat, whose truth was affirmed to me

yesterday, that Lord Halifax at his coming lately to town sent for his excuse why he did not wait on Lord Shaftesbury that he had a severe fit of the strangury, who sent him back word he mistook his disease : it was Ormond lay very heavy cross his stomach, and he could neither get it up nor down.

But to leave these constrained secret discourses, I crave leave to return to what is more natural and easy to me. Yesterday the two great antagonists for the laurel of being best greyhound master (Albemarle and Dutton) have matched five greyhounds for 100*l.* each dog, and one more the odd match, to be run the first day the weather will permit. Tho' judge for both, I have backed my countryman with fifty-five guineas. Of the success your Grace may expect a perfect account hereafter, as also of all things else during my stay here that shall happen to my knowledge and be judged worthy of your Grace's. And. Brians Lindsay House is let. As I greedily covet your Grace's commands, so I humbly beseech for the future that they may be directed to my new correspondent, my Lord Oxford's porter, at his lordship's house in St. James's Square ; as also your Grace's belief that as they shall be joyfully received, so they shall be readily obeyed.

JOHN NAPPER to THE FARMERS OF THE CUSTOMS.

1679, November 19, Waterford.—The soldiers of the place are very rude. Besides a hundred abuses formerly committed, the last night they barbarously murdered the High Constable of this place, and cut Captain Wheeler, commander of a London ship, in three or four places without provocation. They make the taverns and alehouse keepers to shut up their doors, and hinder trade much. Besides we dare not walk the streets as much as formerly at all hours of the night, for the preservation of the Customs, because of their mischiefs. This must be the Farmers' evil, if not prevented, which makes me presume to acquaint you, although I believe our Collector has done it to the Board before.

Copy. Endorsed : A letter written concerning the murder and other disorders said to be committed by the soldiers in Waterford.

CAPTAIN JULIUS LOCKHART to ORMOND.

1679, November 22, Waterford.—I do not doubt but that your Grace has been surprised with the news concerning the death of one of the inhabitants of this city that the express brought your Grace. And I do really believe that they have aggravated the examinations now sent up to your Grace with several circumstances, and made them a great deal worse than it is really, if the truth of the whole was but known. Our Major being by your Grace's orders gone to Youghal, I have thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace

of the truest relation I could have, which I have sent up in a letter to Mr. Gascoigne, your Grace's Secretary, to be given to your Grace, and I must presume to tell your Grace that it is our great misfortune that having in all other places lived regularly and well with the inhabitants, we should here meet with more rudeness than anywhere else, and nothing but daily reproaches from the inhabitants.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, November 22, Whitehall.—During my indisposition I was fain to make use of Henry Thynne's hand to your Grace to signify the King's pleasure that the money yearly paid to the Earl of Orrery in lieu of his Government of Munster should not be transferred to the payment of any other pensions till the pretences the Earl's children have to it were heard and determined. I suppose your Grace hath received that letter, and this is but a reiterating the same command from His Majesty.

You will be informed from several hands what a design the last Lord Mayor or his agent Taylor had to have disoblged not only your Grace but all future lieutenants of Ireland by putting Kilmainham and some three hundred acres of the Phoenix Park into his grant, as land in the custodium of one Hill. I confess I did always fear there was something in it that would not endure the light of Ireland that made them press so hard for passing it here. But it is happily stopped at the Treasury, and methinks this were a good occasion to propose a settlement of that Park upon the Government for ever. For I have been told the Duchess of Cleveland began to renew her old suit again, but was refused.

Your Grace's of the 5th of November came when I was sick, which I transmitted to Sir Robert Southwell to acquaint His Majesty in Council with it, who possibly may have given you some account of it. But the truth is our plots are so teeming that they take up all our time. But I will the next week make one essay more upon that letter.

For yours of the 3rd of November, I shall transmit your report of my Lord Thomond's affair to the Treasury, where your friend Mr. Hyde now presides and is of the Council. My Lord Anglesey's letter appeareth now to be nigher my own door for Mr. Cooke drawing these letters, and I have got it signed and countersigned, though the work done. But it seemeth my Lord Privy Seal never thought fitting to send for it, and the letter hath remained so many months in my office for want of calling for. But if men will appoint nobody to look to their business either on this side or your side the sea, it is no wonder if they meet with disappointments. As to what relates to the Proclamation concerning the Plot, I shall acquaint His Majesty the next Council day, and receive his commands and transmit them to you. My Lord Longford

is coming towards you he saith this week. He will give you a large account of our disorders here. The Committee for the Irish bills is so far from sitting so often as your Grace desires that they have never sat yet. The reason I cannot tell.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, November 22, London.—News is become the scarcest commodity in this city. We talk that it is not we who refuse to conclude amity with the Dutch, but the Dutch must be secured by a Parliament, and then the consequences must needs be that amity with them is uncertain, as is the sitting of the Parliament. Nor do I see that we are guilty of making any great court to the French, whose King (as a Privy Councillor told me this evening) hath sent our King word that the Duke of Buckingham hath been with them, and offered to treat with him in behalf of the people of England, who on such terms as he should propose would embrace his protection. But the King I suppose can only resent it, not question it, unless the French King could be persuaded to come and give testimony *viva voce*. If I may be permitted to play at small game I shall repeat a particular that I was informed part this week at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, where just before the King came in a most scurrilous, libellous copy of verse was read, severe upon almost all the courtiers save my Lord Mulgrave, whose sole accusation was that he was a cuckold-maker. This brought him under suspicion to be (if not guilty of the making, yet) guilty of being privy to the making of them, who just coming in with the King, Mrs. Buckley saluted him (in raillery) by the name of cuckold-maker, who taking it in earnest replied she knew one cuckold he never made, which she took for so great an affront that it seems her husband was entitled to the revenge. But the King, it seems, came to the knowledge of it, and interfered his authority to antidote bloodshed. I have nothing more to add but that the penman is the reader's most devoted servant.

ORMOND to the MAYOR OF WATERFORD.

1679, November 25, Dublin Castle.—Finding that several letters in that city to divers persons in this, make mention not only of the late killing of one Browne, High Constable of Waterford, but of many other outrages, insolencies and oppressions, committed on the inhabitants by the officers and soldiers garrisoned there, we wonder not only that we have received no account or intimation from you, the Chief Magistrate, of the killing of the said Browne, but that if the other violences committed by them have been so great, and for so long a time continued as is reported, that neither at our being with you at Waterford, nor so near you as Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Carrick, nor yet since our coming hither, no complaint or address hath been made unto us whereby we

might have had knowledge of the grievance of that city, and opportunity to let them see how ready we are and ever shall be to the utmost of our power to protect and do justice to the meanest of them against whoever shall presume to injure them, such being His Majesty's gracious pleasure and express commands laid upon us. Whereof we require you to give the citizens and inhabitants of that city notice, and whatsoever they have to complain of shall be readily and impartially heard and justice as impartially done to them or any of them that shall appear to have been wronged. And further, we require you according to the duty of your place to use your uttermost endeavours to prevent any new or further disorders, which we have already required from the officer commanding the soldiers in chief there. And so we remain, etc.

Addressed: To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor of the City of Waterford.

ORMOND to SIR STEPHEN FOX.

1679, November 26, Dublin.—Nothing could have been better contrived to my satisfaction than your access to a part in the Treasury and your continuance in the Household. I hope the King and you will as well find your account in it. But if you shall find any inconsistency or inconvenience in retaining your place at the Green Cloth, I willingly consent that your brother may supply your room there, which consent of mine you are at liberty to declare either by virtue of this letter or by making use of one of the blanks in your hands.

When you shall be at liberty and settled in the Treasury Chamber, I shall desire you to allow Sir Cyril Wyche some time of discoursing with you concerning the affairs of this kingdom, and particularly about the recovery of a sum of money, part of that advanced by the present Farmers of this Irish Revenue, and which is gone astray betwixt the Lord Treasurer, Danby, the Earl of Ranelagh, the Treasurer of the Navy and the present Farmers. Sir Cyril will inform you more particularly. I shall also desire you that at your leisure you would look upon those State and other papers relating to this kingdom which have been transmitted hence, and sent by the King's command to the Treasury Chamber that you may the better comprehend what may hereafter be sent, and enabled upon occasion to make proper reports upon reference from His Majesty. I wish you all happiness at all times and at all places.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, November 29, Whitehall.—You will have an account of what has happened and the present state of things since the arriving of the Duke of Monmouth, and also what passed at the Board yesterday relating to Ireland from a more authentic hand. I have nothing to trouble you withal but

humbly to mind you of sending over an account of those addresses made by the Lords and I suppose transmitted by the King to you, relating to the security of the Protestant religion in that kingdom. Great exceptions have been taken at you giving the Irish time to bring in their arms, and not making a private and strict search as you did when the conspiracy of Blood was on foot. I leave it to your consideration if it were not prudent again to seize upon all their arms, by which you will both show your care and give satisfaction that there is no such danger as some do maliciously suggest. A relation of the affairs of Fitzgerald is also expected.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, November 29, Whitehall.—I have your Grace's in answer to my Lord of Orrery's pension, and it was either a needless jealousy or something worse, I conceive, that made his relations press so earnestly for an order to your Grace. For what you wrote concerning directions for a proclamation suitable to what His Majesty had issued out here concerning the Plot, I have moved it in Council. I suppose you intended that which prefixeth a time for every man to bring in what he knoweth concerning it. It is consented to the Council, but the order not yet being come to my office I can only give your Grace notice of it. My next will bring you the order itself.

The Committee now meeteth to inspect the Bill, and I suppose it will be much in pursuance of your Grace's letter to me. The sudden and unexpected arrival of the Duke of Monmouth yesterday about two o'clock in the morning, hath given a great alarm. The King hath refused to see him, and by four or five reiterated messages commanded his return; but he hath refused. It is said (and I believe it) all his charges will be given away. On the other side the acclamation of the rabble as to bonfires have been very great and not a little disorderly. It is said though he arrived at that dead hour at his lodgings he had been three days in England. And one argument that his coming was known to some long before, copies of elaborate verses by several authors were published by eight of the clock in the morning and printed and cried in the streets. Matters seem to grow very rife and the confusion great.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, November 29, London.—How long the Duke of Monmouth hath been in town I know not; but this I do that last Thursday he sent by Captain Godfrey a letter to the King, both to acquaint His Majesty that he was returned and to beseech His Majesty's permission to kiss his hand. The King in great fury returned this answer: commanded him immediately to begone again, positively refusing to see

him. But that was what he could not, it seems, submit to; but about two that night came to the Cockpit, and before three all the bells set a-ringing and bonfires began to be made early in the morning in several places and at night everywhere, all passengers being made to join in the rabble's prayers, who attended the fires, for Protestant Duke James. But the King, as soon as he understood his being at the Cockpit, sent my Lord Falconbridge (whose interest in the Duke of Monmouth was inferred from his having made him his Deputy Justice in Eyre in his absence) both to persuade and command his departure, and immediately, out of the King's House. The Duke urged his innocence and desired to come to his trial, that banishment was the proper badge of a malefactor. What prison soever the King should commit him to, he was ready to submit, but could not go beyond the sea without exposing of his life or (what was dearer to him) his honour: all people beyond sea looking on him as one who had fled from justice and been guilty of the greatest of crimes, plotting against King and Father both in one, and used him accordingly. This was the return Lord Falconbridge made, but that he had left the Cockpit, since the King would not permit his abode under his roof, and was gone to the Blue Mews, where he yet continues. Yesterday an express was dispatched to the Duke in Scotland to inform him, if not to recall him. However, the result we all presume will be His Royal Highness hastening hither; and then what is next God knows. Some arraign his Grace with the double guilt of disloyalty and undutifulness, both to King and parent. Others do not only pity him, but co-suffer with him (as it were) in this his hard measure, and would discriminate either Protestantism or Popery by his usage. He is certainly at the present the idol of the people. 'This nine days' wonder hath so monopolised all discourses that all other news is out of date. So may the writer be when he ceases to be the reader's in all duty and devotion.

JAC. CAROLUS to ORMOND.

1679, December 1 (December 11, N.S.). The Hague.—Here was with me Mr. Greenings, of Rotterdam, and the Chief Master of the Woollen Drapers. They are resolved to set up in Carrick. Greenings is now buying of timber for the building he means to make there. I have promised him that he shall have liberty to dig slates on your land free, and have given hopes that the Farmers will not exact any duties from the workmen for the tools and looms they bring to work with, nor their household stuff, which are old and of little value. It will be a great encouragement to them if I am empowered to assure them of this. They intend to be here by March. I am persuaded I can send a company of Brewers there if it be thought advantageous. Herein I desire your Grace's pleasure. I pray you let me here know if the concordatum

will bear the sending me any present supply, while I am about this work so profitable to the public.

Postscript.—Your pleasure I desire to receive under cover of Sir Gabriel Silvius at The Hague.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, December 2, London.—This day I had some discourse with Sir Robert Howard concerning Mrs. Nelly's pretension to some lands and houses pretended to belong to my Lord of Dungannon. I entreated him to write unto you what he thought might be said, as if you were not ready to give a just despatch unto that affair, and more, I undertook that you would give him all the satisfaction you could; which I entreat you to do, because I know the King is set on the thing, intending it as a settlement for my Lord of Burford.

I have formerly writ all that occurred to me relating to such public affairs as concern you more particularly, and have now no further trouble to give you. All the world now visits the Duke of Monmouth; but considering how affairs are between the King and him, I think it not respectful in me towards His Majesty to make that compliment.

ORMOND to MAJOR HALKETT.

1679, December 2, Dublin.—Among other complaints made here of the Mayor of Waterford one is that some of the soldiers under your command have threatened that for every one of the prisoners accused to have murdered Browne, the High Constable, that shall suffer for the same, they will have the lives of a hundred of the citizens, and tho' it may perchance be hard to find out the particular soldiers that have uttered such speeches, yet it may be requisite for you to do your endeavour to be informed of the truth thereof, and if it can be found who hath been guilty thereof we expect you should secure him or them.

Another complaint is made that the Sheriffs of the City who are to answer for the forthcoming of the prisoners to be tried for the part they are charged with, are not permitted to secure them, as all who stand accused and committed for such crimes usually are, by bolts or shackles, but that some officers have interfered to prevent it, and some soldiers have threatened to kill the said Sheriffs if they should do it. We are unwilling to believe either of the complaints in reference to the officers, presuming they better understand their duty than to meddle with prisoners in the hands of civil justices, or to interrupt civil officers in the discharge of their offices, otherwise than by application to the Government, in case they suffer their soldiers to be more rigorously dealt with than justice and duty requires. Yet we have thought fit to require you in case of any such miscarriage any officer may have been guilty of for want of knowledge in the

laws and customs of the kingdom, to let them know it is our express pleasure that they molest not the Sheriffs, but permit them to proceed with these prisoners according to their own rules and methods, and if it appear to them that any of the soldiers have been guilty of the threatenings aforesaid that they deliver them up to the civil magistrate to be dealt with as to justice shall appertain. And so we bid you farewell.

Addressed : To our trusty and well-beloved Major Halkett, or the officer-in-chief, commanding His Majesty's forces garrisoned at Waterford.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, December 2, London.—I had not so soon added to my last, but that before Saturday's post I hope to make an exchange from the troubles of this place to the pleasures of the country, designing to visit some friends and settle at Christmas at Hardwicke. The King hath now made good his word. He threatened the Duke of Monmouth if he did not forthwith return beyond sea he would strip him. His Mastership of the Horse continues in Commission, as it was supposed kept so for the Duke of Richmond; but since the King hath declared he shall not have it. His Lord Lieutenantcy of Staffordshire either my Lord Brooke or Lord Ferrers hath, yet not known to which, but the former is believed by most to be the man. His Lord Lieutenantcy of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and Government of Hull my Lord Mulgrave was prevailed with by the King to accept of, which for two reasons he seemed to decline: 1. They were feathers plucked from the King's son; 2. He probable to return into favour again, and then all must be refunded. The King's answer was, "No, he shall never be restored more" (as we hear). His Justice in Eyreship was enforced on my Lord Chesterfield, whose obedience with difficulty conquered his disinclination to accept it. And for his command of the King's troop, last night I was told that the King yesterday placed the Lord Albemarle at the head of the Hyde Park, with great harangue on the Duke's merit, and His Majesty's favour to him. We also hear (to make it a total stripping) the pension and Bedchamber place are gone also. The Duke of Monmouth continues still at his lodgings in Hedge Lane, at the Blue Mews. The crowds of visitants decrease. Many did mistake his coming over to be by virtue of His Majesty's call. Though there do not want numbers who like his Grace never the worse for it, I was told his Grace this day said he was resolved he would not stir, to convince the King of his cheerful passive obedience, be his doom never so severe, and all the world besides of his innocency, since no prosecution results from so much indignation against him.

We hear of the most splendid reception of the Duke of York in Scotland. It seems that nation set their best leg foremost. It is said the Duke will not only sit in Council there, but also give orders from time to time to all the forces there. These considerations slacken our expectations of a Parliament, and yet the determination of the additional duty of excise being at no greater a distance than Midsummer next, and being of the annual value of 300,000*l.*, revives hopes. This mysterious surprise (so in all its circumstances) hath so discharged our curiosities from all other inquiries that I am fain to end here, though I presume I shall scarce have any provocation to begin again till after Christmas at my return hither: it being the less of the two evils to say nothing than nothing to the purpose.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, December 2, Whitehall.—I have received your Grace's of the 26th of November with the account of the disorder at Waterford. I could heartily wish the town had been as punctual in giving you an account of the affair there that so we might have satisfied the people here, who will hardly believe anything but what the town and burghers acknowledge.

You will likewise receive the King's letter by order of the Council by this post, for transmitting of some more bills hither, and one particularly for removing Papists out of Parliament and all offices. We are here in great fermentation; but whether we shall boil over or no, or when, I know not.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, December 6, Whitehall.—I performed a friendship to Sir Robert Southwell the other day, much against both my inclinations and interest. He has of a long time desired to part with his place of Clerk of the Council, and chose me to speak to the King for leave to part with it; which he agreed unto in favour of one Mr. Gwyn, whom you may have often seen with Mr. Seymour, and was a member of the two last Parliaments, when they say he behaved himself very dutifully. Upon the King's declared intention of dispossessing the Duke of Monmouth of all his places, and hearing of many particulars, I spoke so early on behalf of my Lord of Chesterfield, as His Majesty was pleased to confer on him that of Justice in Eyre. The thing passed extremely well, and the King satisfied with his choice, and the other very much with the manner as well as the obligation laid upon him. I have not seen the Duke of Monmouth, though most have done it. I will prefer decency to my master to all other considerations, and I think it not consistent with that to compliment any that stands in his present circumstances. The friends of the Duke of Monmouth give it out that this journey was with the advice of the Prince of

Orange, and that he was soon to follow in order to pursue the same ends ; but since I have reason to believe that there is not any truth in this report, and I doubt not but I shall have this in an authentical manner.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679, December 6, London.—After my allegiance to His Majesty it was made an indispensable article, that I should be an humble servant to your Grace. And upon these terms, so suitably to the rules of honour and of my own inclinations, I come to succeed Sir Robert Southwell in his employment of Clerk of the Council. His zeal for your Grace's service I shall endeavour to make my pattern, as your Grace is that great one of all good subjects. Therefore, I do with a perfect and steady resolution devote myself to your Grace's commands.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, December 7, Whitehall.—My Lord Longford parted hence yesterday with his lady, and this day was the first day of the meeting of the Committee for Irish affairs ; when the Bill of Confirmation was read, but met with no good reception. I produced your Grace's letter to me which I had exhibited once before to Sir Robert Southwell, and gave my opinion that according to what your Grace had there intimated the bill might be laid aside till the inclination of the Parliament in Ireland might be discovered. There were [some] that were of my opinion, but the more prevailing men said that it did not become us, that were but a Committee, to report to the Council, and that we laid aside a Bill of that consequence without giving any reason for it. So it was resolved the objections made by my Lord Chancellor should be read and Sir John Temple's answers, and the objections took place, and so the report will be made to the Council, not without prejudice to the Bill. My Lord Longford will give you a large account of our affairs here, which do not improve.

Postscript.—Sir Robert Southwell hath resigned his place of Clerk of the Council to Mr. Gwyn. Your Grace will miss a very faithful servant to you.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to HENRY COVENTRY,
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

1679, December 9, Council Chamber, Dublin.—When His Majesty's Order in Council for prosecuting Col. John Fitzpatrick upon the information of Darby Costigan came to the hands of me, his Lieutenant, the Colonel was then, as he is still, out of the kingdom ; so that he could not be committed as was thereby required. But the said Order, immediately after it was received, was sent into the Chief Justice of the King's Bench with directions for putting the rest of the contents of it in execution. And soon afterwards

the said Chief Justice returned a certificate (a copy whereof is herewith sent you) that the crimes contained in the information being alleged to have been done in the Queen's County, the indictment for them could not be at the King's Bench, but was most properly to be at the next Assizes for that county, and that the charge was so general as an indictment could not be well framed thereupon until Costigan were further examined concerning the particular facts which he affirmed he would make out; and until he should produce other witnesses who he said would testify the same things he gave in; and that without such further evidence it was doubtful whether an indictment might be found upon his single testimony, since the greatest part thereof consisted of hearsays from others. And there the matter has stood until very lately that Costigan, after a long disappearance, notwithstanding that he had protection of this Board, and such other necessary Orders as he desired for his encouragement to go on in it, was at length brought in and carried before the Lord Chief Justice: who certified that he had denied to him all that he had said before, and therefore that he merited a most strict confinement; a copy of which certificate is here also transmitted. Afterwards he appearing again at this Board, instead of making good the particulars he at first informed of he did recant them all, declaring that there was no truth in them, and that it was a mere contrivance betwixt him and others, who had suborned and set him on in that manner to accuse the said Colonel, as may appear by the enclosed examination taken before a Committee of this Board. Upon which recantation so made by him we gave direction to prosecute him for perjury; but through the negligence of the gaoler in whose hands he was as he returned from the Committee he did make his escape and cannot be found, for which neglect the gaoler stands committed.

This is all that has happened in the affair since our first despatch to you, and receiving His Majesty's orders concerning it. And in regard the informer did not sooner return to us, an earlier account could not sooner be transmitted of it, which we desire you humbly to represent to His Majesty, and receive his directions what he will be further pleased to have done in the business.

Signed

ORMOND.

MICH. ARMACH, C., BLESSINTON, LANESBOROUGH,
R. COOTE, ARRAN, GRANARD, HEN MIDENSIS,
CA DILLON.

AUTHORITY FOR THE GUARDIANSHIP OF LORD COURCY.

1679, December 9, Dublin Castle.—Having received instruction that Mary, Lady Dowager of Kinsale died before the 29th day of September, in the year 1678, and that thereby the lands, tenements and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned,

which the said lady held and enjoyed for her jointure or dower of the estate whereof her husband Patrick Lord Baron of Kinsale died seized of, ought of right to revert and come to Almericus now Lord Kinsale, grandson and heir of the said Lord Patrick, and ought to be held and enjoyed by him the said Lord Almericus; And His Majesty, taking notice of the great loyalty of the ancestors of the said Lord Almericus to the Crown of England, was therefore graciously pleased, as a mark of His Majesty's grace and special favour to that family, to appoint us guardian both of the person and estate of the said Lord Almericus during his minority, which charge we have accordingly taken upon us to perform; and the said Lord Almericus having also (since his coming to the age of fourteen years) by his humble address and supplication beseeched us to continue our care both of his person and estate, which we are willing to do: To the end therefore that the estate of the said Lord Almericus may be (for the support of his person and dignity) preserved and improved: We thought fit hereby to require and command you forthwith in behalf of the said Lord Almericus and to his use to enter into all and singular the towns and lands of Old Head, *alias* Downpatrick and the island thereunto belonging, containing by estimation, one ploughland, Ballymackeine also Banenaskarty, one ploughland (except twenty acres which were formerly set out and demised to Sylvester Crosse, Esq., by the ancestor of the now Lord Kinsale) and also into the tenements of Rineroan which the said Mary, Lady Dowager of Kinsale demised during her natural life to Armiger March, and to demise and set the said lands at the highest and best rent you can for the Lord Kinsale's use: And we do require and command you from time to time during the said Lord Almericus's minority to levy, take, collect and receive to the use and behoof of the said Lord Kinsale the several and respective rents which were assigned and made over to the said lady as part of her jointure or dower, that is to say the rent of twenty pounds per annum reserved and payable out of acres and pike land by estimation seven greaves and half set by Patrick Lord Kinsale for twenty-one years to Robert Southwell, Esq.; also the sum of twenty-nine pounds and fifteen shillings rent reserved upon part of the ploughland of Rineroan which was set by the said Patrick Lord Kinsale to Dr. Edward Worth for thirty-one years; likewise the rent of ten shillings reserved and payable out of one acre of land in Rineroan demised by the said Lord Patrick for thirty-one years to Margery Fleming; and likewise the sum of four pounds twelve shillings and five pence chief rent held and enjoyed by the said Lady Mary as part of her said jointure or dower. You are to return Sir Edward Scott an account of your proceedings herein from time to time, that so all possible care and industry may be used and applied to manage the estate of the said Lord Kinsale to his advantage.

Endorsed : Lord Courey, Copy of an authority about his guardianship.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, December 10, Dublin.—I have of late received two letters from you and sent fewer to you. I think there wanted matter on both sides. You refer me to good hands for intelligence, and I in turn refer you to Mr. Secretary and Sir Robert Southwell when you would have satisfaction in things you hear objected against my conduct. The City of Waterford (the worst affected in the kingdom) and the garrison are fallen out. The Mayor and Aldermen are come almost in a body to expose their grievances. They are many, and will be found malicious in a great measure; but they shall be heard patiently and impartially. I suspect they are contrived and calculated for the unlicensed gazette and the distemper of the times, for Captain Aland is evidently a great engineer and he is instructed out of England.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679, December 12, London.—Having already prepared your Grace to expect the tender of my services, I make bold to enclose herein the two proclamations which concern the present conjuncture of affairs, and it is believed that although the violent men may the more boldly engage themselves in subscriptions, yet that the far greater part will be cautious how to provoke the Government after so fair a warning. As to the other concerning the prorogation, the discourses are various, all agreeing that His Majesty may on the 26th of this month assign (if he see cause) a shorter day for the meeting of this Parliament, or afterwards appoint a new which may meet sooner than the 11th of November. But time and the operation of busy men can only show what alteration the present council is like to have.

When His Majesty had appointed the late proclamation against the resort of Papists to this place, and enforced the same by calling the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Justices of the Peace to recommend the effectual execution of it to their care, His Majesty thought fit to propose to the Council something of a new and extraordinary nature to manifest how remote he was from any tenderness towards the Papists, which was to recommend to a Committee of the Board the listing all the Papists of England which are of any consideration or wealth (perhaps of 200*l.* per annum and above) and then to intimate to them that in case they shall not voluntarily leave the kingdom they must expect that whatever the law has pronounced against them of forfeiting the third of their estates and twenty pounds each Sunday shall inexorably take place. And notwithstanding much was objected herein as a thing difficult of practice, yet His Majesty would not be diverted from the resolution to press it forward. And

whatever happens herein I shall be the better able to acquaint your Grace with since I am particularly appointed to attend that Committee for this affair.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, December 13, London.—I am informed that my Lord of Essex does very maliciously inveigh against the Bill of Confirmation and that of Settlement, as partial to the Irish and consequently prejudicial to the Protestant interest. His design in this is very visible, and with all his politics he cannot dissemble his desires of being again in the Government. Notwithstanding his pretended steadiness, his opinion was formerly so much against one Parliament sitting, as he now was eager for a meeting of the present one; and I have seen him as obsequious a courtier where the French interest is looked upon to be prevalent as he now endeavours for popularity. The hopes failing him of the White Staff as well as his other pretension has made him somewhat uneasy what course he should steer. His nature and principles are sufficiently understood.

Mr. Seymour that was Speaker desired me to obtain a prolongation of his brother's leave, his father being like soon to die. I doubt not but you will grant this request, since he professes to have great zeal for you, and I hope you will not scruple at my humble desires to grant him this favour. My Lord Chamberlain would write to you, but that his hand is so very full of the gout. He does believe, judging at a distance, that if it be desired, a short bill strengthening possessions and granting the residue of undisposed lands, according to the late Act, would be most to the satisfaction of the English, and the lasting good of the King's service. I can say nothing myself of the Act, never having read it. I will endeavour to inform myself of it by a breviate promised me.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, December 14, Dublin.—Among many who are said to lay their politic heads together on that side in order to asperse the Government here I saw it written that Sir Walter Plunkett is gotten and has joined himself to Sir H. Ingolsby in his cabal. I hope the information is not true, for I should be sorry to find myself so much mistaken in that gentleman, and he so forgetful of his old friend to whom he has been thought to have some more than ordinary obligation. If he visits you he may be freely told what is said of him. If he does not visit you, the matter is the more to be suspected.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1679, December 16, London.—Mr. Secretary being seized by the gout in his right hand, and not being able to hold a pen, commands me to acquaint your Grace of his receipt of yours

of the 7th, which tells him of the seizure of Oliver Plunkett, but that you would forbear examining him till you had received His Majesty's orders. Mr. Secretary commands me to tell your Grace that he knows of no other evidence against him than what has already been sent to your Grace; but that you may (if your Grace thinks it fit) examine him upon any points that you judge most material for a further discovery.

ANONYMOUS to OLIVER HERRING.

1679, December 19, Tanderagee.—I never had occasion since the unhappy death of Captain St. John to write unto you, and having nothing now to trouble you withal, but to acquaint you with the miserable condition this poor country is in by the Tories, so that no man can stir abroad (except he be in league with them) but in danger to be taken or killed. On Thursday last Redmond* and two more of the rogues were pursued by two young men, tenants to Madam St. John, who recovered some plundered goods and a horse from them, and the Tories in revenge came about 10 of the clock the same night and set the two young men's father's house on fire, and burnt all his house and corn, and this within a bow's shot of this town that has the name of a garrison. The soldiers here had notice of the Tories being at the poor man's house, and they kept the intelligence at the guard till the Tories were gone, under pretence that he came to betray them. And indeed it could not be otherwise expected from them, having no commanding officer among them since the company came here, and there has not been above two files of them together here this month past. And it's certain the Tories have friends and confederates enlisted in the company. I would not acquaint you with this if I had not very good ground for it. There are lately two or three of Sir Toby Poyntz's servants that have been guilty of several robberies, and some if not all were enlisted in the companies now turned Tories, and one of the men were with the villains that did this mischief here. This morning he came to me and told me he was prisoner with them. I do not write this to reflect on Sir Toby or his son, yet it is the common vogue of the discreetest people here that this country will never be free of thieves as long as the father is in the commission of the peace and the son's company here. I have heard very understanding men say that the only way to suppress these skulking scoundrels is to remove the company that is here into some remote place and another company brought whose officers have no interest in this country. The small time Captain Lyndon's company was here they did good service, and would have done more if they had not been removed. And then to have all the passes manned between the two counties of Down and Armagh, that is to say Fathom

* Redmond O'Hanlan, "The Irish Scanderbeg," see Carte's "Life of Ormond," ii., 512-13.

Castle, Tusker, Poyntz's Pass, Scarvagh and Knockbridge. All these places were manned in the Usurper's time, and then no part of Ireland so quiet as this and so free from such vermin. And all the boats from the mouth of the Lough to Knockbridge taken away, for they are of singular use to the Tories. And I am confident if you acquaint my Lord Primate with this, he is of so generous and public a spirit that he will use his endeavours to have it done. His own revenue by the decay of trade here is much damnified, many hundreds of his tenants being not able to pay their rents, and what is infinitely of more concern to one of his piety and goodness, the whole country will be ruined if he does not. I can assure you we are in so great a consternation that at night we cannot think ourselves secured until the morning, and for my own part since the death of Captain St. John I durst not go a mile from home without a guard, having had several messages sent me from the rogues that killed him that they'll serve me so too. I thought once indeed to have acquainted his Grace with these and many other circumstances, but I thought it would be too great a presumption in me to write to a person of his grandeur and eminency; so that I leave it to your own discretion whether you'll show his Grace this or not. I know many would have acquainted his Grace with these things, but they are really afraid to do it, and were it not that I know your relation and friendship for this good family, I would not have put this confidence in you as to impart this much unto you; so that I hope if you'll impart anything of what is contained in this letter to any one you'll conceal my name.

Endorsed: A letter out of the North about a company at Tanderagee.

[This letter was signed by the writer; but the signature has been erased].

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679, December 19, London.—In obedience to my duty I humbly submit an account of the proceedings of the Committee for suppressing Popery and preventing dangers that may arise from the same (which I am now employed in) to your Grace's perusal. And so considerable a progress hath been made therein that the Justices of Peace for Middlesex and Westminster have received strict orders (in pursuance of a Proclamation against Papists residing in or near London) to cause lists to be forthwith brought in to the Council Board of all housekeepers within the bills of mortality, and of all midwives, apothecaries and physicians that are Papists or suppressed Papists, in order to their effectual prosecution. And that no Papist may be harboured in Whitehall or any of His Majesty's houses, a commission is preparing for the officers of the Green Cloth to tender the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and to offer the Test to all Papists and

suspected Papists that shall be found within Whitehall or the precincts thereof, to be proceeded against according to law. And the managers and Knight Marshalls' men are ordered to carry them before the said officers. And a reward of ten pounds is to be paid to any who shall discover any Papist or suspected Papist harboured in any of His Majesty's houses. And the officer by whose permission they are harboured shall be turned out of his place. The justices of the peace are likewise permitted to search Somerset House at any time in the Queen's absence, as also St. James's for priests or Papists.

His Majesty hath declared in Council his resolution not to grant any dispensations or licences to any Papists to stay in town, and to prevent the resort of all persons to the chapels of Ambassadors and foreign ministers of the Popish religion (except their menial servants). The justices of the peace are directed to impart the lists of such servants to the constables and beadles of their respective parishes, who are upon Sundays and holy days to seize all who shall be found unduly resorting thither that they be prosecuted according to law. A proclamation is likewise preparing to warn all His Majesty's subjects of the dangers they incur by being seduced to the Popish religion, and to encourage all persons to discover those that go about to seduce them or are seduced to that religion, as also such as are or have been bred in Popish seminaries and such others as shall send maintenance to them. A privy seal is passing to enable the judges to reward according to their discretions all persons that prosecute Popish recusants before them, to be paid out of the estates or forfeitures of those who shall be convicted by their prosecution. It is further ordered that all such persons as shall be imprisoned anywhere upon suspicion of being Popish priests shall be forthwith prosecuted to an attainder.

And whereas all the lists, except twelve, of the Papists and reported Papists of England and Wales were lodged in the hands of the Clerk of the House of Commons by the Knights of the Shires of their respective counties who served in the Parliament dissolved in January last, there is a Commission ordered to be issued out by the Lord Chancellor of England to all the counties of England and Wales (in which the names of the said lists are to be respectively inserted) empowering and requiring the justices of each county to tender the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to the persons particularly named therein, and upon their refusal to proceed with them according to law: which commissions are to be accompanied not only with instructions for the directing the justices of peace, but also with letters from the Board encouraging and requiring them diligently to put the same in execution, and to return an account of their proceedings in pursuance thereof, and also to send the names of all others whom they shall know or suspect to be Papists not mentioned

in the said Commission. There also are letters written to the Knights of the Shire of the other twelve counties where the lists are wanting, to remit them to the Council Board, if the like Commissions may be prepared for those counties as is already directed.

W. BARTON to ———

1679, December 19, Carrickmacross near Dundalk.—One afternoon this week, being a hawking, a fellow gave me this enclosed, which is from a Tory now with the Hanlons. Pressed by it and by a former I had from him, he will undertake the setting two Tories at the least, if he may on doing that service have his pardon. About three weeks since, being in Dublin, I spoke to my Lord of Arran in it, who much encouraged it. This way will make them so jealous of one another that they'll soon be destroyed. I request the favour you will move my Lord Lieutenant in it, and if on that service he shall have his pardon, I desire his letter promising it and to be a protection to him for three months; that he may have time to sue out his pardon after he has done that service, if it be not done before. Before the army comes into these parts it will not be in his power to get so many of the Tories together as I hope he will on promise of a good sum of money.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1679, December 23, Whitehall.—Ever since I was in possession of the honour of your Grace's of November 8 I have been confined to my chamber by a severe fit of the gout, and until now could never make use of my right hand to acknowledge the said letter, the contents of which being a good (though not satisfactory) answer to my Lord Privy Seal and me, I presently acquainted his lordship with it, desiring him (who had pressed me with much earnestness to write to your Grace) to enable me to reply, but yet he hath not done it. So I now singly apply myself to your favour to beseech you at least singly to endeavour my satisfaction from the Earl of Ranelagh, if it cannot be done in conjunction. Upon which subject my Lord of Longford will do me the favour to entertain your Grace.

Sir John Trevor foreseeing the Parliament here will not sit suddenly, and being to pass over into Ireland where he thinks a Parliament will quickly be, desires me to mind your Grace again of getting him elected a member therein, upon the assurance that he shall be able to serve His Majesty and your Grace, which undoubtedly he is able to do, being of the first form of those who are so qualified.

Having got thus far with my pen, I will not defer the giving your Grace my humble thanks for the favour of yours of November 12, with a sufficient certificate of the benefit

of the gout socks, but unluckily the author forgot to put in what the socks are made of. This Sir Nicholas Armorer was able to tell me, and really the stuff has recovered my hand to the perfection your Grace sees, but yet it hath not done so to my feet, which, though carefully stocked with it, continue their pain and my lameness. If it please God I live till the spring I promise myself great benefit by the milk diet, of which I have daily several proofs in my eye.

I cannot end my letter without lamenting to your Grace the good success Sir Robert Southwell's friends had in procuring His Majesty's leave for him to sell his place, in which your Grace as well as they has a considerable loss. My Lord of Ossory will not let me write any more, but to make his excuses to you for his not writing this post. I tell him I do it willingly, because I assure myself you will thank me for it.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, December 23, Whitehall.—My gout, which hath been more frequently troublesome to me than any winter I can remember, is the occasion I am indebted to your Grace for letters of the 30th of November and 7th and 10th of this instant. As to the first there hath been a second attempt upon the Park by a warrant from my Lord Sunderland's office. But I having your Grace's letter showed it to the King and acquainted him how that by Order of Council directions were gone to your Grace to make the annexing it to the Sword subject matter of a bill for the next Parliament, and so carried his orders to my Lord Chancellor for stopping all further progress in it. And my Lord Chancellor assured me, and bids me acquaint your Grace with it, that he would not pass it upon any warrant whatsoever without first acquainting the Council with it, where I think it can never meet with approbation.

As to your Parliament you must have patience till the trouble of these Petitions are over, and the meeting or not meeting of one here quite out of doubt. As to that about Plunkett, Mr. Thynne by reason of my sickness informed your Grace all that I can say of it. We have nothing since or more of it than what I wrote you formerly of it; so that unless his papers discover some further grounds I doubt little will be got from him. But if your Grace think fitting to try him with any questions, it is left to your discretion and may possibly have the effect of making him believe we know more than we do, and beget some fear of continuing such kind of negotiations. And his very being in Ireland after the proclamation may sufficiently justify imprisonment, and if need be a further prosecution. That of the 10th hath been showed His Majesty and shall the Council as soon as they meet, which cannot be for some days because of the holidays. The Orders set out this week by the Council here are with the utmost severity against Catholics, which I hear hath

already some good effects with some men. But I doubt whether any water will quench the flame of the rabble.

I am sorry your Grace hath that troublesome inconvenience of sore eyes. For my part I see so few pleasing objects here that I have little pleasure in the use of mine. I pray God yours may serve you to see many and better days than we have now.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, December 24, Dublin.—I have yours of the 6th and 13th of this month. Whatever I lose by it I cannot be sorry that Sir Robert Southwell has compassed his design. Whilst he is there his information will be little less useful than when he was in office. The rule you have set yourself in relation to your master and whoever is in his displeasure upon the score the person you mention is, I fully approve of. Nothing can be more maliciously perverse and disingenuous than the proceeding of the nobleman you mention in the Committee of Irish affairs, for he has for six months had in his hands a letter from me that alone would have vindicated me in the reflection cast upon the Bill of Confirmation, which reflection is in itself groundless, and the bill would be justified before equal judges upon a fair hearing and reasonable construction. However, it has been my opinion from the beginning that it should be mended there or wholly laid aside till the meeting of the Parliament; but my misfortune is that some of those I writ to were not willing to produce anything that tended to my justification; and others had forgot they had such letters. You may assure Sir Robert Howard that Mrs. Gwin's business concerning Dundalk and Carlingford is done as far as it depends on me, and beg his pardon for me that I do not at this time give him an account of it myself. Captain Seymour shall have leave to stay in England as long as his brother pleases.

ORMOND to FRANCIS GWYN.

1679, December 24, Dublin.—Yours of the 6th of this month informs me in a very obliging manner of your coming into Sir Robert Southwell's room in the King's more immediate service, and the particular advantage I receive by gaining one and not losing another worthy friend. I embrace the offer and profession you are pleased to make of your friendship, which I shall no longer expect you should continue to me than whilst you find me in all events steady to the service of the Crown and just in my returns to you. To your letter of the 12th imparting transactions on that side you will expect no other answer than my thanks, and yet I shall pray the continuance of such informations, because they do not merely divert, but often guide me in my station. I will give order that you shall be constantly informed of all that shall pass

here of moment. For what has passed nobody can better inform you than Sir Robert Southwell, and I hope you will be appointed to attend the Committee for the affairs of this kingdom constantly, which I conceive will more facilitate despatch than that your fellows should take their turns, and be put to spend a good part of their quarter in looking over and understanding what passed in the former. If I shall give this as my opinion to Mr. Secretary, I know not whether I am to ask yours or your brethren's pardon for it. Sir Robert Southwell is caution for the performance of your part and the friendship he has contracted betwixt us, so let him be for me that I shall on all occasions be, etc., etc.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, December 31, Whitehall.—As to what your Grace writeth me in yours of the 24th there are several of the kingdom of Ireland come over that say that Bill of Settlement is passed for the advantage of the Papists and the lawyers; but I can see no answer to your argument that it was always to be left to the judgment of the Parliament, and it is not very likely either of these motives should prevail with them. This I have not failed to urge both in public and private.

But, my Lord, I must acquaint your Grace here is much notice taken that the articles upon which the Earl of Tyrone was committed, though some time since promised, are not yet sent over. 2ndly, that there is no account of the retaking of him that accused Fitzpatrick, or by whose fault or neglect he escaped, and why that fault not punished. 3rdly, why the account of my Lord Ranelagh, so long since transmitted from the Commissioners to the Council, should lie so still there, and no account given of them. This as all things at present hath its reflections. As to your postscript, I should be very glad that there were a particular Clerk to attend that Committee; but I doubt it will be hard for one never versed in any business of that nature to understand it so readily, but am very glad that your Grace is so well satisfied in the affections of the gentleman whose education, conversation and obligations have been amongst those your Grace hath not hitherto had so much reason to confide in. But whatever your Grace shall judge best shall be complied in faithfully by me.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, December 30, London.—Both Mr. Secretary and I are in great impatience to have the examinations you told him you had transmitted concerning my Lord of Tyrone. I doubt not that all diligence is used to search into the truth of that matter, as it is necessary that it should be manifest to the world the care that is taken, since my Lord of Shaftesbury and many others indicate the contrary.

This enclosed I received from the person* we thought proper to entrust with the care of my son. If you judge him not fit for it, I wish he may have some reward. Neither my Lord Chamberlain nor myself have entertained him as he pretends, by which you may perceive he thinks himself in salary; but we told him that when James was in France, which he thought would have been sooner than it is like to be, that then he should begin his functions, so that these hopes have prevented him engaging himself elsewhere. For his son, I promised to get him an employment in Ireland. If either a cornet's place or a lieutenant of horse could be obtained for him I should be very glad; for by the character given of him you cannot have a stouter, better officer, and a better drudge. The use of such a man you know better than I do and how few there are of this kind; pride and laziness being so much the temper of these nations.

As in a letter Plunkett seems much afflicted that any should be so unjust as to give you misinformations of him, I believe they do him wrong. You will from himself receive satisfaction in this matter. Sir Richard Rooth humbly entreats you, if it consists with the service of your pleasure, to order his company to continue at that fort near Kinsale which he commands. I was informed (*sic*) that he should have said things contrary to that duty he professes to have for you, but as he denies anything even to have thought of that kind, so truly I think him very friendly to all your relations and concerns. This is all the trouble I shall at present give you.

LORD JAMES BUTLER to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 1, Oxford.—Since I hear that it is your Grace's desire that I should not go to London this Christmas, I am very well content to stay here as long as your Grace pleases; and I will readily and cheerfully, as I do now, so at all times conform and resign myself to your Grace's good will and pleasure. I most humbly thank your Grace for the promise of a fine horse in the spring, and for the good present your Grace will make me. I will by my obedience and my diligence endeavour to my utmost to deserve and to draw upon me that blessing which I earnestly beg of your Grace in this beginning of the year.

SIR WILLIAM BOREMAN to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 3, Whitehall.—May it please your Grace to call to remembrance that about seven or eight years since you were pleased to recommend me to give you a note of the profits and perquisites belonging to the Lord Steward's place in the reigns of King James and King Charles the First, which amounted to 3,100*l.*, besides the disposal of places, as by the enclosed papers it doth appear. In the beginning of this

* Mons. de St. Heléne.

King's reign it amounted not to half so much, and now (by virtue of this new retrenchment) it is dwindled to less than a quarter part, being reduced to 600*l.* per annum, viz., 100*l.* and 500*l.* board wages; and the daily pains and constant attendance of the two [Classes] of the Green Cloth, and the two Classes comptrollers are valued, or rather undervalued at 200*l.* a year.

NOTE REFERRED TO IN FOREGOING LETTER.

In the Reigns of King James and King Charles the First of blessed memory.

The Lord Steward of His Majesties most Honourable Household had a hundred pound wages, and a diet served in kind, consisting of sixteen dishes of meat a meal, with a proportionable allowance of bread, beer and wine, which after the rate of the market price came yearly to the sum of	}	2648 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
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The wood, coals and lights, spices, butter and eggs, linen and all other necessaries incident to the dressing and serving up of the said diet, together with the Lord Steward's double messes and commands did <i>communibus annis</i> amount to the yearly sum of	}	351 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
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Sum total .. 3100*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

And for the pleasuring of his friends and preferment of his servants, he had twice as many places to dispose of than the present Lord Steward hath, and each of those places were almost twice the value.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 6, London.—I have according to your commands solicited His Majesty in behalf of those you would have preferred by the vacancy of the bishopric of Derry; all which was granted, and I believe letters to that purpose will be despatched to you this night. I have heard much good of the Bishop of Killala; but I know not how liable it may be to censure to prefer a clergyman that was so indiscreet and violent as to make a Tory's head be cut off in his house when brought in a prisoner. My Lord of Essex told me the story, and though he said many things of the person's merit, yet he is capable to leave out that part as occasion may offer. This action, though universally known, I was ignorant of till very late. I think it worthy of your consideration whether you will proceed upon the King's commands or not. Perhaps this particular may not have come to your knowledge. The King spoke freely enough of persons recommended by the Bishop of London; and I believe his recommendation as to any to be preferred in

Ireland will be of little force. I wish Dr. Young that was in Flanders with me were preferred in Ireland. He is an extraordinary pious man, and an excellent preacher. He is an Oxford man, and very well reputed in the University.

SAME to SAME.

1679-80, January 6, London.—I have since the writing of my letter of this day's date spoke to some of your best friends concerning the promotion of the Bishop of Killala, and they are all of opinion that appearing for this unhappy prelate, (who I term so since he could do so exorbitant a thing as without law to execute a man) cannot but hereafter be of great prejudice to you, it being no way justifiable for a private man to kill one outlawed, unless the malefactor did make resistance. I confess I have a horror for a man in holy orders that has imbrued his hands in blood, and among many omissions I thought it a very great one to see another of that function to remain in it since the King's restoration. I wish we may not feel the ill effects of that error. I do not in the least make a comparison of the guilt of these two persons. My Lord of Essex said the pardon of that fact was not done when he was in the Government. I doubt not but you will pardon my being warm upon this.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 10, Whitehall.—Finding that Mr. Secretary in his letter of this post has given your Grace an account of the views we have here, I presume to trouble your Grace with that little we have, which is the commitment of Sir Robert Peyton a close prisoner to the Tower for High Treason for conspiring to raise war against the King, which is testified against him by two witnesses, viz., Mr. Gadbury and Mrs. Cellier. The particulars are so variously reported that I cannot vouch for the truth of them; but it's generally said that Sir Robert is accused of having said that if the King had died at Windsor, he would have been ready with forty thousand men to have risen and seized upon the Tower, the Lord Mayor, etc. Our last letters from Holland seem to think the States will civilly decline the entering into an alliance with France, and I believe will hardly be brought to make one with us, but will rather keep as they are to disoblige neither party. It's thought a Common Council will be called speedily in the City to petition for the sitting of the Parliament on the 26th.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 17th, London.—Having had several promises to be set upon the establishment in Holland, according to my articles, and the death of Prince Maurice of Nassau giving so easy an opportunity of doing me justice without a new fund, I have desired my leave, I think in sufficient

style. As for the humble part relating to the Prince of Orange, who I really believe has found himself mistaken when he gave me his word to see me have right done, if upon what I say my pretensions are satisfied then I continue and no harm is done. I have sometimes displeased you by engaging myself too suddenly ; I hope I shall not do so now by withdrawing, having His Majesty's consent and the advice of my friends. What comes of this matter and anything else I think important I shall not fail to communicate it unto you.

My Lord of Essex makes it his work to catch hold of anything that may prejudice you, especially in what relates to the late Irish Bill. His party blames the flightiness of your answer, which when objections to several paragraphs were made all the returns were that here they may be impeded or thrown out. I find my Lord of Burlington very kind to you, though some would inflame him because his name was not inserted, nor the Treasurer's, which they say is of course in most commissions. It is also said that Sir Nicholas Plunkett made the first draught of that Bill. I would be glad to have the denial of this from you, tho' at present I doubt not the falsity of that report.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 17, Whitehall.—Mr. Thomas and Henry Howard, brothers to the Earl of Suffolk, tell me there was a letter in the time of Lord Berkeley signed by the King and sent to him in their behalf for a patent for the Ballast. It then found some obstructions from the town of Dublin, but they now tell me that that difference is in a fair way of composure. But the letter being addressed to my Lord Berkeley, they desire a fresh one to your Grace. I made them answer I could obtain no letter of that kind till I had first some approbation from your Grace. If your Grace please to receive the information of those that will wait on you in their behalf, and upon your approving of their pretences send such a letter as you judge fitting for His Majesty's signature, I shall give it all despatch I can.

THOMAS DAWSON to CAPTAIN JOHN CHICHESTER, GEORGE WALKER and MATHEW COMBE.

1679-80, January 17, Castledawson.—The necessity I now lie under to be quiet forces me, beyond my humour, to decline my former resolutions and practices in pursuing of Tories. I have not been a little active in discovering those rogues who were at Captain Shaw's robbery, and have given money for intelligence, by which means I really believe I should have broke the knot of them in time. There were two taken, and were as far on their journey to Carrickfergus as Shane's Castle, where by the wilful neglect of a bribed

constable they made their escape and are now returned to their old haunts with an intention to cut off my head ; and for that end have got most of the Tories of this county to join with them, accusing me to be more officious than my fellow-justices ; and this is the reward I am like to rest with : so that I leave you to judge whether or no I am not in hazard that can't go a quarter of a mile from home because of their continual watch of me ; neither should I fear them on any account if they had not sent me word that no guard could secure me, for as I rid they could single me out with a gun and make their escape afterwards. Let not this discourage the good work you are about, for there is less hazard with you than here, so that you may with less danger prosecute their insolency.

EARL OF OSSORY TO DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1679-80, January 20, London.—I am very sorry to hear that you are troubled with the shortness of breath. I hope in God the spring coming on that you will soon be rid of that distemper, and my father of his fit of the gout. If affairs be in a proper posture for me to leave this place, I will endeavour to have the happiness of waiting on you before it be long. I sent yesterday my secretary into Holland with leave to resign my command there, so as I shall have more leisure to myself. This resolution I hope will not be unacceptable unto you, since it will free me both from dangers and expense, if the King of France pursues his threatenings against the Hollanders. The good news of the proceedings of the city you will hear from several hands. This day brings strange news from France. Madame la Comtesse de Soissons, la Duchesse de Bouillon, Madame de la Perte and several more are fled, being accused about poisoning affairs. Monsieur de Luxemburgh and our friend Lessae upon the same score are prisoners in the Bastille. Having thus long deferred the compliments you mentioned, I think it not proper now to make them, but to expect some other opportunity. I pray God continue my father and you in long health and happiness.

EARL OF OSSORY TO ORMOND.

1679-80, January 24, London.—I am desired to send you over this note.* I know not how you were engaged to oblige Mr. Sheldon, nor how you can pay safely this money, I promised to use my endeavours towards you for the satisfaction of my Lady Elizabeth Felton, and I hope you will be pleased to comply with them, that if it may be in your power she may have the effects of her father's kindness.

* A note is enclosed of a debt due by the Duke of Ormond to one Jasper Churchill upon a bond dated Aug. 29, 1677, of £721 0s. 0d. principal and £85 15s. 0d. interest, which bond having been assigned to the Earl of Suffolk had been given to Lady Elizabeth Felton.

The sooner I know your pleasure the more obliging it will be to them.

I am told my Lord Chief Baron Bysse of the Exchequer is dead, but have not heard it from any of your secretaries. I have often desired that one of them would constantly give me an account of what passes. I am sure it would not prejudice your service if it would not prove useful thereunto. Besides I am ashamed to make my ignorance of those things appear by making of enquiries. I am sorry you have had so severe a fit of the gout : I hope it will soon pass over, and that by it you will have a more established health for the future.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 24, Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace here hath nothing arrived worth troubling you ; only give me leave to acquaint you that as I told you in my last the King had given no positive answers about the promotions in case my Lord Chief Baron die. I find since there is a design to send one from hence. The person is not yet resolved, but he is to be one of the lawyers that are most versed in the Exchequer. I find by something that fell from His Majesty that the management of his Court of Exchequer in Ireland is not represented very advantageously, and it is said that most of the places are executed by deputies. The sending of a Chief Baron from hence is much pressed by the Earls of Anglesey and Essex, who seem to lay extreme weight upon it ; and the latter told me the present Lord Chief Baron, though he acknowledged him a very good lawyer, yet by not being sufficiently skilled in the rules of the Exchequer that His Majesty hath been endamaged many thousand pounds.

Monday will be our critical day, His Majesty seeming still resolved the Parliament shall not sit ; neither hath he yet declared his resolution for shortening the time of the prorogation. Our fears and jealousies are as high as ever—I pray God they produce not such effects as they once did.

EARL OF OSSORY to PRINCE OF ORANGE.

1679-80, January.—J'ay reçu avec une satisfaction extrême la très obligeante lettre qu'il a plu à votre Altesse de m'écrire du 16^{me} de ce mois N.S. Ce sera mon ambition, toute ma vie de rendre tous les services dont je seray capable à la famille royale, et j'espère que cette union si nécessaire aux intérêts de chacun sera toujours maintenue. Voyant les peines et les difficultés que l'affaire de mes appointements donne à votre Altesse je lui supplie très humblement d'accepter ma demission, afin que je ne vous sois plus un sujet d'embarras. Le profit n'est pas le cause de cette demande que je fais avec toute soumission ; mais

je croirais que mon honneur pourroit partir par une marque si singulière d'estre le seul Officier-General de Paris à qui on ne donne pas de gages. Permettez moy à present de réclamer la justice et la parole de vostre Altesse lorsqu'elle me donne une capitulation qui fut ; qu'en cas que je ne pourrois avec bienveillance estre dans les Troupes qu'en les quittant je ne perdrois pas le bonheur de vostre bienveillance, que je prize si fort, espérant que dans la fonction de ma charge on ne trouvera pas que j'aye manqué à faute de zèle ou bonne volonté. Pour ce qui regarde la capacité je ne me justifie pas ; mais j'ay recour à vostre bonté. Je suis autant persuadé qu'on le puisse estre que votre Altesse m'auroit fait justice, si cela auroit pû convenir avec les inclinations des Estats, et par consequent auroit esté en vostre pouvoir ; ainsi je proteste qu'en prenant mon congé d'eux je suis satisfait au dernier point en ce qui regarde votre Altesse pour l'aumone de qui je me suis engagé, et mes actions témoigneront la verité de cecy, aussi bien que la vénération et affection très sincères avec lesquelles je seray à jamais de Votre Altesse le très-humble et très obéissant serviteur.*

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 27, London.—Upon my coming to town last night I received the honour of your Grace's favourable reception of the tender of my services which I have entirely devoted to your Grace. And although with great submission I must acknowledge my want of experience, and a great many other good qualifications which my predecessor was master of might render him more capable, yet I must beg pardon to vie with him in a steady resolution and ready obedience to your Grace's commands.

I most humbly thank your Grace for the good opinion you have been pleased to entertain of me in designing me to attend the Committee of Irish Affairs. I have already waited upon my Lord of Ossory to beg the favour of his discoursings with Mr. Secretary Coventry in order to it, and I hope in a little time to give your Grace a farther account, being very ambitious of being employed in an affair where I may more frequently expect your Grace's directions and commands.

I cannot give your Grace as yet any perfect account of the proceedings, but I find there hath very little been done (except giving out orders) since the last I presented to your Grace in the Committee for Suppressing Popery, the Commissions to the several counties being yet in hand, and not perfected till there is a regulation made of the Justices of the Peace in each county, which is likewise now under consideration. I have enclosed His Majesty's speech upon the prorogation of the Parliament, and the success and answers to the petitions from several places, your Grace will meet from other hands. The arrival of His Highness suddenly out

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

of Scotland is much talked of, and there seems some ground for it. By the next I shall be able to give your Grace a more perfect account of the proceedings of Council.

EARL OF LANESBOROUGH to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679-80, January 28, Dublin Castle.—His Grace's hand continuing still so lame that he cannot write to you himself, he hath commanded me to tell your lordship that he hath received your several letters by the last packets, and thinks it necessary you receive some account of that of the seventeen wherein he received the copies of the Prince of Orange's letter to you and your answer; of which latter he absolutely approves and will be glad to know what it hath produced. As to the exceptions taken against the Irish Bill that was transmitted for the settlement of Ireland, since that Bill is now absolutely laid aside there can be no reason for continuing those exceptions, but a malicious purpose to reflect on those that transmitted it, and perhaps when the Parliament shall meet in England some use may be endeavoured to be made of that Bill to argue a partiality towards the Irish Papists by it, against which it may be fit that some preparation be made by putting the answers that have been made to those objections into the hands of some persons that may be able and willing to make use of them. There were two papers of objections put into the hands of the Lord Chancellor of England; the one sent over by the late Earl of Orrery, and the other by some persons in England, alike concerned with him in interest and malice. Of those objections copies were sent to my Lord and answers to them were returned to my Lord Chancellor, from whom it's supposed, copies of them may be had by means of Sir Robert Southwell or Sir Edward Dering; and in them are contained all that can be said upon the subject, unless new objections be made which cannot be foreseen nor answered till they are seen.

Copy.

EARL OF LANESBOROUGH to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1679, January 28, Dublin.—I am commanded by my Lord to tell you that he hath received at once your letters of the 10, 13, 17 and 20th, and that having forced himself to write to Mr. Secretary Coventry he hath so lamed his hand that he cannot now write his name, whereat he is the more troubled that he cannot tell you himself as I do by his direction that there are few things wherein he is more concerned than your satisfaction in your affair of Rincorran, which cannot be effected in the way projected by Sir James Shaen, who has forgot or was not informed by his partners that during the winter season no money is advanced towards the work of the fort, but some small sum for raising of stones for it against the spring, so that it is conceived Sir James by his insignificant proposal only designed to

divert you from following the more probable course. Now as to the 12,000*l.*, his Grace is informed by some who are better skilled in that matter than himself that it belongs rather to the King than to either the Earl of Ranelagh or his partners or the present Farmers. But when his Grace shall have received Sir James Shaen's deductions, which he desires may be in writing, he will be the better able to frame a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury concerning that business. I have nothing to add but that my Lord Chief Baron died this morning.

Copy.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 31, London.—The last Council Day His Majesty was pleased to declare the reasons of sending leave to the Duke to return again into England. And the same day the yachts were ordered to sail to Scotland, that if his Highness please he may come by water, though it is generally believed he will be here before the yachts can be there and return.

There was a petition brought in the last Council Day by one Robert Coppinger complaining against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland's proceedings in a cause before his lordship in the Court of Chancery, which is referred to your Grace's determination, though it was stiffly pressed by some to have it heard here.

The Committee for regulation of the Justices of the Peace in the several counties is to sit on Monday morning and afternoon, intending to perfect all the counties that day, which they are the more diligent in because the commissions to the several counties for tendering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy cannot be despatched into the respective counties till the regulation of the justices is made.

The honour of your Grace's recommendation engaged Mr. Secretary Coventry to promise me his assistance and endeavours to get me nominated to attend the Committee for Ireland, which I shall employ with all the industry I am capable of.

EARL OF ARRAN to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679-80, January 31, Dublin.—My Lord Lieutenant is not yet so well recovered as to be able to write himself this post. He has yours of the 24th instant where you inform him of His Majesty's purpose to send us a Chief Baron from thence to succeed ours who died about three days since. You may please to remember that it was his desire by my last letter that in case none of the persons he recommended should be pitched upon a fit person should be sent from England. The truth is the business of that Court is not very well managed now, and has been worse, as my Lord of Essex very well knows. But the fault was not so much the insufficiency

of the late Lord Chief Baron as the great power given my Lord Ranelagh and partners in controlling that Court. This with the reducing of the officer's fees which happened then might make them more negligent than formerly; all which a person well versed in Exchequer proceedings there may remedy, in case the course taken in that Court may be found practicable with us. His Grace is not so much concerned for any person recommended as he is that the King's affairs should be well managed in that Court, though he believes one of them might be as fit for the place as any either my Lord Privy Seal or my Lord Essex will recommend.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 3, London.—I know your Grace hath received the news of the Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle's withdrawing themselves from the Council, and the unprecedented way they took to do it. It was generally believed the Marquess of Winchester and Earl of Essex would do the same thing, though not the same way, though I hear nothing of it to-day. It is supposed the Lord Brouncker will succeed Sir Henry Capel in the First Commissioner's place of the Admiralty, and Sir Thomas Littleton Mr. Vaughan in the same Commission, tho' I perceive it is endeavoured the commission should consist of the five remaining, and by that means Mr. Finch would come into the Council. It is said Mr. Godolphin will fill up the place of one of the Council, and the Lord Ailesbury is spoke of for another. The Committee for regulation of the Justices of Peace sat yesterday morning and afternoon, both which times His Majesty was present, but have not yet perfected the lists of several counties.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 3rd, Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 27th of January I have received, and as in my first letter I told you I thought the order defective, so I obtained another which Mr. Thynne telleth me he sent by the next post, where I think it was clearly explained and there was a passage in one of your Grace's letters that it was indifferent to you if the Bill of Settlement stayed till the Parliament met, and there it would plainly appear what kind of bill would content. I can say little of the bill myself, it having been in the hands of my Lord Chancellor and the lawyers ever since it was first sent, but it was so vehemently opposed in Council that there was no contesting for it, and particularly those that pretended to love Ireland best; and some that were not contented with the setting it aside were very eager that reasons for the setting it aside should be drawn up, amongst which was the great advantage it gave the Papists over the Protestants. Another reason is much pressed by several that are come over from Ireland, who say it serveth only the interest of

the Papists and lawyers. I then acquainted the Council how indifferent your Grace was in the point, and it was thought fit to draw up the order that it should for the present be totally laid aside. But upon any notice when the Parliament meets what your Grace and the Council findeth by the temper of the Parliament will be agreeable, upon your intimation of it to His Majesty and Council there will be easily leave obtained for transmitting another.

You will by this time have received the news that four Privy Councillors, Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel and Mr. Powle, came in a body to the King to desire to be dismissed from that employment. Their entry and exit have been both very remarkable, and neither very well comprehended by men of my small talent. We are full of fear and jealousies, and the effects of those passions. His Majesty on the other side seemeth as resolved. The Duke and Duchess are suddenly expected here if the bad weather hinder them not. The two letters from your Grace and Council shall be showed His Majesty in Council tomorrow.

EARL OF OSSORY to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1679-80, February 3, London.—Just now I received your letter of the 27th of the last month, and am very glad to hear my father is recovered from his fit of the gout, and that you are also in good health. I wish that blessing may be long to you both. I presume to send you my servant's letter that I sent into Holland, by which you will now in what fortune that affair as yet remains, as also one from honest Silvius who concerns himself much in all things relating to us. Sir Alexander Colear that commanded those troops under me died lately, as you will find by those letters. He was the worthiest friend to me, and I think the best officer of that kind that ever I knew. The Prince receives by it an extraordinary loss and I an irreparable one if I should continue in the service. All your family here are well: my sister only has sprained her foot. I have nothing more to trouble either my father or you withal. Of all sorts of news the Gazettes do sufficiently inform the world.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 7, London.—Mr. Secretary Coventry intending to resign his place of Secretary to Sir Lionel Jenkins, and Mr. Henry Thynne, as I hear, resolving to appear no more in public business hath made me take the confidence to recommend myself to your Grace's favour for agent of the affairs of Ireland, it falling into your Grace's hands by their dissension: which I am the more encouraged to do, since I hope for an attendance upon the Committee for Ireland by the nomination of Mr. Secretary Coventry before his resignation. If your Grace for the conveniency of affairs is pleased to think fit to lay an obligation upon any one

in my Lord Sunderland's office or any other, I do with all cheerfulness submit myself to your Grace's pleasure in it.

Here are several discourses of other alterations in some of the great offices of State, that is my Lord [] being to be made Lord Treasurer, Mr. Godolphin, Secretary, and some others, but they are so uncertain I cannot with any confidence trouble your Grace with them. There was little further business done the last Council Day, Mr. Finch and Mr. Godolphin being then sworn into the Council and no others yet spoken of to fill up the places of those that went off.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 7, Whitehall.—I have delivered the two letters from your Grace and Council unto the Council here. That concerning the ship taken from the Turks was read, but nothing yet ordered. That concerning the Plot and the examinations is referred to the Committee. But only let me make this observation to your Grace that there being an information of so great a treason as the aiding a French invasion that the Council of Ireland that was so scrupulous in the case of the Talbots and others as not to bail them, though never so rich, without acquainting the Board here, it is a thing divers here seem surprised at to see that all the men accused of the plot are allowed their liberties upon bail. Mr. Thynne, I suppose, by the last acquainted you that two ships are immediately going to take in your men for Tangier, which I suppose are by this time ready at Kinsale. I suppose I may very shortly acquaint you with the name of a new Secretary, His Majesty having at last consented to my retreat. But the whole of the affair is not as yet concluded, but I suppose within few days will, and I think Sir Lionel Jenkins will be the man.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 7, London.—The winds are so stormy and contrary to come from Holland as since my last I know not anything of what has passed in my concerns in that country. The same crossness of weather hinders the yachts from getting to Leith and consequently the return of the Duke. Yesterday I was informed for certain by Mr. Seymour that my Lord of Anglesey is to be made Chancellor of Ireland. He did enjoin our secrecy to all persons but you; and I did undertake that it should never be spoke of until it were otherwise divulged, and that the information should not come to the knowledge of any. I doubt not but you make good what I have undertaken. In the meantime I will do all I can to serve so worthy a friend and so honest and loyal a man as my present Lord Chancellor has been towards you and your friends. I will not be negligent in things wherein I may be useful.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 10. London.—The resignation of Mr. Secretary Coventry of his office to Sir Lionel Jenkins (which I gave your Grace an account of by the last) is now no longer whispered but owned on both sides, and to-morrow being the next Council day it is expected Sir Lionel Jenkins should be sworn into the Council.

On Sunday in the evening came an express from Tangier which brought the news of their apprehension there of another attack from the Moors, whereupon Sir Palmes Fairborne is sent over to be Lieutenant Governor in the room of Colonel Dungan, who is recalled, and leave given to the Lord Inchiquin to return home upon the arrival of Sir Palmes Fairborne there. The King intends his journey to Newmarket on the 12th of the next month. The removal of Sir Robert Atkins from the Bench I know your Grace hath heard, and the reason is said to be for his too publicly giving countenance to the petitions for the sitting of the Parliament. There is a flying report that Sir William Ellis and Mr. Justice Pemberton are like to have the same fate, which I cannot tell the certainty of.

LADY INCHQUIN to the EARL OF OSSORY.

1679-80, February 11. The Hague.—I not having heard whether my last letter directed from hence to Dublin (the week after you went thither) has had the good fortune to be received by your lordship, I do again renew your trouble to let you see no distance can secure you from my inquiries and good wishes. Your charitable concern for me in my affliction is as impossible for me to forget as to acknowledge the sense I have of your favours, which encourage me to complain to your lordship that the distinction daily appears greater between those that are in favour and those that most endeavour to be so, or at least to deserve it. By this time I hope you have recovered your memory that you are my Lord of Ossory which here you had almost forgot, which you know was no small disturbance of mine. Mrs. Bentinck being with child, I am the only and constant waiter, for she has kept her chamber these two months and will most of her time; so you may judge my life, for the moment I have dined, the Princess goes to take the air till six o'clock, and three or four times a week to the French plays, which I am very weary of, and after that waiting till eleven o'clock. In short, I am with some reason very weary with this kind of life, and more so being from my Lord and friends, or indeed in a country where I may but too truly say I have not one, though I must really own great civility from all my good Lady Ossory's family, to which I shall ever own the truth of my being a very humble servant to them. Our Excellency has not yet made his entry at Paris, but thinks of doing it soon and at the same time take his leave. We have a strange

report of his having lost above 2,000 pistoles at play, but I hope it as false as most of our news is here.

When Mrs. Bentineck will wait, I have got leave to visit my friends at London and so to Tangiers, where I hope to pass next winter. This is the hardest and coldest that they say has been in twenty years; it's so uncreditable to tell you how many has died with cold or lost their eyes or joints, that I dare not name it. It now snows and freezes as if it was the first of winter; the sea at Squiffland is frozen as far as we can see, and hundreds of people walking on it every day. A month is the farthest my mistress has to reckon (if with child). It's with trouble I suspect it not so, but having the Doctors, my Aunt Howard, Mrs. Langford, and other sort of skilful women against my doubtful opinion, I dare not publicly own it, but ever shall in all places and companies the truth of being very much your lordship's servant. The chief arant of this is to tell you, as I did in my last, the treaty between the Marquis' son and my cousin is off, and that if you again design what I wish well to, I humbly and affectionately offer the service of, etc.

Postscript—My Aunt Howard according to my desire is made governess, all servants for that employment taken and all things provided. Since my poor girl's death I have changed my lodgings, which is now for the nursery, and I lie in that which was the chapel, which is now within the guard-chamber with a closet.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

Last night I was informed that my Lords of Essex, Russell and Cavendish, together with Mr. Powell, did intend to leave being Councillors. Talking with the King upon this subject this morning he told me that once they had resolved it, but that they had changed their minds. He spoke very contemptuously to me of the thing and them. The first of these lords is never wanting in doing you all the ill offices he can, and upon your recommending Gascoigne's son to the reversion of an office, the King signed it very unwillingly, saying that all offices in Ireland were in the hands of fools or children and executed by others deputed. The affair of the Chief Baron is not yet decided. I look upon it as a matter of that consequence as I think it not safe to appear in promoting of any unto it, unless I were morally certain of the ability and fidelity of the person. I think it my duty to inform you of every little thing, that, when you see the malice of your enemies, and in what they endeavour your prejudice, you may be the better able to defend yourself from them.

[*Undated, but endorsed* Received 12th Feb., 1679-80.]

HENRY COVENTRY to [EARL OF ARRAN].

1679-80, February 14. Whitehall.—Your lordship's of the 31st January I have received and am very sorry my Lord

Duke's gout detaineth him so long. This post will bring him the orders for the sending four more companies for Tangier which I hinted in my last. They must be entire companies and taken out of any part of the army my Lord Lieutenant shall think fitting, excepting the Scotch Regiment. I hope the mistake of the word regiment or regiments will not misguide you. The clerk that drew the letter, not knowing that the companies in Ireland were not generally regimental, used the term regiment, but His Majesty's meaning is that my lord should choose whatsoever company he thinketh fitting, the Scotch Regiment excepted. The *Gazette* will tell you as much news of me as I can. As to the Chief Baron I find now Baron Henn will be the man, and as I perceive by the recommendation of my Lord President, whether the other recommended by you will come in his place I know not, but I gave his name to His Majesty, who seemed at that time pretty indifferent, but he is much unknown here. The Duke of York is hourly expected here, the wind having been fair some days, though we have no certain news when they arrived at Leith. My most humble service to my Lord Duke and my Lady Duchess. I shall shortly be at leisure to remember her health upon her own marble table, where my office is like to be held hereafter.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 14. London.—Sir Lionel Jenkins was sworn the last Council day of the Privy Council, His Majesty at the same time declaring that he had given Mr. Secretary Coventry leave (after a great deal of importunity) to part with his place to him, but that he was not to do it till towards Lady-Day. Sir Thomas Lea hath this week resigned into His Majesty's hands his employment of one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Lord Brouncker and Sir Thomas Littleton are since added into that commission.

Sir Robert Atkins is lately removed from the Bench and Mr. Sergeant Weston fills up the place. Mr. Justice Pemberton hath likewise his quietus sent him. None yet supplies his place, and it is thought will not till the next term, though Sir John Keeling, son to the former Lord Chief Justice Keeling, is believed to stand fairest for the vacancy.

I presume the printed news will inform your Grace of the acquittal of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, and the Lady Powis being released upon bail. Thursday being likewise the last day of the term, the Grand Jury found the bill against one Mr. Christian, O'Brien, Blood and some others for a contrivance of endeavouring to suborn witnesses against the Duke of Buckingham.

His Majesty having been at Windsor for two days and returning this afternoon, the Council was adjourned from Friday to this day, when the Committee for Affairs of Ireland was appointed to sit on Tuesday morning next, and

I by the favour of your Grace am appointed to attend it, but my brother Sir John Nicholas who is in waiting at present in the Council is joined with me, though I intend with all the industry I have to apply myself wholly to that business and the obedience of your Grace's commands in that affair. The wind hath been so favourable that His Highness is very suddenly expected in the river : several of his servants is going down the river to-day in hopes of meeting him.

This day the Lord Stourton and Lord Hunsdon being summoned before the Council and asked whether they would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, said they were advised by very good counsel that the oath of supremacy was not to be tendered to them but by the House of Lords ; which though the Lord Chancellor overruled, yet they were ordered to attend the next Council day, and nothing farther done in it at present.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679-80, February 14. Dublin.—This is the first letter I have gone about to send in my own hand this month. I cannot imagine how anybody can find his account in the change you mention in yours of the 7th, but least of all the King's, for he in place of a steady faithful servant and uncorrupt minister will have one of contrary qualifications, and that to his own knowledge. I have seen the return you had out of Holland, by this time I presume you know more. I cannot express how much I am troubled at Secretary Coventry's retreat. If either Mr. Hyde or Sir Lionel Jenkins come into his place and I might be directed to correspond with either of them [I might do so] almost with the same freedom and confidence ; but Ireland is usually the eldest secretary's province, and I would not by any motion from me either injure or displease my Lord of Sunderland, but it will be necessary I should soon know into whose hands all the public despatches concerning this place will be put.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 17. London.—There having been no Council met since the last post day I can give your Grace but a slender account from thence. The Committee for regulating the Justices of the Peace sat on Monday and perfected the lists of all the counties which are to be despatched immediately, the circuits being already appointed. All persons both Lords and Commons who promoted the petition are left out. The Committee for Affairs of Ireland met this morning, where was read about half the number of papers of examination relating to the Earl of Tyrone which were remitted by your Grace to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and have appointed to meet on Friday next in the afternoon to go through with the rest of the examinations,

I presume your Grace will hear (from his own hands) the intended employment of my predecessor and your Grace's faithful servant, Sir Robert Southwell, to the Elector of Brandenburg; his instructions are preparing, and it is designed he should begin his voyage the beginning of next week. There is yet no certain account when His Highness left Scotland, but the nearest guess is that he embarked there on Monday last.

M. DRELINCOURT to the EARL OF OSSORY.

1679-80, February 19. Oxford.—Je supplie vôte grandeur d'agreer la liberté que je prends à present de l'assurer de la tres parfaite santé de Monsieur son aymable fils, et de la bonne disposition ou il continue d'être à tous égards. Il y a du temps, Monseigneur, qu'il est devenu tres matinal, n'étant jamais au lit apres cinq heures et demyes. Il prend beaucoup plus d'exercis à pied et à cheval qu'il n'a jamais fait auparavant. Sa taille est assurément plus belle et plus grande depuis que vôte grandeur ne l'a veu, et il fait tres jolyment son devoir: il est généreux, civil et honeste à chacun, aymé et chery de tous. Comme je l'exhorte souvent à ne point faire d'affront à personne, aussy je luy inspire a n'en point prendre de qui que ce soit; et je vois que c'est la entierement son humeur; et il y a grande esperance, monseigneur, qu'il sera un jour un tres honeste et un tres galant homme, et comme je me flatte aussy un tres bon soldat, car il a du cœur et il devient a veue d'œil extremement fort et robuste et a beaucoup de jugement et de conduite pour son age: mais j'ajouteray avec le respect que je dois que quand M. le Duc trouvera a propos de le tirer d'icy, que l'academie et le beau monde luy pourront faire beaucoup de bien. Je n'oserois pas en dire davantage sinon que je suis avec tout le zèle, le respect, et la passion imaginable, etc.*

ORDER CONCERNING EDUCATION OF LORD CLANRICARDE'S GRANDSON.

After our very hearty commendations to your Grace we did formerly by our letters of the 30th of May last recommend it to your Grace to take such security from the Earl of Clanrickarde as might hinder the education of his grandchild, the Lord Dunkellin's son, in the parts beyond the seas, in regard of the many inconveniencies that might happen by his being sent abroad so young. And taking into consideration that the said child is now arrived to an age capable of being instructed as well in the principles of religion as in other good learning, and that the neglect thereof may give occasion to his said grandfather to take him from his mother and to bring him up in the Roman Catholic religion, which His Majesty being desirous by all means possible to have

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

prevented, hath commanded us to signify the same to your Grace and the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council there. And once more effectually to recommend it to you (as we do hereby) to take care that the said child be educated in the Protestant religion, and in order thereunto that you cause him to be placed in the house of one of the bishops of that kingdom to be carefully instructed and bred up in the doctrine of the Church of Ireland. And to use your utmost endeavours with the said Earl of Clanrickard to make such allowance for the support of his said grandchild and charge of his education as is answerable to the relation he hath to his lordship. And so nothing doubting of your more than ordinary care in this affair, we bid you very heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, the 20th day of February, 1679-80.

Your Grace's very loving friends,

FINCH C., ANGLESEY C.P.S., RADNOR, BRIDGEWATER,
H. LONDON, HENRY COVENTRY, L. HYDE, L. JENKINS,
Ffra. NORTH, S. GODOLPHIN, JOHN NICHOLAS.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 21. Whitehall.—Since my last to my Lord of Arran there hath been another Committee for Irish Affairs where all the papers concerning the Earl of Tyrone and Lord Brittas were read, and though the particulars have not yet been thoroughly debated, yet I found the Committee generally surprised to find that several witnesses making depositions of so great a crime as designing an invasion of His Majesty's kingdom by the French and surprisal of his town of Limerick, etc., nevertheless the persons accused are suffered to be bailed, and therefore were all of opinion that His Majesty should command me to write to your Grace that the persons accused may be all secured in order to their speedy trial, the opinion of the Board being that the accusations import high treason. Accordingly by His Majesty's command I am to require of your Grace that the persons bailed be immediately taken into custody and there detained till released by due course of law, and that in the meantime all things should be prepared for their trial and that with convenient expedition. Possibly by the next post I shall have something more particular for your Grace and Council than I have at present, but the informations sent up by you are looked upon here as of great importance. We are every day in expectation of His Royal Highness and Duchess. All things are at present in quiet, and we think people's minds rather incline to a calm than storm. The Commissioners of the Admiralty tell me they have sent order to their Clerk of the Cheque to provide passages for the soldiers for Tangier, if so be they should be there before this convoy part.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 21.—Having received from Mr. Evelyn the enclosed, which by Sir Stephen Fox, who was once about purchasing the house mentioned in it, I do find to be a very great bargain, and the sum demanded not very considerable, besides a moral certainty if the times be quiet that at any time it may be parted with at advantage, I thought it not amiss to send you the proposal, the conveniency and, indeed, decency of your having an abode in England, if your affairs can permit your laying out so much money, having inclined me to make this step, which, if proceeded in, I doubt not but you will be satisfied of the price and the good repair that both house and gardens are in.

I am desired to entreat your favour in some affairs of Sir Richard Bellings which I did undertake for, as far as consisted with forms and your power to assist him. By conjectures of the wind since Monday last, which was the day the Duke embarked, we expect him to-morrow or next day. I am extreme sorry that you have been so much troubled with the gout. I wish you a perfect recovery and all happiness. [Encloses the letter and note following.]

JOHN EVELYN to the EARL OF OSSORY.

1679-80, February 14.—I am extremely sorry for my Lord Duke's sake but especially for your lordship's that you reject the opportunity is presented to you for the purchasing of that sweet place at Chelsea upon so easy terms, because I am certain that if ever the times should settle into any tolerable composure it will not lie upon their hands who have interest in it for a much more considerable sum that what is now demanded for it, and that then it may not possibly be in my power to serve your lordship as now it is. I have formerly acquainted your lordship with the particulars, that besides a magnificent house capable of being made (with small expense) perfectly modish, the offices, gardens and other accomodations for air, water, situation, vicinity to London, benefit of the river and mediocrity of price are nowhere to be paralleled I am sure about this town or any that I know in England. There are with it to be added as many orange trees and other precious greens as are worth 500*l.*; the fruits of the gardens are exquisite; there is a snow-house—in a word I know of no place more capable of being made the envy of all the noble retreats of the greatest persons near this Court and city, so that it ever grieves me your lordship should not be master of it. I almost forgot to tell your lordship that there is near one hundred pounds a year in good tenements under rented, so as upon the matter I do not esteem your lordship gives above 3,500*l.* for the whole, which really is not above a third part of what it would sell in other circumstances. Not one argument of all this would

I use to your lordship after what your lordship has communicated to me since you writ into Ireland (where my Lord Duke cannot have so perfect a notion of it as your lordship who is so near it every day) but because methinks I cannot have acquitted myself of the many obligations I remain under to your lordship without making your lordship this second offer of my service, whilst it is in my power.

A PARTICULAR OF CHELSEY HOUSE.

There belongs to Chelsey House sixteen acres of ground with several large gardens and courts all walled in and planted with the choicest fruits that could be collected either from abroad or in England. The whole house is in perfect good repair. The apartments altered according to the mode, my Lord of Bristol having laid out upon it 2,000*l*. The out-housing is very good, ample and commodious, and all the offices supplied with excellent water. The tenements belonging to it are now let for 100*l*. per annum, and may very considerably be improved as the leases expire. The purchase was at first 7,000*l*.

For this particular with the addition of all orange trees and other greens, fruit and flowers of all kinds, with seats, rollers, tables and all garden utensils. Also within the house all fixed necessities as grates, chimney pieces and wainscot, the billiard table and a pair of marble tables and house clock, there will be paid 5,000*l*.

Thus offered 26th June, 1679. By Sir Stephen Fox.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 24.—I received yours of the 14th with much satisfaction to find your fit of the gout beginning to leave you. Of the affair of the Chancellorship I have not heard a word more, perhaps it was a false report or a wrong information. I always tell you what I hear and my authors, but will not be answerable for the truth of my informations. I think without undecency you cannot put by my Lord of Sunderland from the affairs of Ireland, and since that is his portion I think the soonest and civillest advances to be best. In this Sir Robert Southwell's and my opinion go together. Of what we owe to that worthy friend I need not use arguments to persuade you, having found him so useful on all occasions. The King has remitted him his quit-rents in Ireland, which amount to about seventy pounds a year. The King's letter, with the usual forms from the Lords of the Treasury, will shortly be sent you, and I hope you will let him see how joyful and ready you will be to despatch anything of good relating to him. The Duke and Duchess arrived here in good health. The King met them at the stairs' foot just as they came out of their barges. My humble opinion is that to His Royal Highness you would write him a letter of compliment on this occasion.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 24. London.—I was so afflicted with a defluxion of rheum on my eye that it made me incapable of paying my duty to your Grace by the last post, for which omission this humbly begs pardon. I presume your Grace received the Order of Council relating to the trial of the Earl of Tyrone, Lord Brittas, etc., from Mr. Secretary Coventry by the last post, which is all hath been done by the Committee for Affairs of Ireland these two meetings. Last night His Royal Highness and the Duchess landed at Deptford, where they were attended this morning by a great many of the best quality, and came about three o'clock this afternoon to Whitehall.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 28. London.—I have inclosed presented your Grace with a full account of the whole proceedings of the Committee for Suppressing Popery, a copy of which is ordered to be delivered to the judges before their circuits, that in their charges they may encourage the justices to proceed to the convicting, and the juries to find the estates of such as are convicted for being Popish recusants, in order to the levying the penalties the law requires. The Lord Sunderland, Mr. Hyde and Mr. Godolphin (who are at present our triumvirate) are very diligent in promoting this prosecution of the Papists, and lest the world might be apt to think it should slacken upon the arrival of [the Duke, they have lately been more pressing than ordinary for the expediting both of the commissions which are several of them sent out already and of all other things relating to the putting the laws in execution against the Popish dissenters.

This week, the night after the Duke's coming to town, Sir John Coventry was so unfortunately drunk that at a great coffee house in the city he publicly spoke very rude and barbarous words reflecting on His Highness. The words are said to be these:—That the Duke was a Papist and a traitor, and that he would prove him one, for which a prosecution against Sir John Coventry is daily expected, though there hath no progress been made in it yet as I can hear of. This week hath likewise been very unhappy in quarrels, in one of which Mr. Henry Wharton, a third son of Lord Wharton, is so dangerously wounded that he is more like to die than to live. But another quarrel which nearer concerns your Grace was decided this morning in which the Lord Plymouth and Sir George Hewit were principals and the Lord Cavendish second to Sir George, as the Lord Mordant was to my Lord Plymouth. The Lord Mordant is wounded in the breast, but without any apprehension of his being in danger, which very happily is all the hurt that was done. Sir Robert Southwell begins his journey to Brandenburg on Monday or Tuesday next. [*Encloses the following paper.*]

ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR
SUPPRESSING POPERY.

December 19, 1479.—His Majesty out of his continual care of the Protestant religion having thought fit to appoint a committee of the Lords of his Privy Council to consider of the most effectual means for putting the laws in execution against the Papists and for suppression of Popery. And their lordships having at several times met and reported their opinions in this behalf to His Majesty in Council, the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex and Westminster have received orders in pursuance of the late proclamation against Papists residing in or near London to cause lists to be forthwith taken of all housekeepers, and especially of such as let lodgings within the bills of mortality, and of all midwives, apothecaries and physicians that are Papists or suspected to be such, and have returned the lists to the Council Board for their effectual prosecution. And that no Papist may be harboured or thought to receive protection within any of His Majesty's houses, a commission is issued out to the officers of the green cloth to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and to offer the test unto all such Papists and suspected Papists as shall be found in Whitehall and the precincts thereof, who are thereupon to be proceeded against according to law. And the messengers and knight marshals' men are ordered to seize and carry them before the said officers. And a reward of ten pounds is to be paid to the discoverers of any Papist or suspected Papist who shall be harboured in any of His Majesty's houses, and the officer who harbours them shall be turned out of his place. The Justices of the Peace are likewise permitted to search Somerset House at any time in the Queen's absence, as also St. James's, for priests and Papists. And that no Popish recusant may expect any favour or connivance for their staying in town, His Majesty hath declared his resolution not to grant them any dispensations or licenses to that effect.

And for the preventing the resort of all persons to the chapels of ambassadors and foreign ministers of the Popish religion, except they be their menial servants, the Justices of the Peace are directed to impart the lists of such servants to the constables and beadles of their respective parishes, who are upon Sundays and holydays to seize all persons who shall be found unduly resorting thither that they be prosecuted according to law. A proclamation is likewise set out to warn all His Majesty's subjects of the dangers they incur by being seduced to the Popish religion, and to encourage all persons to discover those that go about to seduce them, or are seduced to that religion, as also such as are or have been bred in Popish seminaries and such others as shall send any maintenance to them.

And that no encouragement may be wanting in order to the conviction of Papists, a Privy Seal is passed to enable all

the judges to reward according to their discretions all persons that shall prosecute such Popish recusants before them to be paid out of the estates or forfeitures of those who shall be convicted by their prosecutions. And for such persons as are already imprisoned anywhere upon suspicion of being Popish priests, it is further ordered that they be forthwith prosecuted to an attainder.

And whereas the Lords of the Committee have received copies of the lists of the Papists and reputed Papists of England and Wales which had been lodged in the House of Commons by the knights of the respective shires, the Lord Chancellor is directed to cause commissions to be forthwith prepared in which the said lists are to be inserted, empowering and requiring the justices of the peace of each county to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the persons particularly named therein, and upon their refusal to proceed against them according to law in order to their speedy conviction. Which commissions are accompanied not only with special instructions for the better direction of the said justices herein, but also with letters from the Council Board requiring and encouraging them diligently to execute the said commissions and to return an account of their proceedings in pursuance thereof, as also to send up the names of all others whom they shall know or suspect to be Papists not mentioned in the said commissions.

And the lists of some counties having been formerly withdrawn or not delivered to the clerk of the House of Commons, letters are written from the Lords of the Council to the knights of the shires who served in Parliament at that time to remit them to the Council Board, that thereupon commissions may be prepared in like manner as is already directed in respect of the other counties.

Memorandum. A letter being received from the Clerk of the Peace of Lancashire complaining of the neglect of four of the Justices of the Peace in prosecuting Papists, and the same being transmitted to the Council Board, the said justices were ordered to attend the Board, and having been accordingly examined upon the matters laid to their charge, Mr. Serjeant Rigby appearing more faulty than the rest was put out of the Commission of the Peace. Lists are likewise delivered to the judges of each circuit which are copies of the names of the persons mentioned in the commissions (for tendering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy) by which the said judges in their circuits may see the commissions put in execution against every particular person mentioned in the said lists. Her Majesty hath likewise sent in a list signed by the Earl of Ossory, her chamberlain, of the nine Roman Catholic servants Her Majesty entertains in her service which are the King's subjects.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679-80, February 28. Whitehall.—I have received your Grace's of the 14th instant, but have had no opportunity to have that or the Council's letter concerning the Bill of Settlement debated, but shall propose it the next Council day. As to your letter that recommends a letter for the bestowing the collector's place in all the ports of Leinster and Munster in reversion, upon perusal of it I found many things very unusual in it. First, that the giving should give a place in so many several ports without naming the ports. Secondly, that it is a reversion to so many men who are not so much as named, nor what reversions are after them which are necessarily to be specified in the patent, which for the security of the petitioners you are to be directed by the King to enquire what they are, and be they never so many to be inserted in the patent; but though this may make the grant good to the petitioners, yet there is no care taken that the King shall know what kind of reversion he granteth—whether a reversion after two, three, or twenty lives, and in all grants the King ought to be informed what he grants. The next is that there is no account given of the merits of these two men. Why a grant that never, as far as I can hear of, passed before of the most considerable part of the ports of Ireland should be given them, and by a reversion, nobody here knoweth how distant. In conclusion, after His Majesty having lately complained of reversions, immediately to offer him a reversion of so unprecedented a nature as this, I could not in my own judgment think at all convenient. Therefore I showed it my Lord of Ossory and desired him to take my Lord Chamberlain's opinion upon it, which, as he telleth me, is the same with mine; so I have thought fitting not to present it till I hear farther from your Grace. Your other recommendation for the Chirurgeon's place I shall despatch as soon as possible.

I have already pressed both the Commissioners for Tangier and the Commissioners of the Treasury to adjust speedily the manner how the payment for the Irish Tangier soldiers shall be directed. They have both promised to make all haste in it.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, March 2. London.—The Committee for Suppressing Popery, etc., met yesterday in the afternoon, at which His Majesty was present, where the first thing considered of was an order to the Attorney General to inquire into the most effective ways of putting the Act for Purging and Regulating Corporations in execution. There were likewise some proposals brought in by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for the making better inquisition into the estates of Popish recusants and the better levying penalties when the estates are found, in order to which they recommend that

there may be a Receiver General for every two or three counties, who is likewise to be the solicitor and supervisor of the inquisitions and to have the care of paying in the forfeitures into the Exchequer. The commissions for tendering the oath of supremacy and the instructions which I gave your Grace an account of by the last are already gone out for sixteen counties, and commissions for all the remaining counties will be sent down to them by the latter end of this month.

The Duke hath been graciously pleased (upon the earnest intercession and importunity of Mr. Secretary Coventry and Mr. Seymour) to pass by the imprudence of Sir John Coventry which I gave your Grace intimation of in my last, so that the prosecution is ceased.

This evening at the Committee of Tangier there was mention made (as a piece of news which came to the Admiralty) that when the late ships came to Kinsale to receive the four companies to be transported to the garrison of Tangier, the companies were not ready at the place and some not removed out of their quarters at Dublin—which relating to Ireland I could not omit giving your Grace an account of.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679–80, March 2. Dublin Castle.—My Lord Longford, by advice with Mr. Solicitor General, finding since his arrival here that his patent for the government of Carrickfergus which was passed while he was in England is defective in many particulars, there being no express mention made in it of the precincts and bounds of the said government, nor the Admiralty of Lough Neagh inserted which was granted to Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Baron of Belfast, to Edward Lord Viscount Carrickfergus, and to Arthur Earl of Donegal successively in their patents for the said government: and it appearing by the general words in His Majesty's letters for granting the same government of Carrickfergus to my Lord Longford, as also in his patent passed upon it, that it was His Majesty's intention his lordship should enjoy and hold the said government with as ample privileges, powers and authorities as it has been at any time granted to any former governors: to prevent, therefore, any disputes that may hereafter happen for want of particularly mentioning the exact precincts and bounds of the said government and of the aforesaid Admiralty of Lough Neagh, at his lordship's request and for the justice I conceive of his pretension I send you the enclosed draught of a letter for his lordship's passing a new patent of the said government prepared by Mr. Solicitor General, and I am the rather induced to recommend it to His Majesty because it brings no new charge to the establishment, nor is any other advantage to his lordship than a mark of His Majesty's favour which, I conceive, the zeal which he upon all occasions shews in His Majesty's service deserves.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, March 6. London.—His Majesty was pleased to declare last night (at the Council) his intentions of having a Parliament meet in Ireland before the latter end of May, and I presume your Grace will receive the signification of His Majesty's pleasure by this post for the preparing of bills against that time. The next month of April is my turn to attend wholly, by which means I shall be the more capable of receiving your Grace's commands. The King intends to go to Newmarket on Wednesday next, and hath in order to it appointed Tuesday to be the next Council day. Sir Robert Southwell embarked on Tuesday last for The Hague.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

Mr. Secretary Coventry showed me a letter which you desired to have sent from the King in behalf of Robert Higgins and John Drury for reversions of customers' places in the provinces of Leinster and Munster. He told me that he thought it a service to you not to propose it to His Majesty, having upon occasions of the like grants showed an averseness, and having unwillingly signed the last, saying that all places were clogged with survivances, by which reason many of them were in the hands of insufficient persons. He further adds that this draught is of a general nature, not confining it to any particular places, but gives a latitude of bestowing all within the provinces mentioned, which he observes not to have been usual. As I am far from not wishing that you should oblige as many as you can, so I should be sorry that any of your requests should be unacceptable to the King, or that they might have in them wherewithal to furnish your enemies matter of exception, though I doubt not but my Lord of Sunderland will carry himself fairly towards you; yet I think you ought to be more cautious in your despatches than when you had to deal with so worthy and so experienced a friend as his predecessor has always been to you and yours. I presume to send you the copy of that letter because it seems to him and me not according to former precedents, and your secretary is faulty if he offers you papers not according to method, it being impossible for you to read all those punctually that you sign or transmit. I beg your pardon if I am impertinent. I think it better failing on that side than in omitting to give you notice of things which I think may be necessary for your knowledge. I am extreme glad to find that you are abroad and so well recovered; may your health be well established and continue long. The place of Chief Baron, I hear, is disposed of to Baron Henn. I am told Sir Richard Kennedy is dying; if that report be true the former succeeding him, by what they say of Henn he would be a gainer by what he has already, and he's better by being first than Chief Baron,

since there may be danger of his losing that place by reason of his insufficiency. Sir Richard Stephens you were pleased to command me to serve upon all occasions; if in this juncture it be acceptable to you I will endeavour his preferment according as I shall receive your directions.

[*Undated, but endorsed* "Received March 6, 1679-80."]

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679-80, March 6th. Whitehall.—I have since my last to your Grace got the two letters from your Grace and Council read at the Board yesterday. They would not at all meddle with the desires of Peter Talbot, but laid it totally aside. To the other of the Bill of Settlement I find them still of an opinion against that Bill, but as I before hinted to your Grace if you shall find upon the meeting of the Parliament that there is a desire to have such a Bill and upon what terms, your Grace and the Council would transmit it hither. But there are so many different opinions concerning the last Bill that cause such different opinions in those of the Council that pretend to understand the affairs of Ireland, but they do desire the other bills may be hastened over with all expedition that they may be returned to you by the end of May without fiat. There is an order drawn up to that purpose, but it being in mine and others' judgment not so expressive of the result of the Council as it should be, I defer the sending of it till next Tuesday. I send your Grace a letter this post in recommendation of Doctor Sall, who is coming over to you into Ireland. It is by the King's command, who hath been earnestly pressed by the Bishops of Canterbury and London. On Wednesday next their Majesties, Duke and Court go to Newmarket. At his return, if not before, I shall betake myself to my retreat.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, March 9th. London.—This day at Council there were some alterations made in the order which was to be transmitted to your Grace relating to the preparing of the Bills for the meeting of the Parliament. The chiefest was that though His Majesty had been pleased in Council to lay aside the Act of Settlement which was sent out of Ireland, yet that he would be very ready to agree to any other which should be transmitted from thence which should be for the public good, peace and quiet of his subjects there. Mention was likewise made in the order of a bill to be prepared to hinder Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament in the manner as the Act now stands here. In all other things and as to the time of sitting it is the same with the former. But I suppose the order will be transmitted to your Grace by this same post. The last Council day a petition of Coppinger was read complaining against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, which about three weeks ago was referred to your

Grace and the Council of Ireland absolutely, but now there is an order that the Lord Chancellor shall give his answer to the complaint which is to be transmitted to this Board.

Last night the Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Clayton, invited His Majesty and His Royal Highness to an entertainment at his house in the city, where the bonfires, bells and loud acclamations of the multitude testified the joy and loyalty of the citizens of London. But His Majesty hath not so good an opinion of those of the city of York, for this day in Council he commanded Mr. Attorney General to inquire whether they have made any such slips as might forfeit their charter or any other way bring them under the power of the laws.

To-morrow morning His Majesty intends his journey to Newmarket together with the Queen, the Duke and Duchess of Portsmouth. The Duchess of York, not being very well after her voyage out of Scotland, resolving to stay at St. James's till their return which is intended to be the first week in April.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679-80, March 9. Whitehall.—His Majesty having taken particular notice of the great labour and study of Andrew Sall, Doctor in Divinity, and one of His Majesty's chaplains, about several books in defence of our Church and doctrine, and of his intention to continue the like industry; and also considering the infirmities that are fallen upon him as well by his said labour and studies as by his age, hath commanded me to signify his pleasure on the said doctor's behalf, that in regard of his learning and pains your Grace will be pleased to confer upon him the first good deanery in Ireland that shall become vacant; and in regard of his infirmities and for his encouragement to continue his said studies that your Grace take effectual care that during his life he may have the use of those lodgings in His Majesty's College near Dublin whereof he was in possession when he was there last; and also that he have the liberty of bringing from the public library of that college to his chamber such books as he shall from time to time have occasion to use for his works in hand, he giving security to restore the same safely to the library again, which favour he says he formerly enjoyed when he first came to live in that college. And lastly that he be obliged to no duties or assistances for the use of the said lodgings and books more than he shall freely give according as the condition of his health and employment shall permit him. This is what I had direction to write to your Grace in favour of the said Doctor Sall, wherewith your Grace will comply as far as you see good cause, or otherwise return your opinion upon all or any of the particulars above mentioned. If so, I know not whether it may come to my hand, but, however, the matter shall go, I shall remain always, etc.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679-80, March 10th. By his Grace's command.—I am commanded by his Grace to tell your lordship that he cannot yet write to you himself, and that he hath given thanks to Mr. Secretary Coventry for not offering to His Majesty's signature the draught of a letter which he had recommended to him for that purpose. As to the house at Chelsey, how good soever the bargain may be, the purchase he says is not agreeable to his condition, and he wonders that he hears nothing of the state of your lordship's affairs in Holland.

He is much satisfied with the relation of Monsieur Drelincourt of your son, and agrees that it will be shortly time to put him into another way of education, and therefore it will be fit to consider under what government to put him, The fittest time for his going abroad will be next autumn, before which time you may fix upon such as may be fit to attend upon him. This is all for the present, - only that his Grace thinks Paris the proper place for him to go first unto.

MR. ELLIS to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679-80, March 13. London.—Going to see the Bishop of Rochester, who is very much a servant of your lordship and your family, he spoke to me of a business which he presumed your lordship might not be displeased to take some cognizance of. Dr. Andrew Sall, who was a man of great reputation amongst the Roman Catholics, having been a professor in their universities many years, and a man of great learning, came over to the Church of England in the time of the Earl of Essex's government, who gave him a living just sufficient for his subsistence, which he, as a disinterested person, was contented with. The Roman Catholics, being exceeding angry with him, he came into England for his safety, and being ancient and sedentary was some time since seized with a rheumatism, which has taken from him the use of his legs, and made him a very helpless man. Not long since the Chancellor of Ireland, being advised that Dr. Sall was dead here, gave away the living he had to another, and it has cost him a year's revenue to get that man out again, which accident added to his other misfortunes has almost utterly ruined him, and now fearing from what is past that he shall have for the future but a very ill account of the only means he has to subsist on, he finds no remedy to prevent starving here but with what hazard soever to return to Ireland, if yet his indisposition of body will suffer him to make the journey, unless his condition might be made known by some good hand to his Grace, who he believes is not advised of it at present, that so his Grace may please to give order that the revenue of his living may be punctually received and transmitted to him for his maintenance. Dr. Sall, as the bishop says, is looked upon as the most considerable man for learning and sincerity that ever came over from the Church

of Rome to ours, and therefore it would give great satisfaction to many men to see that such a convert should meet with all encouragement here, especially in the government of the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and does humbly conceive your lordship might be pleased, if you were acquainted with his case, to recommend him to his Grace's favour, which the bishop having said to me, with intent, as I suppose, that I should give your lordship some account of it, I have taken the liberty of doing it, humbly submitting it to your lordship's consideration.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, March 13. London.—It was yesterday ordered that the Council shall meet but once a week, that is on Fridays, till His Majesty's return from Newmarket. There was likewise then an order made in reference to the petitions of Coppinger against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, that the said Lord Chancellor should return his answer to both the said petitions to the Board, although the first petition was otherwise disposed of, as I gave your Grace an account formerly. The way of management of this affair and the persons concerned in the management of it makes me imagine (with submission) that there is something more than bare justice, or kindness to Coppinger in the bottom of it. The order relating to the trial of the Earl of Tyrone, which I formerly mentioned to your Grace, was stopped and some alteration made in it by the committee this day, which I suppose will be an order the next Council. The effect of it as it stands now is that your Grace shall cause the persons accused for the Plot (and who now are committed by order of the Board) to be brought to their trials with all convenient speed, and that the peers be tried first.

Here is a discourse that there lately seems to be some misunderstanding between the Duke of Lauderdale and the Lord Sunderland, which is said to have proceeded so far that it is thought the two persons of the greatest interest here are concerned in it, each for their particular friend.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679-80, March 15. Newmarket.—I here send you enclosed Mr. Secretary's letter which will inform you at length of the grounds upon which my recommendation of Doctor Sall is desired. I believe now all your thoughts are taken up in sending over bills and in endeavouring to get honest men elected for the ensuing Parliament; as this will be a most important service to get moneys for the security of the kingdom and to have its condition settled, so you may be sure much industry will be used to hinder your compassing these ends: one lord who uses all his crafts to reflect on your Government, out of hopes I certainly know that he entertains

of obtaining it himself—will do all he can by his friends there to hinder supply, hoping from thence that a necessity of his parts and interests will procure him what he does so much long after. Whensoever you think it fitting that I should wait upon you, I shall be ready upon very short notice of your pleasure. The conduct of my Lord Candish I cannot enough admire, coming hither after his leaving the Council, and being here several days and in the rooms, where he met the Duke and never took notice of him or went to kiss his hand, as the other three that quit with him have done. The King has commanded him from his presence, since which time, though he be here yet, I have not seen him since. When the Duke was in Flanders he desired me to make from him all the professions of duty and respect that could be, and he approved of my letter, having shewed it him before I sent it, upon which he had a very kind return, and without any manner or colour of disgust he has applied himself perpetually to the Duke of Monmouth, with whom you may remember with reason he was much dissatisfied, and behaved himself towards the Duke, who was always kind to him, at the rate I have here mentioned. Since our being here my Lord of Shaftesbury sent word to the Mayor that he would bring the Duke of Monmouth to him to dinner, which he civilly excused; but being a second time pressed, the Lord Mayor replied that if the Duke of Monmouth came in at one door he would get out at another.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679–80, March 16. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 9th of March I have received, and heartily condole the length of your gout, but congratulate you the gentleness of it. I am providing against mine and shall shortly have leisure to lie a-bed. I shall not fail to acquaint the Council with the contents of your letter to-morrow, but His Majesty is at Newmarket, where he hath had very cold weather. As to the letter I received from you in favour of my Lord Longford, I have written to him at large about it, and I doubt not he will acquaint your Grace with it. We have at present a great calm at land though very stormy at sea—nothing of news from abroad or at home; when and where our mighty neighbour will break this calm we know not, but the greatest appearance is for Italy.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679–80, March 20. London.—His Majesty and most of the Court being at present at Newmarket, this place affords very little worth your Grace's perusal. There was a Council held yesterday where most of the business was concerning private affairs only, an order for Mr. Secretary Coventry to move His Majesty for the naming a High Steward for the trial of the Earl of Tyrone and Lord Brittas. The Lord

Cavendish was forbid His Majesty's presence at Newmarket, but I cannot yet find that there hath been any late occasion for it. The Duchess of Modena is daily expected here, and the Duke of York intends to be here on Monday from Newmarket, whither he speedily returns again. It is believed this weather if it continues will invite His Majesty to stay at Newmarket till the third of April, which is longer than was imagined. The Earl of Sunderland came to the King on Wednesday last, having been for this week at his home in Northamptonshire, which had occasioned a great many false reports about the town.

CAPTAIN JOHN BAXTER to the DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1679-80, March 20. [Kilkenny]—Yesterday the Lord Granard's servant came hither with seven score five trees of which care is taken according to your Grace's commands, and forty shillings given to those that brought them. They were five days coming hither with them. I have had three fair days since Wednesday last, and three or four more will make up the wall that fell, and will also do what was not done before, which is to get on a water table and a breast wall fit for the coping stones, which will make that wall pleasant to the eye. His Grace's apartment is now solely under Massy, who hath many hands at work to finish it, and very diligent to have it finished by the time limited. The sashes for the windows are all made, but not got up. The Court will look much better than when your Grace was here when the new pavement is finished, which will be done in a fortnight of fair weather. On Monday or Tuesday next the marble piers by the grotto will be got up, which could not be carried through the bowling green until this dry weather came in. I believe the like were not seen in this kingdom heretofore.

The marble chimney-piece for his Grace's bed-chamber is ready to be got up, and there is nothing that can hinder the completing of his Grace's apartment but the want of the stone door-case, which is not yet all come hither. The flags for the lobby to the garden are all ready to be laid, but Joseph will not consent to lay them till the doorcase is set up; the place is ready for it, only two foot of the outside wall stands yet unbroken, as your Grace commanded.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679-80, March 23rd. London.—I lately received the honour of your Grace's letter of the 9th instant, and shall upon all occasions endeavour faithfully to give intimation of all things that occur to me which may be of service to your Grace. The account from your Grace and Council of the trial of the Earl of Tyrone was yesterday delivered by Mr. Secretary Coventry and read at Council.

There being an extraordinary Council called upon this following occasion, which was an information sent by Mr. Justice Dewey to Mr. Secretary Coventry of several thousand apprentices who had set their names down in a list in which they engaged themselves to meet altogether on the 29th of May and burn the Rump (as they called it), the examination of it came in the afternoon before the Board, where were only brought about ten boys, who confessed they had subscribed their names to such a paper, and all of them agreed it was at the instigation of one Alford, a bell-founder in the City, who they called Captain, and likewise said that he told them he had four or five thousand more that would join with them, and that His Majesty would give them leave to do it as soon as he came from Newmarket. Alford was taken last night by the Lord Mayor, and will be brought to-morrow (which is appointed a Council upon the same occasion) before the Board. It is discoursed that a stranger hath often been at their meetings, and paid their reckonings for them himself; but that as yet is not proved, though it induces their lordships to be more strict in the inquiry into the bottom of it, and to examine whether there be not something behind the curtain more than their boyish recreation.

Last night His Royal Highness came from Newmarket and was this morning complimented by the Lord Mayor. The Duchess of Modena arrived likewise this day, who intends but a very short stay, and the Duke designs being with the King again on Saturday next. The University of Cambridge last Sunday made their compliments to the King and Duke, though there hath been some disputes among them, and endeavours to divert them from the latter.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679-80, March 23. Dublin.—I have yours of the 15th from Newmarket, but doubt you had not received your brother's written by my direction until after the Duke was gone from thence. You will as soon as you can perform that duty for me. I do not wish that unknowing and unthinking men should take tales on trust when I find the Bishop of Rochester could imagine that my Lord Primate would, if he could, take any advantage of Dr. Sall's absence to suspend or seize upon his livings, or that he would dispose of them upon a rumour of his death till he had very authentic assurance of it. The truth is the poor man, for want of knowledge of such affairs and for want of honesty in those he trusted, has been miserably cheated, and that I doubt by his brother. My Lord Primate will himself satisfy the Bishop of Rochester. I am able to write no longer.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, March 31.—Yours of the 12th of this month came not to my hands till the 28th with other letters of a fresher date,

which I mention that your lordship may not suspect it was possible for me to lose any time to make a suitable return to so obliging an instance of your favour and to so desirable a thing as the advantage of your friendship which you are pleased to offer. I had upon the first notice of Mr. Secretary Coventry's dismissal congratulated your lordship's succeeding him, and the correspondence it must introduce betwixt your lordship and me, but I have till now very lately wanted the use of my right hand, with which and with great sincerity of heart I do now profess myself desirous to show myself, etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, March 31.—I forgot to tell you in my last that I had seen yours to your brother, and the Prince of Orange's to you. That of the Prince is so passionately obliging that I know not how you can quit his service in good nature so long as he can think you useful to him. Yet I think you ought to find some fit means to let him know how much the world is mistaken in the opulence of your family and that such sums as must be spent answerable to your quality and post do incommode you.

We are here labouring at the bills now sent for in much haste out of England in order to the calling of a Parliament here, and if I should now hesitate or appear less confident of success in it, it would be remembered how earnest I have been for a Parliament ever since I last landed here, but it would not be considered what changes have happened since, nor how since those changes I have slackened my pursuits. I shall, therefore, as soon as may be send over such bills as I think proper for the conjuncture, and yet I cannot hope they will be such but that an ingenious or an interested man may make plausible objections against some parts of them either in behalf of the King or of the Protestants, or perhaps even of the Papists, rather than want something to find fault with. And how far such objections may take place coming from persons supposed to understand Ireland with others that have taken little pains to understand it and are willing to ease themselves acquiescing, is much to be doubted, especially [*illegible*] nobody on the place capable of admittance to Committees and Councils [*illegible*] for [*illegible*] particulars that may be objected against. I see the disadvantage I am like to be upon, but I know not what to propose for prevention more than that the King would suspend his judgment till [all the] objections may be put in writing and transmitted hither, or till His Majesty may be attended by some from hence able to give some account of the matter. But this is a proposition fitter perhaps to go along with the bills than to be spoken before. If it be true that the King intends to go to Windsor soon after his return from Newmarket and to stay there all the summer, I

do not think our bills will be despatched by one Council day in a week at Hampton Court. I desire to know as much as can be known of the King's purpose how and where he will dispose of himself this summer.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, April 2nd. Whitehall.—I do by this messenger send you the letter I was commanded by the Council to write to you with all the circumstances of the Plot, which hath been improved here enough to make a sufficient noise, though, in my poor opinion, the informant either can or will tell us very little unless Morphy will open more freely to whom he referreth all. He was brought to the Council by the Earl of Shaftesbury, but Serjeant Osborne hath given a very bad character of him. For the several letters recommended by your Grace, that of Kinsale I put immediately into Mr. Hyde's hands, but there not being a quorum of them in town no report could be obtained. I shall now press it afresh. That for my Lord Longford's Government is signed. That for Mr. N. is in a fair way if we can pass that unusual clause of being paid by the Farmers. The King is well disposed for it. For that of Mr. Attorney I have not yet durst to promote it, for His Majesty is so very shy of late in granting reversions that I know not how to propose one five deep. I shall advise with your best friends, and if they give me encouragement shall proceed, but the world is very captious and particularly searching into all grants that pass in Ireland, and fail not to make their remarks.

Here is a nice hub-bub among the Prentices that we cannot yet come to the bottom of it, it beareth its share in provoking jealousies and discontents.

Postscript—Three posts have stopped by reason of the Plot.

WILLIAM DOUGLAS to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, April 2. Clonmel.—I do not doubt but you have been informed of the trouble has arrived concerning Captain Spot's wedding, who brought a licence from the Archbishop of Cashel addressed to Dr. Ladyman, for to marry him to one Squire Dawson's daughter, but the Doctor being a sickly man could not perform it according to our desires; whereupon he writes a letter to Mr. Jonathan Brownsworth as his curate (I believe to trepan him) to officiate for him, which he very innocently did, not only to obey his vicar's desire but also to be complacent to us officers. Since which time Doctor Ladyman has sent to inform the Bishop of Waterford against him for marrying in the Diocese of Waterford without a licence and in Lent. The Bishop is so hot upon his attack that poor Mr. Brownsworth is like to be degraded; we are all very much concerned for him and have no other way for his defence but by humbly praying your lordship's assistance, and that you would be pleased to engage (if possible)

his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's favour to the end the Bishop may be stopped in his prosecution and Mr. Brownsworth remain as formerly.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 3rd. London.—The stop which was put on the two mails, which should have gone from hence the last post days, by order of the Council, prevented me paying my duty to your Grace till now. The reason of the embargo was a discovery brought before the Council by the Earl of Shaftesbury of some designs alleged to be of great danger to the kingdom of Ireland, the particulars whereof your Grace will (I presume) be better informed of by Mr. Secretary Coventry, for it was thought so great a secret that the Clerks of the Council were commanded to withdraw, which we had no reason to complain of since it was at first debated whether it should be communicated to the Council in general, and was requested by the discoverer (at least as my Lord Shaftesbury reported) that your Grace should not be made acquainted with it till some persons were brought out of Ireland. Upon these debates it was thought fit to desire His Majesty's presence here from Newmarket, and after his arrival those orders were made which your Grace will receive from Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Here hath likewise been another dangerous design as is pretended of a rising of the apprentices, who intended on the 29th of May next to burn the Rump (as they term it) in contempt of the Presbyterians, as they usually have done the Pope on other occasions. Though many honest and well-meaning men think this and the apprentices' dear delights of bonfires and ale was the bottom of this Plot, yet some that pretend to have dived farther into it report that they were animated and encouraged by some persons to this rising, and that several of the Presbyterians were to be destroyed in the tumult.

Last night Sir William Waller brought the examinations of three apprentices (who are at present in the gate-house) to the Council, in one of which it is said that one Alford (who was to have been their captain, as they termed him had told them that he had listed several thousands of apprentices, that he could command 300 or 400 pounds if there were occasion for the design of burning the Rump, and that the Guards would join with them. And farther, that Ossory (so he is pleased familiarly to call him) would assist them and encourage them in it. This, though in the highest degree ridiculous to all mankind of common understanding 'and justice, yet is made great use of by some persons who would maliciously lay an aspersion upon his lordship.

Yesterday was likewise brought before the Council an examination wherein it did appear that some agents of the Duke of Bucks (with whom Sir William Waller and one Mr.

Barnesly, another Justice of Peace, had joined) had been industriously endeavouring to suborn and corrupt one Philip Lamar, who had formerly accused the said Duke of sodomy with himself, to deny all the former accusation, and fix a design upon the Lord Danby, the Earl of Sunderland and indeed partly upon the King himself of a conspiracy of taking away the said Duke's life. The contrivance did very visibly appear by several particulars too long to trouble your Grace with, but the resolution of the Board was that Mr. Justice Barnesly is turned out of the commission, an order of Council that Lamar shall be suffered to speak or converse with no person but by order of the Board, and that Mr. Attorney General prefer a Bill of Indictment for sodomy against the said Duke to the Grand Jury as soon as possible.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, April 3rd.—You will hear many rumours spread abroad by our enemies to blast our reputations, but I hope those artifices will not take effect. The enclosed examinations Sir William Waller showed me, pretending respect, before he gave them into the Council. How these things have been enlarged in coffee-houses, saying that you and I were in a design of betraying Ireland to France, has been also discoursed; but as in all this matter they could not find any colour of probability, so I think the visible falsity of those reports have rather done us good than harm, it showing the animosity and grounds upon which our ruin is aimed at. If you can serve the King in the Parliament I hope it may be a means to frustrate the designs of those who wish not only ours but the destruction of the Crown. Mr. Thynne has written a very honest letter to my brother about his own concern. I wish he were employed with all my heart; but without disobliging my Lord of Sunderland, who professes great respects for you, I know not how you can put a person into the agency that is not in any station or that has not some relation to him. I never see Sir Cyril Wyche and know not how you are satisfied with him; at all adventures if it were practicable I wish Thynne in his room. Possibly by the next I may write you some news.

SAME to SAME.

1680, April 6th.—I shall not fail to acquaint my Lady Elizabeth Felton with that part of your letter which concerns her, and to give you an account how that affair is like to go. Mr. Churchill dying without a will leaves many disputes, which I think are not yet decided. If they can get you the bonds as you mention, then you will be secure upon payment from further trouble. My Lord of Sunderland desired me that you would oblige him in employing one Benson in the agency of the Irish affairs. I told him that I was confident

you would comply with him in all you could, and in this particular I hope you will gratify him ; for I do not see how it is practicable to continue Mr. Thynne, who has no station in his office. Yours, and I may presume to say the King's enemies, use all their artifices to blast our reputations. I do consult with my friends and men of the law, and if I can get any punished that way I will not be wanting in so just a vindication.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, April 8th. Whitehall.—I have very little to trouble your Grace with from hence since what I wrote you by the two messengers that went hence on Saturday, of which I should be very glad to receive an account from your Grace.

Yesterday it was moved in Council that the Earl of Ranelagh might have leave to come into England in respect of his indisposition, but it not appearing to the Board what hindrance it might be to the clearing of his accounts, it was judged expedient that your Grace's opinion should be first known upon it, and that I may not be mistaken in my orders, I here send you a copy of the original order. It was likewise moved by the Lord Privy Seal that your Grace should be written to to take off the Earl of Tyrone's bail, but it was likewise the opinion of the Board that nothing should be resolved upon in that matter till your opinion were likewise known upon it, and I was likewise ordered to write to you for it. I send you here enclosed a copy of that order.

I cannot yet get a report from the Treasury of your order for Kinsale, they being adjourned till Wednesday next, when I am promised to have it. I shall not give you many more troubles of this nature, for though I cannot name the precise day I believe it will be hardly lengthened beyond the next week ; but though I may be in a station less troublesome and less serviceable to you than I am, I shall never be less faithful.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 10. Dublin.—After much expectation of the arrival of three packets the yacht came in and landed Sir William Petty here, who presently came to me and told me the packets were stayed by order at Holyhead till by like order they should be permitted to pass ; but he says they were not returned to London or searched, nor any person or other vessels but the packet boats under arrest. I confess I cannot comprehend for what reason an embargo should be only on the mails, and am the more to seek by what I saw in a letter from Chester of the 4th of this month, taking notice of the stop put on the packets at Holyhead, of a discovery of a Popish Irish plot before the English Council, and of the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Ossory being, as the letter terms it,

bespattered, only it brings into my memory what I heard of one Fitzgerald being sent for Ireland of a servant of Sir William Wa[ll]er going with him to Bristol and discovering there Fitzgerald's being a cheat. Yet I have this day heard from Munster that he is arrived there under the tuition of two messengers of the Chamber. Putting all this together, I must suspect it is designed that the proceeding is intended to be concealed from me and from thence that something is informed against me. I know that whoever at this time shall come with a discovery in his hand must be countenanced, at least heard, and examinations given way to by the King, else it will be said great matters would have been found out if he had given way to it, which gives occasion to lament the condition he is in rather than to murmur at his compliance. Yet it is something extraordinary to have inquiry made after treasonable practices in Ireland and the Chief Governor left out, for if he be not to be trusted with that certainly he ought not to be with the kingdom. This goes by Sir Thomas Newcomen, a man I think very zealous in the King's service and a careful good officer. I would write more fully by him if I knew what [to say]. When he returns you may have the same confidence of a safe conveyance.

Two of the witnesses against the Earl of Tyrone I understand are gone into England, and I doubt not but that they will there make complaint, but whether against the Government, the judges, the jury, or against them all for the not finding the Bill, I know not. They had protection against all suits and molestation that they might attend the prosecution of their accusation, which being at an end I am told it was necessary for them to withdraw, one of them, namely McNamara, being accused for horse stealing, and the other called Hubert Bourke being liable to other suits. These are shrewd fellows; then one that calls himself Fitzgerald, a Franciscan friar that, I am told, has made much noise in England and has received countenance from a great man there. I still presume we shall be heard to anything that shall be objected against our proceeding, and therefore I say no more.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1680, April 10th. Dublin.—You may remember upon what account and upon what information the titular Primate was apprehended and other Popish Bishops sought for, and that I gave you notice of the apprehension of the Primate, who has ever since lain in the Castle for no other reason (known to him or to any other but myself here) than his presuming to stay here in contempt of the proclamation. I have forborne hitherto to have him examined upon the particular he is charged with, in expectation of some further light into the matter, which is of such a nature that he will certainly deny his having any part in it, and then we shall

want anything wherewith to convince him or draw any acknowledgment from him that may lead towards a discovery of the truth. I put you now again in mind of this affair, because that the person from whom the first notice came is returned into England, and that another titular Bishop is taken whose name is Creagh and is styled Bishop of Cork. Though you should be out of the secretary's place yet I hold it most proper for me to address myself to you for a signification of His Majesty's pleasure in this particular till he shall think fit to direct me otherwise.

We have notice by passengers of a stop put upon the packets at Holyhead, where there are now four that might be here, the wind standing fair. There are many conjectures made upon it, of which some reflect upon me, as if there were some great discovery to be made with which I am not fit to be trusted. A short time may let us see what the matter is. I send this by Sir Thomas Newcomen, one of the Privy Council, and a faithful servant of the King's. He says he will ride post.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, April 10th.—I received this day yours of the 31st of March, and have often reflected on those things you mentioned in it relating to a Parliament. I confess my insufficiency to offer anything tending to advise, but being encouraged by your letter I hope you will not take amiss my expressing my thoughts upon this subject so important to the King's and your interest. If you believe Ireland is not so infected with those ill humours which abound here, and that your ill wishers as well as those averse to the Government would be sorry you should have the honour of settling it, and putting it in a posture which may render it secure will not have power to prevent supplies, there is no doubt but a meeting ought to be pressed with all imaginable vigour. On the other hand, if you believe the malignity of men to be such as to prevent your good intentions, I think your safest course would be to let the King know the motives on which you have altered your mind, the many accidents which have happened since your giving that counsel affording you many reasons for such a variation. When I consider how much a Parliament doing their duty can contribute to the safety of the kingdom, and that the fault is not yours if they act otherwise, and that in such case they may be dismissed without inconveniencies visible to me of a high nature, I confess I am for the affirmative. In all events you will observe much of the behaviour of many in the army who certainly ought to be dealt withal according as they behave themselves on this occasion; that my Lord of Essex will endeavour to cross you by his friends there, to render himself necessary for your employment, and that he will use all manner of artifices to lay reproach on such bills as you transmit, is to be expected from his ingenuity.

To send Mr. Solicitor, if you rely upon him, or some able lawyer, were, I think, a better and shorter way to come to an issue than by way of replies ; in one thing the King's mind were good to be soon known, which is whether he will be pleased to have anything in the bills appropriating such monies as shall be given to the use of that kingdom, or whether he will any other way signify that to be his purpose which will more easily bring him supplies. His Majesty on Monday next come sennight intends for Windsor, but will once a week come to Council at Whitehall. I do imagine committees will sit about most affairs in his absence, which I believe will continue until the middle of September at least.

Having showed my letter to my Lord Chamberlain, his opinion is that you should not move the King concerning appropriating of what shall be given otherwise than as you may be advised by the Council as a thing arising from them and not foreseen by you. He approves of Mr. Solicitor's ability, but fears by many ties as well as my Lord of Essex's late endeavouring to have him made Attorney here, that he may be induced to do you ill offices in delaying the sitting and good effects of Parliament. He advises your complimenting by letter Sir Lionel Jenkins upon his employment, who professes upon all occasions particular and great respects for you, and that you would desire him and his predecessor to attend carefully the affairs of the Committee for Irish affairs. He is on the milk diet, which agrees well with him ; he hopes you will not forget sending him the hawks you promised him. This I write in his presence, who desires that his compliments may be made to you and excuses for half a year's silence, and resolving to mend, he intends to do it in this as well as in other things. The longer James is at Oxford the more prejudice it is to him. I think if he were in Monsieur Faubert's academy here it would be the best course that now could be taken ; he might there follow both his studies and his exercises.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 10. London.—I had nothing to trouble your Grace with by the last post. All that was done the last Council day relating to Ireland was comprised in the two orders, one concerning the Earl of Ranelagh, the other the Earl of Tyrone, transmitted to your Grace by Mr. Secretary Coventry. The putting Sir William Waller, who hath been a very busy man here, out of the Commission of the Peace, and the whole account of the ill practices used by him and several others in the matter relating to the Duke of Buckingham the printed papers are very full in.

His Majesty intends to go to Windsor on Monday night, where he resides all the summer, only once a week to be in London at Council. Before His Majesty's removal he intends

to take a new review of the Justices of the Peace in all the counties of England. I am likewise just now commanded to summon a Committee for suppressing Popery to meet on Wednesday morning, as also to give notice to the judges to attend at that time in order to the giving an account of the success of the commissions for tendering the oaths of supremacy sent to the several counties by order of this Board.

Next week Mr. Secretary Coventry intends to resign up the seals to Sir Lionel Jenkins.

ANONYMOUS.

1680, April 10. Worcester.—Dear brother, We are almost distracted with rumours of plots and massacres in Dublin, and do admire I hear not from you. It almost startles me in sending or coming, but in regard I hear not from you therein I am in hopes that it's not true, though I saw a letter from a very honourable gentleman and a friend of mine, Sir Henry Capel, a late Privy Councillor, written to Sir Francis Russell, wherein he tells him that there is a most horrid plot discovered to be in Ireland by very great persons of quality ; the particulars are kept so private that the clerks and the attorneys and solicitors were all turned out by the King's command, and the King and Council unanimously voted a damnable plot, and blank warrants are sent over to apprehend great men. The soliciting party in the management is committed to the Earl of Essex and Shaftesbury. Our Parliament is prorogued till the 15th of May. Dear Ned, I need not advise you how to steer affairs, but not too confident of your country's strength. I hope ere I take my voyage and journey we may have a letter from you. Pray be as nimble as you can.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 12. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 3rd with the copies of the examinations concerning the 'prentices. I do not so much wonder at the scandals cast upon us now as that it was not done sooner. But it was necessary to amuse the people, as with new plots so with new actors in them, and we were not forgotten but reserved for the last. The discoveries now on foot in the north and in the west of this kingdom can come to nothing by reason of the extravagant villainy and folly of the discoverers, who are such creatures that no schoolboy would trust them with a design for the robbing of an orchard. My Lord of Essex's tool is a silly drunken vagabond that cares not for hanging a month hence if in the meantime he may solace himself with brandy and tobacco. Murphy is all out as debauched, but a degree wiser than the other. The other fellow brought by my Lord of Shaftesbury to the Council broke prison being in execution, and now the sheriff or jailor are sued for the debt. This is

their true character, but perhaps not fit for you to give of them. If rogues they must be that discover roguery, these must be the best discoverers, because they are the greatest rogues.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 14. Dublin.—I received yours of the 6th next day after Sir Tho. Newcomen parted hence with all the despatches I wrote by that post. Fitzgerald's errand into Munster is no secret here, nor yet that his undertaking of finding dangerous papers walled up in a ruinous Abbey has failed. It is a great misfortune to the discoverers of plots in this kingdom that my Lord of Orrery is not alive; he would have done his part here as well as the other cripple in England. But his brother Shannon is a plain, honest gentleman, and was ill pitched upon by my Lord of Essex for such an employment. If shipping was to be had at Cork, Youghal, or Kinsale, that gentleman is returned with his guard of messengers—the other that landed here is with his principal informer gone on their northern expedition. I hope a week will finish that work on this side, yet it may be necessary to keep up the noise, lest perhaps a Parliament should sit in May. If this grow stale during a longer interval another may easily be substituted. If jail birds liable to hanging or starving will serve the turn, my Lord Sunderland shall have who he pleases in the Irish agency.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1680, April 14, Dublin.—I was glad to receive yours from London of the 3rd inst., hoping that by your solicitation these things depending in the report of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury will have the better and speedier despatch. The bills in order to the calling of a Parliament here will, I doubt not, be transmitted hence by the end of May as is required by his Majesty's order in Council; against that time you shall be furnished with a list of them, and with what the chief of them import, to save you the labour of reading them over or to direct you in the doing it. There have arrived two discoverers of plots here—one in Munster and another in this place. I hear the Munster informer has not satisfied those he led to find out papers in the wall of an old Abbey; he that landed here is gone in search of witnesses guarded with three horsemen of the army and two messengers that come with him. I expect their return by the end of this week, and then they shall not stay long here.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1680, April 14, St. James's Square.—The necessity of my own affairs and the opportunity of the likely vacation of business here upon the King's being at Newmarket carried

me for a little while down to Norfolk where the misfortune of a fall from my horse kept me for some few days longer than I proposed, but on notice of the arrival of Irish letters I made what haste I could to town and am come home this night. I was extremely rejoiced to find here the honour of your Grace's commands by two of Mr. Ellis's of the 10th and 17th past. Those two businesses you have been pleased now to transmit I will take immediate care of, and of the rest that are mentioned as soon as they come to hand, and whatever you shall think fit to command my care in, and from time to time give a just and early account of every circumstance relating to any of them. That I have not hitherto troubled your Grace as frequently as the relation you vouchsafe to honour me with might have justified me in, has proceeded only from my fear of abusing that liberty, thinking it indecent in me to take up your time with matters of no moment, who have constantly so many weighty affairs in your hands, when I have had none at all in mine. But whenever you shall be pleased to make use of my industry, my utmost application shall never be wanting.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1680, April 14, Dublin.—Whatever you may be from other you are not like to be absolutely free from this kind of trouble from me, and you see by my leaving off the ceremony of beginning and ending my letters how I intend to treat you and desire to be treated by you, and tho' you are in some degree gotten out of the storm, I do not doubt but you will afford all the light you can to the friends you have left in the violence of it to keep them ashore. I will not conceal from you the reasons that keep me in it, when a few lines importing a desire to retreat could help me out of it, if there be any place to which it would not follow me on this side heaven. My first reason is that methinks the Crown and Monarchy and my bountiful master are too apparently threatened for a man that pretends to honour and gratitude to make a voluntary resignation, at least whilst he has vigour or vanity enough to persuade him he can contribute considerably to serve an interest he is obliged unto.

The next is that I have a little stomach left yet that rises at the thought of giving some men their will just when they would have it of me. And in the last place it may be thought that the grandeur and emolument belonging to the station may be of force; and I will not deny but it is. But if I know myself it would not prevail against the quiet of body and mind that may reasonably be believed I wish for at these years and might hope for in a retreat.

Upon the whole matter it is so probable that this place and I must part, and that when we shall this kingdom will not be a fit place for my residence, that I really wish I had an habitation within the distance of neighbourhood to your lodge and do

seriously desire you to inform me if any such can be had by purchase or otherwise. You will judge it is not fit I should be named in it and you will as easily, I hope, believe I should take great delight in your conversation.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, April 17.—By this you will hear that his Majesty has been pleased to call me to his Council, which he did in the most obliging manner that could be ; in this particular the Duke endeavoured and showed me much good will, and Mr. Hyde expressed in this and all other concerns very much regard to you and your interest.

My Lord President is very civil to me, and desired me, out of his respects to you, to mind you of examining well the matter of my Lord of Tyrone's being acquitted by the grand jury, there being, as is said, four witnesses against him. I am of opinion, and so is my Lord Chamberlain, that a letter from you to him of compliment considering his station were not ill placed ; if it met with the same success as that you writ to my Lord of Shaftesbury, I think the mortification may be easily borne, but by his behaviour towards me I do expect other and better returns. Mr. Secretary being ill, I did from him communicate your letters with the Portugal information to the Council which caused some sport, his Majesty being present, with them also a relation of what was done in the affair of my Lord Brittas and others, to which no answer was requisite. I shall make the best use I can of your letters of the 10th and 12th of this month brought me by Sir Thomas Newcomen, who I shall countenance and be glad to serve on all occasions. The late accident you will hear from other hands.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1680, April 17, Whitehall.—The return of a fit of the gout having confined Mr. Secretary to his bed is the reason your Grace receives the enclosed in a strange hand, and that I presume to acquaint your Grace of the arrival of yours of the 10th and two of the 12th instant, together with one from yourself and Council of the 7th, all which have been communicated to his Majesty and Council, and not the least exception that I can hear of made to any part of them.

This I presume will be one of the last I shall trouble your Grace with whilst Mr. Secretary continues under that character, resolving to-morrow (if he be able) or at farthest on Wednesday to give up his seals, at which time I shall likewise quit the Secretary's office, but never the zeal I have for your Grace's service nor the ambition of being, &c.

Postscript.—The enclosed newsletter will acquaint you at large with the news of this place. The King and all the Court go to Windsor on Monday.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 17, London.—His Majesty was pleased yesterday to call in my Lord of Ossory to the Council, who was that day sworn of the Privy Council and took his place at the Board, at which time was read an account of a very barbarous action committed the night before on Mr. Arnold, the particulars whereof this enclosed order will give your Grace an account.

On the 18th of this instant Mr. Arnold was to have had a hearing at the Council Board against one Mr. Herbert, which, with some words accidentally let fall, hath been so unhappy a circumstance to Mr. Herbert that he is committed to Newgate for suspicion of felony by warrant from the Board. Besides this order there was likewise another to the Lord Mayor of London and another to the Justices of Peace of Westminster to make forthwith a more diligent search for all Papists who were harboured in their respective jurisdictions contrary to the many proclamations which commanded them so often to depart from the town, and likewise a letter written to the Warden of the Company of Chirurgeons to make inquiries whether any person lately wounded in the leg had been with any of that profession. There was likewise a report read from the Committee of Popery which was to this effect. The judges being summoned before that committee to give an account what was the success of the commissions and instructions for putting the laws in execution against Papists in their general circuits, acquainted their lordships that they found great readiness in all places for putting them in execution, and that most of the Papists named in the commissions were already convicted, but that they shifted their counties, and did not appear upon their summons in many places, endeavouring thereby to avoid the prosecution intended by the said commissions.

Whereupon it was ordered that all those who had gone out of their counties should be prosecuted upon the statute which inflicts penalties upon Papists that go above five miles from the place of their habitations, they being most of them convicted before, and also that the judges should make returns of all such as were convicted in their several circuits to the Lords of the Treasury, in order to their proposing to His Majesty such an election of the penalties inflicted by law upon Papists convict as shall be most penal to them, and most advantageous for His Majesty's service, whether by receiving the two-thirds of their estates, the 20*l* *per mensem* or any other legal forfeitures.

This afternoon His Majesty being at a committee for the review of the Justices of the Peace, the letters from your Grace of the 7th, 10th and 12th of this instant to Mr. Secretary Coventry were read with the inclosed. Your Grace will receive a particular account from Mr. Secretary Coventry of the transactions of the Board in relation to Bourke and Macnamara, to whom I have by order transmitted them.

ORDER IN COUNCIL

(entered in foregoing letter).

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL. April the Sixteenth, 1680.

Present: The King's Most Excellent Majesty.

His Highness Prince Rupert.	Earl of Essex.
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.	Earl of Bath.
Lord Chancellor.	Viscount Fauconberg.
Lord President.	Lord Bishop of London.
Lord Privy Seal.	Mr. Hyde.
Duke of Lauderdale.	Lord Chief Justice North.
Marquess of Worcester.	Mr. Chancellor of the Ex- chequer.
Earl of Ossory.	Sir Leoline Jenkins.
Lord Chamberlain.	Mr. Seymour.
Earl of Bridgewater.	Mr. Godolphin.
Earl of Sunderland.	

Whereas information hath been this day given to His Majesty in Council upon oath "That John Arnold, Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Monmouth, was the last night between the hours of nine and ten of the clock in Bell Yard, near Jack-an-apes Lane end, maliciously and feloniously assaulted, dangerously wounded and endeavoured to be assassinated by three persons unknown who are since fled (one of them being hurt in the leg), after which barbarous act one of the said three persons did utter these words to the said Mr. Arnold, 'Damme yee dog, now pray for the soul of Captain Evans, which Evans was a Jesuit executed in the County of Glamorgan, and who sometime before his apprehension had threatened to pistol the said Mr. Arnold: It is ordered by His Majesty in Council that the Lord Mayor of the City of London and the Justices of the Peace of the County of Middlesex and City of Westminster, do cause diligent search to be forthwith made within their several jurisdictions for the said persons, or any of them, or any that did incite, encourage or set them on to make that attempt.

And for an encouragement to all persons to use their utmost diligence herein, His Majesty is pleased to promise that there shall be the reward of one hundred pounds forthwith paid to any who shall discover or apprehend the said three persons, or any one of them, or any of those who did incite them thereunto. And if any one of the said three persons, being touched with remorse for that horrid fact, shall discover the same and his accomplices, His Majesty is graciously pleased to promise that he shall have his pardon for the same, besides the said reward.

And for the better notification hereof it is further directed, that this order be forthwith printed and published.

FRANCIS GWYN.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 19.—It is not perhaps a fit time for me formally to except at the proceedings of the Council there, in respect of the station I am in. But I think I have ground to complain of the suspicion expressed of me in the directions sent about Fitzgerald's discovery in Munster by letters from my Lord of Sunderland (I suppose as Secretary of State) and by my Lord of Essex I know not in what capacity, of which I had not the least intimation sent me, and even in that of Hethrington sent over with two messengers there are such restrictions as imply my unfitness to be trusted with the bottom of the affair, which with rumours in England of the unusual stop of the packets have not only given licence to popular discourses of me, but some umbrage to men of higher quality. This I could bear in respect of myself, but if the course be persisted in I shall certainly be less able to serve the King, which to do is the greatest delight I have in the place I hold.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, April 20, Whitehall.—I received this morning yours of the 14th of this month and shewed it His Majesty, who was much pleased with it, and expects such a return from the northern intelligencer as Fitzgerald's expedition has produced. I now come from Windsor in order to my wife's voyage, which she intends on Monday next come sennight to begin, and I shall follow her as soon as possible ; my stay will only depend on those bills expected from you, which as soon as they are despatched, I will immediately after set forth. I heard a rumour as if something was intended by bill from the Council of Ireland to be sent hither, strengthening the lawful succession of the Crown. I am confident it is a mistake, since doing that would argue a doubt of a thing unquestionable, and consequently wound rather than serve those most concerned. I intreat your answer, since a considerable friend of yours told me there was such an intimation given. Upon my asking leave of the Queen to wait on you, she said if it were practicable she would also go, for to visit you and my mother would be to her one of the things in the world that would give her most satisfaction. I told her both of you should know it, so if both of you say a word or two upon this subject in a letter to me it will be very well received.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1680, April 20, St. James's Square.—At my return out of the country, I brought an indisposition along with me, which proved a violent fever, and made me keep my bed for some days ; as soon as I found myself unable to rise I sent for Mr. Mulys (my Lord of Ossory's secretary) and acquainting him with the matters I had in charge from your Grace, desired his immediate care of them, and an account of your Grace

of what he did, which he tells me he has transmitted. My distemper, though very sharp for the time, has not proved long, so that (I thank God) I am upon my legs again and abroad; and yesterday morning, being the first time the Commissioners of the Treasury have met since their adjournment upon the 3rd inst., I got the draught of the letter for money for the fort at Rincorran with the reference upon it read. The Lords do not at all stick at the matter of it, but there being mention made of an account already transmitted under Mr. Robinson's hand of 11557*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* laid out to the 25 Feb. last, they think it necessary in point of form to see that account and be possessed of it, as one of the chief grounds of this letter before they pass it, nor would that clause in the letter, whereby an exact account of the whole upon oath (of which this is to be a part) is required to be sent over, when the money is all laid out, serve the turn, but that they insist upon having this first, as being alleged to have been sent hither already. I went to Mr. Thynne as the likeliest hand to find it in, and he searched all his papers for several months but found none, so that if your Grace please to cause another copy of it from Mr. Robinson's books to be transmitted I see no further difficulty. I most humbly thank your Grace for the honour of yours of the 14th inst.; it came speedily, for I had it last night. As soon as I receive the bills mentioned, I shall carefully observe your Grace's directions.'

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 23, St. George's Day, Dublin.—Yours of the 17th to your mother and me are received, and a yacht shall be sent to Liverpool to receive my daughter's orders as soon as she returns from a voyage she is upon with ladies to Chester, but for a man-of-war none is to be expected—the only one appointed for the service of this kingdom being called for by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. If the Algerines be what you fear, I think you are safe enough. The only one that ever I heard of come so far as this harbour in the Channel having been without doubt driven up by a storm, and besides I am assured there will be two frigates forthwith sent to cruise betwixt the Lizard and Cape Clear. Your Lord President has been too long so for a congratulatory letter upon that account, and is a man that may perhaps love to receive but cares not to return compliments. Besides I had no sooner performed the ceremony to his predecessor but he turned tail, and it has been the fortune of all I have courted to become useless as soon as my friends, so that for luck's sake I forbear till I see you.

The messengers are upon their return with a cargo of witnesses such as they are. Yet they are the best any market in this kingdom will yet afford. The last of the men for recruits for Tanger have been about a fortnight ready at Kinsale for transportation, so that I do not only wonder at

the confidence of those that wrote the contrary from Ireland, but something at the belief given to them by the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 24, London.—The Lords of the Council have spent most of their time this week in examining some persons suspected to have a hand in that barbarous attempt upon Mr. Arnold, but as yet cannot make any considerable discovery, though there are two persons committed upon suspicion.

His Majesty is at present at Windsor, where he hath had a great cold, was yesterday morning let blood, and is (God be thanked) much better. He intends to be in London on Monday morning next, at which time there will be a Committee of Intelligence, who are to have Sir Gilbert Gerard before them, he being sent for out of Yorkshire by Mr. Duppa, one of the gentlemen ushers of the Privy Chamber. The particulars I shall be better able to give your Grace an account of by the next post.

The Turkey Company yesterday made an election of the Lord Chandos for their Ambassador, and they are this day gone to wait upon His Majesty at Windsor in order to desire His Majesty's approbation. There were several competitors for it, but Mr. Thomas Thynne, son of Sir Henry Frederick, came nearest to my Lord Chandos, he having 75 votes and my Lord 81.

The King intending to go to Newmarket on Tuesday hath put off the Council's meeting till Friday next in the afternoon, which is the time he designs to return from Newmarket.

ORMOND to HENRY THYNNE.

1680, April 25, Dublin.—I could wish Mr. Secretary could part with his gout and keep his seals; however till I am authentically informed that the thing is done, my despatches will be directed to him, as you will find by that sent by the messengers in return to what they brought, and though I were so informed, yet Mr. Secretary continuing of the Council, he must expect the trouble of being made acquainted with what passes here, that he may afford his assistance upon occasion. It would have been some compensation of the loss I sustain in Mr. Secretary's demission if you had continued in the office, as the continuance of your friendship is for your quitting, which I desire you to believe is very much valued by, &c.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 27, London.—His Majesty having commanded an extraordinary Council to be called yesterday in the evening, at which His Royal Highness and all the judges were

commanded to be present, was pleased to take notice of a false and seditious report lately spread abroad that Dr. Cosin, late Bishop of Durham, did at his death leave a box sealed up with directions it should not be opened till after His Majesty's death; that notwithstanding some persons having had the curiosity to open the said box, there was pretended to be found therein a writing importing a marriage or contract of marriage between His Majesty and the Duke of Monmouth's mother.

And it being likewise reported that Sir Gilbert Gerard had seen the said writing or had it in his custody, Sir Gilbert Gerard was called in before His Majesty and the Council; to whom this following question was (by His Majesty's order and by the advice of the Privy Council and by the opinion of all the judges) proposed, viz., Whether you know of or have seen any writing importing a marriage or contract of marriage between His Majesty and the Duke of Monmouth's mother? To which Sir Gilbert Gerard, having taken his oath upon the Holy Evangelists made this answer: I never saw any such writing nor was there ever any such committed to my custody, nor do I know of any such thing, to which he subscribed his name. After which His Majesty (declaring he resolved to use all means possible to find out the authors of this seditious report which he himself knew to be so abominably false) required all the Lords of the Council and the judges there present to give an account of what discourses they had heard of concerning that matter. To which they all answered they had heard nothing of it but a flying and imperfect report lately discoursed of; only the Earl of Essex acquainted His Majesty that a gentleman (Col. Roderick Mansell) had told him of some particular discourse he had lately heard relating to that matter. His Majesty thereupon commanded the said Earl of Essex and Mr. Secretary Jenkins to examine the said gentleman or any other person named by him in order to trace up the said false report to the first authors and inventors of it. It was ordered hereupon that a narrative of this whole matter should be entered in the Council-book.

After the Council, which was taken up wholly with this affair, a committee of foreign affairs met where the Lord Chandos, who the day before had His Majesty's approbation to succeed Sir John Finch as Ambassador at Constantinople, upon his lordship's desire came to acknowledge his error which he had formerly been guilty of in signing the petition for the sitting of the Parliament, and beg His Majesty's pardon for the same, alleging for his excuse that he did not know it was contrary to His Majesty's pleasure, and did then think it might have been for his Majesty's service.

Sir Lionel Jenkins this day received the seals from His Majesty's own hands, Mr. Secretary Coventry not being able to come abroad, and was according sworn Secretary in the room of Mr. Coventry.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 27, Dublin.—The messengers that brought Hethrington—my Lord of Shaftesbury's agent—went on ship-board I think on Sunday with all his ten but may be still tiding it over, the wind being but little and that contrary. There must go in my opinion much skill to make anything material out of their narratives and as much indulgence to make them creditable witnesses. However, the great care that is taken of them here, and that will be taken on the way to London will for some time keep up the reputation of the matter. There has been great industry used to make it believed all over England that Ireland is on the brink of confusion and cutting of throats, insomuch that traders have stopped their traffic and sent to know if their correspondents be alive, and I think I shall be able to prove Sir Henry Capel to have been a principal promoter of the report, if I can procure his original letter, of which the enclosed is an extract as to the substance; but till I can get that it is not fit to make business of or publish the information; in the meantime I am sure this kingdom has not been so quiet as it is at this instant these forty years. Fitzgerald's expedition was set afoot whilst the King was at Newmarket. If His Majesty find no objection against it, I should humbly beseech him that I may have copies of the letters and instructions that were sent which may be had out of the Secretary's Office, and the Council-books. It will appear by Sir Hans Hamilton's examination that he sent my Lord of Essex some examinations that seemed to be of more consequence than any I have seen produced, and if it was his lordship that moved I should be called to for the Portugal letter, and that found in Fleming the Tory's pocket, he may as well be called to for those more material papers, but I confess it will be hard to call a Chief Governor to account for any of those thousands of papers he must receive in three or four years time, but it is easy for any man to pay or for any knave to swear to the contents of a letter that cannot be produced. After I had written thus far, Sir Hans Hamilton brought me his original letter to Sir George Rawdon after he had taken the examination of Moyer the friar, now sent with the messengers to London, and Sir George Rawdon's letter to him concerning it, by both which it will appear that Sir Hans according to his duty sent the examination to the Earl of Essex, and what account he made of it at that time. I send you copies of the letters that you may understand the matter. The originals are sent to Mr. Secretary. If this letter should come to you before the Pursuivant I send with two prisoners goes to Mr. Secretary, you are not to take notice of what you receive, that is care to be taken that the matter be not made public till the King and Council shall think fit to have it so.

1680, May day.—Now that I am gotten to this side of the leaf I think good to let you know of a new stratagem I am told

out of England will be practised to render my service in the Government ineffectual, which is to send me directions to prepare such bills to be transmitted hence against the Papists as for their severity may be inconsistent with the condition of this kingdom where the body of the people, and of those that drive the trade of the kingdom, are of that religion. If I refuse to return them my inclination to Popery will be thought apparent. If I send them, and they should pass, and be put in execution, the Revenue must sink, and that with all the ill consequence will how unreasonably soever be laid to my charge, and though I should have the unanimous concurrence of the Council either in sending or not sending, that will not absolve me because it will be said I influence or awe them. The prevention of this difficulty, if there should be a design to put it upon the King's service, is only in him, and he cannot want reasons against any such directions, but I think the safest for him to give will be that as the constitution for calling of Parliaments provides that the bills in order to it should be left to the direction of the Chief Governor and Council, who are reasonably presumed to be the most competent judges of what may be fittest to pass into laws, so he can find no precedent of any directions sent from the Council of England in the like case; but if His Majesty shall think it unreasonable for him to interfere his authority in the case, I am not so much afraid of the device but that I hope I shall be able to frustrate what shall be aimed at by it.

EARL OF AILESBUURY to ORMOND.

1680, April 29, Newmarket.—Having so good an opportunity by this worthy bearer to present my humble respects to your Grace, I take the liberty to renew my assurances to you of the sense I have of your constant favours to me. If it were not a public concern that your Grace should be where you are, I will assure you that as to your friends here it is no little trouble to be deprived so long of a person so esteemed of all that are firm to King and Government; but when we consider how necessary your being there is to the preservation of peace and quietness in that kingdom we must submit. The diversions of this place Sir Nicholas will inform your Grace most punctually. I was never here before this time since I waited on you here. Besides my private concerns which have been great of these late years, much of my time hath been employed in looking after what is entrusted to me by His Majesty. I have had no little share of the calumnies that have been laid of late on those who endeavour to keep things in the old frame both as to Church and State. That God may preserve you long to be a prop and support of both is the hearty prayer of, &c.

Postscript.—I am my lady's most devoted servant. This place will afford me no better paper to write with.

ORMOND to the MAYOR and CITIZENS of KILKENNY.

1680. April 30th.—After our hearty commendations, whereas Richard Reeves, Esq., is lately chosen Recorder of this city, and as he informs us intends to resign that of the City of Kilkenny, we, particularly knowing and being very well satisfied of the fitness and ability of Arthur Turner, Esq., one of His Majesty's Council learned in the laws to succeed in that employment, do hereby think fit to recommend him effectually to you as one we shall very well approve of to succeed in it. And so we bid you heartily farewell. From His Majesty's Castle of Dublin.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 1st, London.—The last Council day was taken up wholly with the more particular inquiry into the rumour spread abroad concerning the Duke of Monmouth, several persons being then examined, amongst the rest one who seems to fix something upon Sir Thomas Armstrong, and who likewise saith he had 30*l.* given him by the Duke of Monmouth to bear his charges of a journey into the North, whither he went to inquire of some kind of evidence which was pretended to be there relating to a marriage between His Majesty and the Duke of Monmouth's mother. Several other persons are sent for in order to a further discovery of the authors of that report. His Majesty, after the Council, was entertained at a supper by Sir Jonathan Raymond, one of the Sheriffs of London, and this morning early returned to Windsor.

The Earl of Thanet hath enjoyed his title but a little while and died the last week, that title and estate of the late Lord Thanet (as well as that of the elder brother) falling to Capt. Richard Tufton, one of the Captains of Col. Russell's regiment.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 1st.—I am desired by this bearer, Mr. St. John, to recommend him by letter to your favour. He is brother to one of the same name who some months since was murdered by the Tories. He is very zealous to find out means for extirpating that sort of wicked men. I here enclosed send you a copy of that bond due to late Mr. Churchill, upon payment whereof my Lord of Suffolk will deliver it according to your direction. He gives this money to his daughter who earnestly desires to know the time when by your means she may receive the benefit of her father's bounty. This is all the trouble I shall give you by this occasion.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 8, London.—On the 7th instant the messengers, Bradly and Atterbury, arrived here out of Ireland with Murphy, Moyer, Callaghan and Henan in their custody, and

Edrington and Fitzgerald in their company. Notice being given of their arrival to the Lord President in the morning, his lordship sent a messenger to give His Majesty an account of it at Windsor, and appointed an extraordinary Council in the afternoon, to which the Earl of Ossory and Mr. Secretary Jenkins with some instructions from His Majesty came from Windsor. The four persons above named were called in and sworn, and the Clerks of the Council took their examinations as well as it was possible, but they not expressing themselves very intelligibly, they are ordered to be kept separate from one another and from any other company, and this day to send in their informations in writing, signed by their hands and sealed up to the Clerk of the Council in writing. There was likewise this day read before the Board the examinations of Sir Hans Hamilton, Captain Richard Bolton, and Lieut. Henry Baker transmitted by your Grace to Mr. Secretary Coventry with your Grace's letters of the 23rd and 24th of April, which is all that is done in that affair till the next Council day, at which time His Majesty will be present.

Wednesday, the 5th, His Majesty being present, as also His Royal Highness, several persons were examined concerning the report of the pretended marriage of His Majesty with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and one Mr. William Disney and Mr. Robert Clynton, who had appeared to be very inquisitive and officiously solicitous in that affair, being ordered to attend the Board in order to a farther examination, went out of town, on purpose as it seemed to avoid it, whereupon warrants are issued out to take the said Disney and Clynton into custody and bring them before the Board.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 8th.—We are under great engagements of secrecy, but I believe I break them not in sending you these informations. My Lord President upon the arrival of these fellows called yesterday a Council, and being at Windsor when notice of it came to me, the King commanded me from thence immediately to attend it, the result of which you see by the enclosed. I cannot but wonder that my Lord of Essex, who is now so diligent in discovering Irish plots, and who knew from Sir Hans Hamilton something of this business, as appears by one of the papers you sent, should not have taken notice of it when he was in the Government, or advertised you at his leaving it. I return this evening to Windsor, and to-morrow shall be back hither, my wife intending to begin her journey on Tuesday next. If I had money I would purchase a very pretty house with great gardens; a thousand pounds it will only cost. It was once my Lady Cranborne's at Twickenham. If you would think of it everybody says it is a pretty box for retirement or for children and a great bargain.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, May 8th, Whitehall.—Since I am by the King's most gracious pleasure to serve in the function of Secretary, I humbly take leave to offer your Grace my best and faith-fullest service wherever you shall judge me capable of executing your orders. I know that I make this step out of my province, but it is the sincere and deep veneration that I have for your Grace that carries me beyond my bounds. What my late Lord of Canterbury hath taught and enjoined me in point of faithful observance towards your Grace I must always remember and practise; and 'tis no more but what the merits of your glorious life would have extorted from me, had I never been admitted to the honour of approaching your person, as I have been often by your great condescension. You will, my Lord, receive from my Lord of Sunderland the result of what is to be done further, when His Majesty hath had an account of what those persons that are come over with Hethrington have deposed. I only take leave to enclose what the Clerk of the Council gave me by way of extract of what they said last night, as they were examined in Council.

ORMOND to SIR L. JENKINS.

1680, May 10, Dublin.—If have not congratulated your access to the Secretary's place till I was sure you were possessed of it, I desire you would not impute it to my want of satisfaction in it, though I must confess there are very few besides yourself that could have succeeded your predecessor but that I should have thought myself a great loser by the exchange, and though the course of the offices may direct my public despatches to another hand, yet I do ask your leave sometimes to trouble you with duplicates, that when you shall hear the originals read at Council, you may not want that preparation and notice of the subject which I am sure you can and will employ so usefully to the King's service, I doubt not with friendliness to me, who have long had your person and qualifications in high esteem.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 15, London.—This enclosed relation of one of His Majesty's physicians will inform you of the hopeful condition His Majesty is in, which will relieve you as well as it has done all honest men out of the great apprehensions which so just fears did create in them. I do constantly attend the Council, and whenever it meets, as sometimes it does on the sudden, I immediately repair from hence unto it. The informers with additional papers from my Lord of Essex are sent unto you. I should be sorry such an objection could be laid to either yours or my charge as appears in his lordship's by having so long important informations if they prove so, and not to

have given notice then in so long time as appears by the date of them. I beseech you to remember that you told me Sir Richard Stephens had satisfied my Lord Chancellor, otherwise I should not have countenanced him to the degree I did. Your commands made me desirous to forward his pretensions, and I beseech you to let my Lord Chancellor, know that upon these grounds I acted. I hope you will compose matters between them. I have and ever had that kindness and respect for my Lord Chancellor, as I should think myself very unhappy if I did anything displeasing unto him, being confident of his integrity and moderation not to demand from his friends things either hard or unjust. I send you Sir Richard Stephens' letter, of which you may make use, or else burn it after your reading of it. I got my Lord Chancellor's petition, desiring a month's time to be read, which was granted. You well know who are not much his friends no more than they are yours. The hurry and post haste in which many affairs at the board are despatched is not to be imagined. I need not therefore mind you how necessary it is to keep authentic copies of all papers. I wish my son from Oxford and in Fauberts' Academy, until we see what comes of an affair relating to his marriage, of which I do not despair.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, May 15, at ten at night, Whitehall.—I gave your grace the best account I was able of the state of His Majesty's health as it stood yesterday at 9 o'clock in the morning. That which I have to add will be most welcome to your Grace. Though His Majesty had a fit yesterday at 11 o'clock which lasted till four, yet it was far more gentle and shorter than that he had on Thursday. Last night he rested very well, and this day (as our letters written at Windsor at five this afternoon assure us) His Majesty hath had no fit at all; he is hearty and well, blessed be God, and his physicians (who have not spared to give him the Jesuits powder) are confident he will have no more returns of his ague. I beseech God to bless His Majesty with long life and health. About two hours ago Mr. Wakefield—your Grace's messenger—arrived here with the two priests in his custody. The four that Atterbury brought hither began their journey yesterday for Ireland again. Fitzgerald and Hethrington are dismissed. David Fitzgerald, who accuses the Lord Brittas is under an engagement to return, but he is not tied to the messenger's company, but is left to himself.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, May 15, Windsor.—In compliance with the promise I made you in my last of sending your Grace what should further occur with relation to the Irish plot, I enclose an order of Council containing the resolution their lordships

have taken, and the proceedings they think fit should be had against the persons concerned in it. And the Committee of Examinations having (in my absence) desired Mr. Secretary Jenkins to charge himself with the transmitting to your Grace the depositions and other evidence of each informant, I shall not for the present enlarge your trouble.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 15, London.—The four priests, Murphy, Moyer Calaghan and Henan, brought in their informations in writing the last Council-day, to which they were sworn. At the same time likewise Mr. David Fitzgerald came before the Board and gave a relation to the same effect with that which he gave to your Grace, the particulars chiefly relating to the Lord Brittas and Col. Pierce Lacy; whereupon Mr. Mr. Secretary Jenkins (who was then present) was ordered to remit the aforesaid priests and also Mr. David Fitzgerald together with their informations and some other papers delivered in by the Earl of Essex (which his lordship formerly received from Sir Hans Hamilton and the Bishop of Meath) agreeing in some parts with Moyer's information to your Grace. Mr. Secretary Jenkins was likewise ordered to signify to your Grace that Oliver Plunket, titular Primate, should speedily be brought to his trial, and also a new indictment brought against the Lord Brittas and Col. Pierce Lacy, and that particular care should be taken that no Papist should be on any of their juries. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland's answer to Coppinger's petition was likewise then read, and his lordship is thereupon ordered to bring in his answer within a month peremptorily.

The news from Windsor on Thursday in the afternoon gave great trouble and disturbance to all people, which was that on that morning about eight o'clock His Majesty had a return of his ague, which fit lasted him till three or four o'clock in the afternoon, whereupon the physicians being sent for, at night prescribed a preparation of the Jesuits powder (extracted by one Monsieur Charras, a French apothecary, which hath had great success on several other people). His Majesty slept very well that night, and waking about five o'clock took another dose of the same extraction. On Friday morning early I was commanded by the Council to wait on His Majesty at Windsor, where I found him very well relieved by his Thursday night's rest, and he continued very well all the morning whilst I stayed, which was till eleven o'clock in the morning, but our letters this morning bring an account that about twelve o'clock at noon yesterday another fit took him which was much gentler and of shorter continuance than the former, it not lasting above two hours. His Majesty slept very well last night, and at ten o'clock this morning had no apprehension of any fit. His Majesty left off a waistcoat and shaved his head since he came

to Windsor, which, with walking very early in the mornings and late at nights in that sharp air is believed by all to be the occasion of the return of the ague. Most men who had an ague last fall at the time the King had his, and who were then cured by taking the Jesuits powder, being very apt to have returns this spring upon the least cold or any other accidental irregularity. I hope by the next post to give your Grace the good news of His Majesty's perfect recovery. From Windsor three o'clock this afternoon we hear His Majesty continued very well all day and had missed his fit.

ORMOND TO EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, May 16, Dublin.—With yours of the 8th I received a summary of what was deposed by those the messengers carried hence: the next will I suppose bring us all they can say more at large with some directions to me what to do more, if more be to be done. The titular Primate accused by them is not no more above them in gifts of nature then he ought by his place to be and I doubt hardly so much, his life I confess is much more churchmanlike. This character I believe my Lord of Essex will concur with me in, his lordship having had much more conversation with him than I. I suppose your wife may be now at Knowsley, and I hope the yacht may this evening put to sea to transport her, though yet the wind is out of the way; all the money I could or shall be able till after Christmas to get together has been employed to free me from Sir Robert Vyner's debt, but if by the help of Sir Stephen Fox or any other friend you could take up a 1000 to make the purchase you mention, I will take order that by this time twelvemonth it shall be repaid. I suppose you will know what sort of estate you buy and be satisfied in the title. It will be about that time before I can undertake to pay my Lady Eliz. ffelton; but to make her present bounty sure to her, if she can get the bond to her hands I will enter into a new to or anybody else she shall name.

I hope the Bills may be ready to be sent over by the end of this month, but if you stay for their return back I doubt it may be longer than you think before we shall see you, for my Lord of Anglesey, my Lord President, and my Lord of Essex may, if they will, make objections to some parts of most of them, and not to disparage your understanding in statutes such as I would not have you take upon you to answer, we shall send over the Bills, and perhaps with them reasons why some of those things liable to exceptions as far as we can foresee them are inserted. But it is the part of the King's Counsel at Law to study them and give their opinion, and it is the King's business, and no otherwise ours than as we are his servants to send or not to send them. My part is only to get them passed if I can after they are returned, and see them

obeyed after they become laws. If you shall be inquisitive enough, you will judge when the Bills are like to be returned and may accordingly and according to [] that place govern your journey; in the meantime your wife shall be well treated.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD.

1680, May 16, Dublin.—Dean Hinde going to Oxford to receive a favour from the University (which I hope I have properly and reasonably recommended) I think it reasonable by him to acknowledge your favour to my family in the care you have been pleased to take of my grandson. I wish his proficiency may be answerable. The bearer is able to give a good account of the state of this place, which is not so dangerous as has been reported in England, not yet so safe as it might be, if those that seem to be zealous for it were in good earnest, and if those that have it in their power would let us secure ourselves.

I have recommended a set of players to the acceptance of the University against the Act, but I think the inconvenience they bring with them so great that I shall be glad of an excuse, provided no other be admitted, which I beseech your lordship to let the Vice-Chancellor know.

COMMISSIONERS OF ARRAY FOR KERRY to ORMOND.

1680, May 17, Lixnaw.—In obedience to your Grace's commands, and pursuant to the instructions annexed to the Commission of Array for this county, we have proceeded in order to arraying these troops and foot companies designed to be arrayed in this county, and do humbly lay before your Grace that this county is not capable of raising more than two troops of horse and two foot companies, nor could that be done but by the supply out of the Lord of Kerry's own stables, which, with others arrayed for his lordship's troop, hath made up a complete troop.

Captain Edward Denny hath also arrayed and mustered a complete troop, Captain Arthur Blennerhassett hath arrayed a complete foot company, and another foot company may be raised in the county, but no arms for the foot are to be had in the county. All which is humbly submitted to your Grace.

TOBIAS CRAMER VIC'. KERRY. FR. BREWSTER.
AR. BLENERHASSETT. H.[?] BLENERHASSETT

J. PYTT to ORMOND.

1680, May 17, Kilfenny, Co. Limerick.—One person, William Burgh, of Newcastle (happening to preach here yesterday) told me that one James Hawksworth, of Balliroe, averred to him that there was a certificate under the late Lord Bishop of Durham his hand found by one Gerard in England

in a black box left sealed up by the said Bishop with the said Gerard, certifying that the said Bishop had married His Majesty Charles Stuart, King of England, to the Duke of Monmouth his mother—which report, together with the author, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace with that I may receive your Grace's pleasure and direction how to demean myself towards the publishers of such reports.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 18, London.—Yesterday the titular Primate's servant and a friar that lately went from Prague into Ireland were examined of a committee of the Board, but by reason Mr. Secretary Coventry was absent, and that your letter with other papers were not sent us, the further looking into this matter is deferred until to-morrow. These two persons deny anything which can shew the truth of Murphy or Moyer's depositions, that crew being sent back unto you. I believe the same order will be given unto these, and we shall be rid of a trouble that will come to you. Your letter of the 27th of the last month I received on Sunday last, together with an extract of Sir Henry Capel's letter, both which His Majesty read very attentively, as did also the Duke, and it had all the effect upon them as the subject did deserve, though neither of them does doubt the truth of what you allege, yet I wish you could meet with the original. I will endeavour this post or the next to send you copies of those letters and instructions you desire. I think you need not apprehend any orders for bills from hence; that motion for one to exclude the Popish nobility from their votes in Parliament proceeded from the great zeal of my Lord of Essex, and I believe he will rest satisfied with having been the promoter; that part of your letter dated on May-day the King and Duke are very sensible of, and said that difficulties of that nature you had been accustomed unto. That Mr. Bennett I did mention relating to a match for my son has two daughters; the fortune is so great, though divided between them, as I hear not of so considerable a one in the kingdom. I shall so govern myself in the matter, as I hope you will not disapprove what I shall do. The King, God be thanked, last night continued in good health. If the yacht be at Liverpool my wife will soon wait on you. Major Billingsley, whose licence expires about the 25th of the next month, hopes you will not take it amiss if he stays to accompany me over. I hope the bills may be despatched, and I ready to go about that time.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, May 18, Windsor.—I have received your Grace's of May the 10th, and shall take care of all things you please to commit to me. Mr. Secretary Coventry has not delivered to me any of his papers, not having had time to sort them,

but he has promised me all that are important to His Majesty's service. What was resolved in Council about Hethrington's information has been already sent to your Grace, and I did order that anything of that kind which might be done at any of the Committees of Council whilst I am attending the King here should likewise be constantly written to you. The condition of His Majesty's health I am sure my Lord Ossory has always informed you of, but he being now at London, I will let you know that he is perfectly recovered of his late indisposition and there is no fears of any return of it.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, May 18, at 8 at night, Whitehall.—It is an effect of your infinite innate nobleness to descend (as you are pleased to do in your letter of the 10th current) to express a satisfaction in that I have the honour to succeed Mr. Secretary Coventry. I must confess (and 'tis no humility in me to do it) that I cannot but come behind my most worthy predecessor very much in all the capacities that this place requires. But if there be anything in this world in which I may be suffered to say that I know not how to yield to him, it is in that unfeigned devotion I have for your Grace; as the most glorious confessor (in that most righteous cause) of all the King's subjects, the Royal family only excepted. In truth, my Lord, had you left it to myself to choose my own argument and assurance of some degree of your Grace's favour and confidence, I should have chosen above all things that which you are pleased to intend for me; I mean a duplicate of such despatches as your Grace can imagine I may be in any wise serviceable in. I shall make the best use I can possibly of this special great honour and favour, and though it were not indulged me, yet my obligation is nevertheless to watch carefully wherever your Grace's service, which is always the same with that of His Majesty, is concerned.

I come now (just at seven at night) from Windsor, where I had the honour to see His Majesty without any other symptom of an aguish distemper but that of his lips broken out. He was at prayers in the public oratory. I was at his feet for half an hour together upon business; I saw him dine with the Queen publicly, and which is a good indication of that which his dutiful subjects looked and prayed for, I saw His Majesty eat a very hearty meal.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 18, London.—This brings with it the happy news of His Majesty's complete recovery (as we hope), having had no fit since that on Friday last, which I gave your Grace an account of by the last post; amongst other symptoms which induce the physicians to believe there is not likely to be any return, one is that the King's lips are broken out as

they did when his ague left him in the autumn. The Council is adjourned till Wednesday, the 26th of this month.

This morning about two or three o'clock began a most violent storm of thunder and rain, which continued till about ten o'clock, and ended with a shower of hail of an extraordinary kind—some of the hailstones being of the bigness of a pullet's egg.

SIR WILLIAM KING to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1680, May 21, Limerick.—In obedience to his Grace's commands to me of the 10th instant's date, I sent out from hence two parties of foot (under the command of two commissioned officers) to the several places mentioned in his Grace's list to make search for the titular Bishop of Killaloe; and they returned hither the last night, but could neither find him nor hear of his being at any of the places; nor at several other places where they made search for him. I will lay out all I can to find him, and there is no way to effect it but by setting of him, and that cannot be done without money, which shall not be wanting. The inclosed letter from the titular Bishop of Limerick I this day received. I desire you will acquaint his Grace with its import, and that he will vouchsafe to signify his pleasure to me therein.

I desire you will also acquaint his Grace that two companies of foot (viz., the Lord Granard's and Sir Richard Aldworth's) and the troop of horse garrisoned here were by his Grace's orders lately removed hence, and that by this post there are orders come for Captain Hamilton's company to remove to Londonderry: the Lieutenant (who is the chief officer present) came this day to me, and told me he had not money either to pay their quarters here, or to march his men so far, so that unless a supply be sent him he knows not what to do but stay till the next assignment comes, if his Grace shall nor order the contrary. By the removal of these three companies and the troop I know not how I shall be able to perform the duty of this garrison with those that remain unless his Grace be pleased to send me some in their steads, having so many posts and guards to maintain, and our men on third night duty. I also desire you will from me humbly represent to his Grace that since our late distracted times I thought it my duty to take care that every night all our musquets on our guards should be loaden; by which the consumption of powder must necessarily be more than heretofore it has been, and yet the half-yearly allowance for watch ammunition is less by half than heretofore it has been; so as we are very much straitened; neither have we had any allowance of ball these three years; and some companies lately come hither have not one bullet. To these particulars I beg the favour of a line from you.

Postscript. The titular Bishop of Limerick has, pursuant to his Grace's order, entered security to me to be forthcoming at his Grace's pleasure.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 21.—This morning the committee examined the friar and the servant of the titular Primate; I suppose they will, when the Council meets, be sent back into Ireland; we are not at all edified by anything they say. I cannot find any copy of an order of Fitzgerald's being employed into Munster; from the messenger that carries with him the four priests you may learn the proceeding of that affair, it being the same person that was then employed; the King jestingly said that it was my Lord of Essex's and his plot. I think it is not necessary any further inquiry; however, I will see if any thing material can be gathered upon what was done in it. I wish you could be truly informed whether the wall, wherein that important writing was said to be hid was lately or of a long time laid down. My Lord of Essex said my Lord Shannon spoke doubtfully in the point. The affair of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts and the bills from Ireland are things that raise great expectation among us. The King is well; if at Windsor, where I am now going, I hear anything new, I shall write another letter.

FRANCIS BENSON to ORMOND.

1680, May 22, Whitehall.—My Lord Sunderland having commanded me to send directly to you the enclosed examinations, I am obliged to give your Grace that trouble, which I have used to do to Mr. Ellis, since his lordship was pleased to appoint me particularly to solicit the business of Ireland.

On Wednesday last the Duke came hither, principally about farming the Post Office in Ireland, and having dined at my Lord St. Albans' returned to Windsor in the evening.

Yesterday Philip Le Mar and his mother received their trial at the King's Bench bar, and were both found guilty of being suborned to swear sodomy against the Duke of Buckingham. In the course of the trial some reflections were made upon His Royal Highness, but very severe and frequent ones against the Earl and Countess of Danby; but especially upon the latter, against whom one witness deposed that Le Mar told him the Countess of Danby offered him at her house in the Cockpit 300*l.* if he would give evidence against the Duke of Buckingham upon such a crime.

The same day my Lord Stafford brought his writ of *habeas corpus* and moved by his counsel to be bailed; being likely, as he represented, to be otherwise imprisoned *sine die*. The Court ordered he should be sent back to the Tower, and my Lord Chief Justice told him the only remedy in his case was to petition the King for the speedy meeting of the Parliament.

His Majesty finds himself so well recovered from his ague that he purposes to be here on Wednesday next, when the matter of the examinations of Kennah and MacDonald is to

be reported to him. And in regard their ignorance is believed to be rather affected than real, it is supposed they will confess something more material concerning a Plot than hitherto they have done.

It is said that the marriage between my Lord Mordaunt and Mrs. Frazer will now be speedily consummated, the lady being discovered to be with child, and my lord seeming to own something of a contract.

Our letters from Flanders give us an account of some great alterations that have lately happened in the Imperial Court, that Count Montecoli is banished, and that his places of General and Governor of Raab in Hungary are given to the Prince of Baden; that General Captoeres is under a criminal process; that the High Chancellor Hocher is accused of high treason; that the son of the Count Serini (who was beheaded in the year 1671) is imprisoned for treason for holding intelligence with the Bohemian rebels, and that the French King has distributed monies to the Chief Barons of the kingdom. The several disgraces of these great men are attributed to the Italians, whose faction and power in the Emperor's Court is very strong.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, May 23.—I have little to say to yours of the 15th till we know when we are like to meet, for though I have not much esteem of your abilities in the comprehending of all the intricacies of bills, about which the most learned in the art seldom agree either in composing or interpreting them, yet there may be so many other good uses of your being at Court that I desire you would not quit it till you and I are agreed of the time. The yacht I presume is by this time ashore somewhere, and the Captain gone to advise with your wife about her embarkation, so that by the next favourable wind we look for her. The four Irish witnesses landed here last night, and I shall as fast as I can put that affair into the proper way of prosecution, and be as careful as I can that no advantage shall be given on that account against me. We have a probable project of setting up a little fleet here of ten sail in all, but must have His Majesty's own direction how to proportion them, the biggest being a five rate; of this you shall shortly hear more at large.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 25th, London.—This morning I received your letter of the 16th of this month. You will be informed before this what has passed concerning the titular Primate's servant and the friar that accompanied him. I believe to-morrow's Council will order their return; if the yacht has got to Liverpool, as I may conclude by the orders you gave, I hope my wife may have the happiness of waiting on you before now. As she always owns with much gratitude your kindness,

so I am sure she has for you all the duty and affection imaginable. When I have seen the acting of some when the bills are come over, I will accordingly take measure for my journey, towards which neither impatience or desires are wanting on my part. I shall speak to Sir Stephen Fox concerning the purchase, and will be careful if it prove a good one to see the title made clear. I shall also acquaint my Lady Elizabeth Felton with what you propose in her favour. Mr. Hyde in confidence the other day told me that the King and Duke wished Mr. Russell's regiment in my hands, and proposed my purchasing of it. I replied that I would ever be ready to lay down all I had and to venture my life for the service of the Crown, but that in this particular I desired to be excused, thinking it was not decent for one of my quality that had served to get by money a military employment, were I rich enough to do it. He has undertaken that my declining this matter shall not be ill resented. As I would not refuse the command if freely offered, so for some reasons of my own I do not eagerly desire it. I send you the enclosed, by which you will see in what condition my affairs are in Holland.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, May 25, Dublin.—I have resisted several importunities to recommend persons fit enough to be Privy Councillors here—the number being in my opinion already greater than is needful or well consisting with the respect that ought to be incident to the dignity and would be paid to it if fewer had it. But now I must offer one to His Majesty for that favour—one Mr. John Eyre, a gentleman of a good family and fortune, and that with it has acquired considerable interest in the country he lives in and may be of great use to the King's service on all occasions, especially in a House of Commons. This recommendation is without any solicitation on his part, and only thought of by me as an expedient to overbalance some who in the same country I suspect may trouble both country and Parliament affairs. The draught of a letter to that purpose goes herewith, which I desire your lordship will be pleased to offer His Majesty.

THO. HAMILTON to EARL OF OSSORY.

* 1680, May the 25th.—Aboard the *Charles* galley in Tangier Road.—I believe your lordship will have heard of the condition that Tangier was in afore this comes to your hands, but this gentleman who comes latelier from thence can inform you better than anybody you can have met withal, he being sent expressly from my Lord of Inchiquin to the King, and is a very understanding gentleman, his name being Fitzgerald. I do not question but that my Lord of Inchiquin has met with enemies who have not been sparing to write against him, but in my opinion he has behaved himself with

a great deal of discretion and conduct in the whole business. The bearer hereof will give your Lordship the whole particular of what has been transacted, so that I will trouble you no further.

ORMOND TO EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, May 25, Dublin.—In one of your late letters you tell me of your diligent attendance at the Privy Council; to make that diligence the more useful I would recommend to you that before the affairs of the day are out of your memory you will set down in writing such short heads of what has been agitated or concluded as being sometimes considered will enable you to inform me and be a great help to yourself. I have by this post recommended Mr. Eyre, of Eyrecourt, in Connaught, to be sworn of the Council, and sent the draught of a letter to my Lord Sunderland for that purpose, which if the King agree to it, I desire you to cause Mulys to solicit and pay for and put it on my account and send it away. My sense is purely to secure a considerable man to the King's service and to set him up against a faction that may be troublesome. I have [recommended the removal of] Sir H. Ingoldsby from the Council which would be a useful demonstration of His Majesty's dissatisfaction with him by reason of his factious carriage in England, and traducing of the Government here, and I think there need no reason be given for it.

HENRY COVENTRY TO ORMOND.

1680, May 26, Enfield Chase.—Since I wrote last to you I have received several from your Grace, which I immediately transmitted to the Secretary of Council. My gout as if reproaching me the little use I have of a right hand hath not yet set me free, but by frequent returns visits my wrist, and so at once spareth my hands and excuseth me.

This day I received a letter from your Grace of the 7th of May by Mr. Muschamp. I should be very glad to serve him or my Lord Primate in any thing I can, but like deer when they have first cast their horns keep the woods for some time, I have not seen London or Windsor since my first leaving the town, but am busied in settling my small management here, where, if God sendeth quiet, I intend to spend most of my time. If your Grace continue any thoughts about a house, here is one nigh me that was formerly Judge Barclay's house—capacious enough, I think, for your Grace's family. I am told it hath 50 or 60 chambers in it. It hath garden and bowling green, but neither in good order; it hath several fishponds, and a much meadow and pasture as letteth for 40*l.* a year. It is well in repair as to the outside, but in the inside it will require some amendment, especially the outhouses. It is now in possession of a schoolmaster who is removing to Barnet; he hath a lease

for 20 years, and the rent he payeth is 50*l.* a year, but he pretendeth to have been at expense in meliorating the land, and upon that score demandeth a 100*l.* for his lease, but possibly he may fall of that price. If your Grace have yet any such thoughts you may give order to my Lord of Ossory to see it as for himself; the rent being so low, it may very well look as but a reasonable convenience for him, and I will at any time go over with him and view it, but I desire an answer from your Grace speedily, because the present possessor is poor, the place nigh London, and probably may take the first chapman. I should be sorry to see you desire a remove, but if that should be, I should be much comforted to find you in our neighbourhood, where I will assure your Grace I am very far from repenting my retreat. I hope before this comes to your hands my Lady Ossory will be safe landed with her knight errant, Sir Nicholas. For news I can only tell you I am providing for my campagne hunting season now approaching, and if our neighbour of France will let me alone I will him. My most humble duty and service to my Lady Duchess.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, May 26.—I have received yours of the 18th of this month. All I have to say in return is that I have also received news of Murphy, Moyer and the rest of that knot by [] all the papers that belong to them into the Chief Justice's care and management. The man that wrote the letter from Worcester, wherein the contents of Sir Henry Capel's letter to Russell were, is now here himself, where he is satisfied we are not in the disquiet Sir Henry apprehended, but he undertakes not to get the original, doubting that Russell if he has kept it will not part with it, other things being contained in it. The match you mention for your son I suppose would accommodate our domestic affairs, but it thought to do it considerably, and it should be compassed without great difficulty, else it will hardly counterbalance some alloys that are in the matter. The yacht set sail hence on the 20th of this month, and since she is not driven in again I presume she may be ready with this wind to bring your wife.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, May 29, Windsor.—Since the orders were sent to your Grace concerning the men which His Majesty thought fit to go to Tanger out of Ireland, he has considered it will be most for his service that they should be all of the Scotch Regiment, which is the occasion of my sending you the enclosed directions.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 29, London.—The Council not sitting the last week occasioned my not giving your Grace the trouble of

any letter from me till this post. The answer of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to Coppinger's former petition was brought in the last Council day, but hath not as yet been read, the Board being then employed in considering the ways of sending present recruits to Tangier. Six hundred foot were ordered to be sent out of Ireland, and an express to that purpose sent to your Grace, by which I presume your Grace before this time hath notice of the particulars. Six hundred foot more were ordered to be drawn out of the four standing regiments here, viz., 240 with two captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, &c., out of Col. Russell's regiment, 120 men with one captain, &c., out of the Lord Craven's, 120 men with one captain, &c., out of His Royal Highness's regiment, 120 men with one captain, &c., out of Lord Musgrave's regiment. 60 horse to be drawn out of the troop of Guards with a commander to be appointed by His Majesty. 60 horse to be drawn out of the Earl of Oxford's regiment, with one captain, &c., which aforesaid forces are to march immediately to Portsmouth, there to be shipped for the voyage.

The last letters from Tangier of 24th April from Sir Palmes Fairbone give an account that the enemy had fortified themselves so well in their trenches that there would be need of a very considerable force to remove them; that they had intercepted Henrietta Fort and Charles Fort from communication with the town and made several very brisk attempts upon the said forts, but that they gave them an account from the forts by speaking trumpets that they were in a very good condition and wanted nothing, that their only way of conveying intelligence to the forts was by the speaking trumpets, and that they always of late spoke Irish, having received notice that some English renegadoes amongst the Moors understood them in the other language. This is the latest account from thence, and the Lord Inchiquin is preparing to come hither according to his orders sent him by Sir Palmes Fairbone.

His Majesty after this at the Council table took occasion to mention a pamphlet lately printed by stealth called—"A Letter to a Person of Honour concerning the Black Box," which being full of sedition and malice against the Duke of York, and endeavouring to persuade the people that the Duke of Monmouth was legitimate, His Majesty ordered the Clerks of the Council to make copies of His Majesty's declaration entered in the Council books concerning His Majesty's marriage, which they are to attest upon oath, and with an account of the late examinations to have printed for the satisfaction of the minds of the people. That night after the Council the King returned to Windsor. Here are some alterations in the military employments going on: Mr. Churchill is to command the Duke's regiment of foot and the fort at Sheerness in the room of Sir Charles Littleton, who is to be Governor of Jersey; Sir John Lanier is to be lieutenant of the Duke's troop of

Horse Guards in the room of Sir Richard Dutton, who is to go Governor of Barbadoes, and Sir Jonathan Atkins is to be recalled home.

Mr. David Fitzgerald and two other persons brought out of Ireland by the messenger Wakefield are ordered to return forthwith into Ireland, there to give evidence of what they can inform.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 29. London.—I think last Council day an express was ordered to give you notice of another recruit out of Ireland for the relief of Tangiers. I beg your pardon in minding you how greatly you may suffer if the men be not ready at the arrival of the ships. I mentioned in a former letter either to you or my brother what notice was taken that the second four companies had they been ready might have gone by the first opportunity, and this was said on Wednesday last, and not having had an answer to that enquiry I could not make any reply. This is all the trouble I shall give you now, which I hope you will pardon.

PRINCE OF ORANGE to EARL OF OSSORY.*

1680, May 29, La Haye.—If faut que vous me croies le plus faus de tous les hommes apres les asseurances que je vous ay donne que vostre affaire seroit terminée bientost qu'elle ne l'est pas encore, mais si vous esties sur les lieux vous voiries que ce n'est pas ma faute. J'ay cru ne la devoir pas propose en un temps ou nous sommes a l'Assemblée d'Hollande en de tres fortes disputes comment de lever de l'argent pour payer nos debtes faites pendant la geurre cette dispute a dure trois mois, j'espere pourtant qu'elle se terminera cette semaine et qu' apres cela vostre affaire s'achevera. Je vous prie destre bien asseure du deplaisir que J'ay de ce retardement et du chagrin qui me cause un affaire de cette nature ; J'espere qu'elle sera si tost finie que nous pourriez avoir la satisfaction de vous voir en ce lieu avant vostre voyage d'Irlande affin de vous pouvoir assurer de bouche de la veritable passion avec lequel je suis absolument avou. Vous aimant autant que je fais l'on ne sauroit avoir eu plus de joye que j'eu d'apprendre que vous esties refait du Cousiel. Je n'ay pas le temps de vous informe d'un affaire qui est arrive au Regt. de Weesly qui fait grand bruit. Je vous en faires envoyer les informations par l'ordinaire prochain.

THOMAS FAIRFAX to [EARL OF ARRAN.]

1680, June 1, London.—I am infinitely ashamed that your lordship should find me here considering the date of my letter, but since I am sure it's none of my fault I

* The orthography of the original is followed in this transcript

hope my Lord Duke and your lordship will please to pardon it. If you did but know what delays and vexations I have had to bring about my business, your lordship, I am sure, would pity me, but now God be thanked it's over, and on Friday I intend to set forward towards Ireland, but it must be by the way of Yorkshire, where I must stay a week with my old mother, so that I believe it will be the latter end of the month before I can reach Dublin. I went yesterday to the Lodge to take leave of the Good Secretary (as we call him yet), where I had the most to do to get away in the world. He is mightily pleased with his retirement and talks of living at the Chase all winter, which we say will be something tedious for him to want company to chat at nights, but he seems to be resolute bat. My Lord Mulgrave goes the chief command to Tangier; my Lord Plymouth, Lumley, Mordaunt and several other volunteers go with him; Lord Ossory and Duke of Albemarle proffered their service in that affair, but the King thought fit to deny them both. Pray, my Lord, be pleased to make my excuse to his Grace for my long stay since he took my oath; it's not out of any inclination of my own, but the dilatory proceedings of our English Court. I hope to repair all by my future diligence, since no man takes more delight to be in the service of your lordship's family. Pray, my Lord, tell my Lord Chief Justice Keating the Secretary began his health

JAMES BUCK to SAME.

1680, June 5th, Chelsey.—Your letter of the 22nd of May came not to my hands till the 2nd instant, which gave me notice of my Lady Arran's coming into England, which is no more than I expected, it being here as I am told long since contrived. I assure your lordship I shall be as assisting and serviceable to her ladyship as lies in my power or her ladyship's pleasure to command. The six coach horses shall be ready at Chester to attend her ladyship the 13th or 14th instant, according to your lordship's desire. I have tried the coachman here, that Mr. Clark always made use of for my Lord Duke, when he hired horses for Chester, and their price is still what Mr. Clark gave, which is 35s. per day whilst they are out, so that there needs not be any long stay. The charges will be so great, I have not yet made the bargain; I hope to bring it easier, but Monday will be my last day to try others. My Lord, I know not how my Lady comes over furnished, but your lordship will consider my disbursements; this last half-year's rent, which is more than I have received by 100*l*. I have redeemed the pendants, and it's as far as Chester in the way, but I have sent for them back. Mad. Ferrers sometimes tells me all the children come over to her, and sometimes that none but my Lady Betty; and she is much troubled she has not particular order in the whole affair. I hope my son has by this time kissed your lordship's hands.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, June 5, Windsor.—My indisposition in my eyes still continuing, though somewhat abated, hinders me as yet from being able to write. The last Council day His Majesty commanded all those that were present at Council when he swore to the truth of a paper signed with his own hand, declaring that he was never either contracted or married to any but his present Queen, that they should some day the next term depose in Chancery that they were present when this thing passed; after which this transaction will be made public with threatenings to any that shall go about to spread false rumours in this particular. I hope I shall soon send you copies of Fitzgerald's instructions which were passed in an extraordinary manner, and not by the Board. My Lord Primate's answer to Coppinger's petition was read last Council day, unto which Coppinger is ordered to reply. The answer might have been better penned, for besides the length, my Lord Primate's enemies observed too much sharpness, and some jestingly said that he was mistaken when he made any difference between ethics and morals. I will serve him in all things to the best of my power. I shall say nothing of your project for shipping, but humbly offer my advice that the number may be rather less, and the proportions larger, for a fifth rate will have enough to do with one Algerine. Anything under this will in my opinion be useless. I wish rather that some might be fourth rates. I shall not fail to impart your letter of the 30th May, which I now received unto Mr. Hyde, and shall speak to the King for his commands concerning Sir Hen. Ingoldsby's dismissal from Council. I hear the States General have ordered my commission of General, but I cannot learn what they have done as to my appointments, in which, if I find not satisfaction to some reasonable degree, I shall soon return it unto them again. Several of your friends are of opinion that, upon the occasion of these forces going from Ireland to Tangier, it would be reasonable for you to move His Majesty for some declaration of his mind to you that this expense was to be but temporary and that the supplies his people in Parliament shall give him should be laid out for the security and good of that kingdom. Sir Wm. Petty has desired me to get him to be made a Councillor. He professes great respects to you, but without your permission I shall not move in this matter.

I know nothing of any pardon for Col. Gorges till you wrote me word of it. I am very much a servant to Col. Cecil, but knew nothing of any concern of his. Major Billingsley is now with me, who will wait on you about the beginning of the next month.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, June 5.—I have yours of the 25th and others of the 27th from the Council, by which I am ordered to send 600

men more to Tangier. I conclude from thence that the place is in no small danger, else it would be unconsidered how displeasing it will be to a Parliament here to have men paid by this revenue employed upon another service, but necessity must be obeyed and I will make the best I can of all I am commanded. God send they come not too late to preserve us from the damage and shame of such a loss. I am extremely unsatisfied with the management of James his expenses, the account for a year coming to 1,100*l*. in a place where the half ought to have served. I thought you would have taken the pains to have inquired into it; the account for gowns and clothes is most extravagant. I wish you would call for an account—particularly of the number of suits, the kind and rates they cost and by whose direction so many were sent. My luck always has been that all that serve me, as well as others, think my wealth is not to be exhausted, and that I am fit to be a dupe to all sorts of people; the post is just going. No news of your wife.

PRINCE RUPERT to ORMOND.

1680, June 7th.—The bearer hereof—Major Billingsley, my godson—is returning for Ireland. I could not but trouble your lordship with two or three lines in his behalf to give your lordship thanks for your kindnesses already showed unto him. And also that your lordship will continue the same for the future in any thing that may intervene, according to his desert and better preferment as occasion shall offer.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, June 9, Dublin.—I have yours of the 29th of May, and before that received orders to send hence a further recruit to Tangier, which shall be prepared as fast as the thing can be done, and if that cannot be by the time the ships shall come for them, it will be unjust to lay the fault upon me, considering that there never is sixpence in the Treasury to advance upon such occasions; how averse men are from going to that service (in so much that half companies run away at once when they are on their march) that they would all do so or mutiny if they were sent without some pay, and that neither in case of mutiny or running away there is any power to hang criminals, which only can terrify them, for all inferior punishments they had rather undergo than that service. I send you herewith extracts of all the letters I sent from the first time that I was ordered to send men for Tangier, out of which if the dates be compared with the times that they were ready for transportation it will appear there was no time lost that could be saved by me, and that the four English companies have taken above two months for ships to carry them; where that fault lies I know not, nor why it should not be inquired after and reflected on. If the Secretary did not read my several letters on this subject,

or if it be forgotten that he did read them to the Council, I cannot help it, and perhaps you are not free from blame if you have forgotten what your brother and I have written to you on the subject; you may read this letter where and to whom you please or make use of any part of it as you shall think fit. The wind has been fair two or three days, and has brought in many vessels, but there is no news of your wife.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, June 12, Whitehall.—His Majesty hath altered nothing in the measures he hath taken for the succouring of Tangier upon the loss of the forts that are near it. The horse and foot are hastened away all that is possible here; the same, I doubt not, is done in Ireland. 'Tis hoped they may come time enough to save the town, though the Moors will in all probability have already carried the little forts and redoubts that were remaining (when the express came away) after the loss of the Charles and the Henrietta forts. The Alcade offered a peace if we demolish all the forts and be content to hold the town as the Portuguese held it. On Thursday night last there was a defensive alliance signed between His Majesty and the King of Spain; it is the same in effect with that which was made between Spain and Holland in '73, and between His Majesty and Holland in '78; 'tis purely defensive and induces no obligation but that the two Kings maintain and defend each other in their present peace and possessions against all aggressors.

THOMAS PRICE, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL to ORMOND.

1680, June 13, Cashel.—In obedience to your Grace's commands of the 11th of the last month, I caused all diligent search to be made for the body of Edward Ball, and that by those that I know just to me and faithful to His Majesty's interest, but as yet he is not to be found. If he lurks hereabouts ever so closely I hope ere long to find him out, but what I have done hitherto has been private, and if your Grace thinks it more convenient to make now a more public search, upon the least intimation it shall be strictly and readily observed and obeyed; in the interim I shall not slacken the duty required from me.

Since I have taken the confidence to give your Grace this trouble, I shall also beg leave to return your Grace my hearty thanks for your great care of the inhabitants of that Union whereof you have been pleased to condescend Dr. Sall should be the minister. He preached in the forenoon at St. John's to the English, and in the afternoon at the Rock in Irish, to both with great satisfaction, but to the latter so far to their contentment that he had at the least 100 of Papists to hear him of almost all sorts as well as literate as otherwise, and if the Church could have held them, it is reported there would be as many more. I hope it will work upon them by degrees,

and if we can win but some our labour is not lost. I pray God reward your Grace for contributing so much to so good a work by your encouraging of it, which I hope will tend to God's glory, as it is altogether intended. The Dr. intends to live with me for his better security, which I think really necessary, his living consisting almost of mere Irish, and no house yet built to live in. I intend to join with him to get therefore one to serve that cure that can read and preach in Irish. I thought fit to acquaint your Grace with it and hope it will meet with your approbation.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, June 15, London.—My being a fortnight out of town hath occasioned my not paying that tribute to your Grace which I hold myself (in duty) obliged to do, though His Majesty's declaration concerning his marriage and the affairs of Tangier have taken up most part of the debates in Council during that time.

I find my Lord Chancellor of Ireland's answer to Coppinger's petition was read the last Council day, and an order made that it should be shewed the petitioner, which will regularly produce a hearing before the Board (as I imagine).

The Treaty between us and Spain was concluded the latter end of the last week at Windsor, in which there is said to be a condition that the Parliament shall sit in a short time, which is thought to be the beginning of October, and it is supposed His Majesty will at next meeting of the Parliament, which is to be in July, signify his pleasure that he intends they shall sit at the said time of October.

Mr. Slingsby's patent as Master of the Mint is ordered to be superseded, and that office is to be put into commission. And it is said the Master of the Ordnance place (which is at present in commission) is to be given to Col. George Legge, and the Lieutenant's of the Ordnance place to Sir Christopher Musgrave, one of the present Commissioners.

This day all the Lords of the Council who were witnesses to His Majesty's former declarations concerning his marriage took their oaths in the Court of Chancery in order to have the said declarations (so attested) recorded in the said Court.

His Majesty is so well pleased with the good air of Windsor that he intends not to be here to-morrow at the Council.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, June 15, London.—I received this day your letters of the 5th and 9th of this month. The first relating to the ill management of my son's expenses, I have already ordered Mulys to require from M. Drelincourt an account of the particulars of them. I am extremely scandalised at the extravagance of them and shall show my dislike and require better management for the future, as they shall value your displeasure. I am sure a much less sum would keep him

decently in an Academy, which I think a more proper place for him. As to the transcripts of parts of your letters to my Lord Sunderland and Secretary Coventry, I beg your pardon if I did ill express my meaning, my brother's nor your letter not answering the thing I thought I had mentioned, which was, that I heard it alleged that orders came to you for the second recruit time enough for them to have gone away with the first, which consisted of the four Scotch companies, and there was conveniency in those ships for their transportation, had the men been at the waterside, as, it is said, was ordered from hence. If you will be pleased to look upon your first and second orders, I doubt not but you will furnish me with a satisfactory answer in this particular. Dr. Turberville being in town, I remain here for the cure of my eyes, which are in an ill condition by my returning to Windsor before they were perfectly well, that place by reason of the chalkiness and dust of the building being very hurtful to all that are liable to any such distemper. I have been let blood, physicked, bathed, scarified, and blistered, and still the sharpness of the humour continues.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, June 16, Dublin.—I have yours of the 5th and some copies of the transaction concerning Fitzgerald—the rest I hope to have by the next, but by these I find the proceeding was extraordinary and malicious, the ill manners ere excusable as faults of ignorance.

We have the King's declaration as to the Duke of Monmouth's mother in print; it shall be reprinted here. My Lord Primate shall know your care of him. The King may mend the proportions of the ships any way he pleases, so he give no umbrage that he means after they are built to call them away to other service than that of this kingdom, of which they are so suspicious that though moved to it they would not agree to have any 4th rate. We conceive there will be great use of two yachts and other small craft, and I suppose His Majesty may save in England full as much as we shall lay out here, since the stations of the Land's End, Cape Clear, and the chops of the Channel may be supplied by them, besides jobs to Tangier, and even to the Leeward Islands may upon occasion be performed by them.

I send you herewith some notions of Sir Wm. Petty's upon the subject, but I omit his computations of charge because they are too much mistaken, and that we can have them more certainly elsewhere. I have no objection to Sir Wm. Petty's being a Privy Councillor, but that he will make so many objections and propose so many notions that much of our time will be lost in them; besides, till a dispute betwixt him and the Farmers is over it will be highly inconvenient to have him there. In the Bills now transmitted His Majesty will find himself sufficiently bound to employ the revenue

of this kingdom—new and old—to the service of it, and yet he may dispose of money after it comes into the Exchequer to what use he pleases, but he can give no new grants or pensions. This, I am sure, is a great security to the Crown and kingdom, and no small ease to the King in freeing him from perpetual importunities. If the King finds the proportion of the ships too small, why may we not call a ship of betwixt 40 and 50 guns a 5th rate, for as I remember neither tons or guns were specified in the Bill.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1680, June 16.—I received the last night the honour of your letter bearing date the fourth of this month, whereby I perceive that your Excellency has not yet had notice of the present Vice-Chancellor's entire resignation of himself to your disposal for the succeeding year—a thing which will be very much for the security of our concerns in this place, and also to the service of the King, especially if at the close of this year he should have occasion to call a Parliament here again. I sent your Excellency also an account of the performance of your commands at Magdalen Hall, and the settlement of Dr. Levett in the Principalship, and likewise represented the difficulties which we now have in executing your Excellency's commission by reason of the death of some and absence of others who were nominated therein; for remedy whereof I humbly offered it to your Excellency that you would be pleased to supply the vacancies. This letter I doubt has miscarried, being enclosed in one to Mr. Moreton, who I hear is coming for England. Since my Lord of Ossory will not close with the conversation of books, it remains that he have the advantage of conversing with men. In reference to which I heartily wish your Excellency may find a fit person to serve my Lord in the quality of a Governor, who, besides the real endowments of knowledge and virtue, may have the advantages of conduct and address to make himself beloved and revered. There is not, I think, generally speaking, a worse sort of men than they who set up and make it their trade to be governors to young noblemen; so that if the person who is recommended to your Excellency be one of that profession, I hope you will have a very particular assurance before he be entertained. The settling my lord in principles of honour and industry, and prepossessing him with true notions of things being not the work of base and mercenary minds, it will be very hard to find upon that level any one competently fit for such an undertaking.

As to my Lord Courcy, though I cannot boast any great acquisitions in learning, I may assure your Excellency that he has lived here with sobriety and innocence. What his temper and inclinations are Sir Robert Southwell is very well enabled to inform your Excellency; it is, I fear, not so active as were requisite to the building up the decays of a

family. The sea is, I perceive, an element which he utterly declines, and therefore he implores your patronage at land. The Court I doubt would not be a very safe, though suitable station to him. Possibly if his quality would prefer him in marriage, it may be the best disposal. But this must be referred to your Excellency's judgment. Beseeching Almighty God to continue His blessing to your person, your counsels and affairs, I take leave with all possible duty and respect.

LADY CAVENDISH to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680, June 18th, Chatsworth.—I am but just now come out of the coach from a very tiresome journey, but hearing the post was just going from hence, I was not willing to omit letting your ladyship know I have brought James and Betty hither very well, though the ways cannot be worse in winter than they are now, which made the journey very troublesome, but James is so good a traveller he is not at all the worse for it. I have but just seen Will and Harry, so I can say little of them. I received when I came hither a letter from your ladyship, in which I find you expected my sister Ossory, but Maisson has one of a later date says she is landed, which I am very glad of.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1680, June 22.—I am exceedingly glad that my Lord James's being here proves to your Excellency's satisfaction, which I hope will always continue during his abode, and that his improvements will be such as will continue with him in all future removes. Mr. Dean of Limerick, has not yet thought fit to make use of your Excellency's favour in reference to his degree, there being a Statute of his College that six weeks must pass after he has his grace from the private society before he can be a candidate for the degree in the University. As to the other affair of comedians, the King's players having had cold reception from Mr. Vice-Chancellor in their desires to be received here this Act, obtained a solemn recommendation from His Majesty, and that not taking the desired effect they have procured a second letter. What the event will be I know not; but I think if the Vice-Chancellor be forced to receive them, he will so shorten them in time as may discourage them from coming on such terms.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, June 23.—I have caused all that could readily be found relating to the recruit commanded hence to Tangier to be extracted, and you have them in a paper enclosed herewith which you may upon occasion shew the King and the Duke and also produce at Council, but it will be hard to be put to such searches and retrospects upon

every suggestion that may be made in discourse when there is nobody to answer and when the reflection is made to serve a present turn and yet remains as an aspersion to the prejudice of another. I saw it in a letter from one that said he stood by when somebody belonging to the Admiralty had the impudence to tell the Duke that the ships had stayed I know not how long for the men at Kinsale, when on the contrary the men stayed for the ships six weeks at least, I am sure till with trouble I was fain to make up what they had spent in that time, but to this hour no ship has stayed a minute for the men. I am sorry your eyes are so bad. You must not think of a penny till they are better.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, June 26th, London.—The last Council day the Lord Sunderland brought in the Bills sent by your Grace out of Ireland with your Grace's letters, one of which relating to the Farmers of Ireland making a proposal for a new farm of the Revenue was particularly ordered to be laid by carefully till it should be taken into consideration, the Commissioners of the Treasury then present at the Board giving an account that they had not heard of any such proposal made or like to be made by the Farmers.

The Bills of the Revenue and of settlement were ordered to be copied with all speed, and as soon as they are done the Committee intends to take them into their consideration, as likewise all the other Bills remitted by your Grace hither. For the relief of Tangier four thousand foot and six hundred horse are ordered to make the number of the garrison and the Earl of Ossory to be Governor.

On the 24th inst. a common hall being met in the City of London, Mr. Slingsby Bethel and Mr. Cornish, two persons represented to be men of factious principles, were chosen sheriffs for the year ensuing; at the same time was likewise a petition for the sitting of the Parliament delivered to the sheriffs of London to be presented to the King, which is not as yet delivered.

This morning the Grand Jury of Middlesex brought a petition into the Court of King's Bench for the sitting of the Parliament, which they would have delivered the Judges to have presented to His Majesty but the Court refused to receive it, intimation being given to the Judges that the Grand Jury were likewise preparing a Bill of Indictment against His Royal Highness, in which they would have indicted him for being a Papist. The Judges discharged the said Grand Jury from their further attendance, to the great disappointment of many who attended in Westminster Hall, with the Earl of Shaftesbury at their head. Another Grand Jury is intended to be summoned before the end of the term, who it is believed will be of another temper. The trial of the Lord Aston is put off and leave given to have him bailed. Yesterday

the Duke of Buckingham had a verdict against Mr. Christian, Mr. Blood, Mr. Curtis and another person for subornation of perjury in the case of Le-Mar. 1,800 foot are to be sent out of Ireland and Scotland to make up the number of the 4,000 for the service of Tangier. The presentment of the Duke for a Papist was brought to the Grand Jury, signed by the following persons as prosecutors: Earl of Shaftesbury, Earl Huntington, Lord Grey, Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Mr. Wharton (eldest son to Lord Wharton), Sir Scroop Hore, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir [Henry] Calverly, Mr. Forester, Mr. Thyn.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, June 26. Whitehall.—I have the honour of two letters from your Grace of the 16th current by your express, together with an extract of your Grace's letters to Mr. Secretary Coventry, as also to my Lord of Essex and the late Lord Treasurer. I have also a list of the Bills transmitted hither under the Great Seal of that kingdom. I want words to acknowledge the condescension you are pleased to use towards me in this and other occasions, but shall not be wanting by the help of God in my best endeavours to do what your Grace hath all reason to expect at my hands. 'Tis probable there will be those whose interests will bring them to find fault with some things in the Bills now sent over. When it shall be on the other side considered that your Grace and the Council there had no other view nor interest but that of the King's service and the public good, I doubt not but that which is well projected will be well received and have a general approbation here; I have that reverence for your Grace's particular great lights and the public wisdom on that side that I shall come to attend the service of these Bills with a very great deference and respect for those that framed them, and give your Grace the best account I can of what passes.

As for Mr. David Fitzgerald, I moved the Council, His Majesty being present, that some course might be taken to oblige him to hasten over to attend those trials where he hath some things to say as a witness for the King. I was answered that he should be in Ireland time enough for the Limerick Assizes. I take leave to enclose a petition of his that was read last day in Council; as also a letter which His Majesty hath been pleased to write to the Lord Dunkellin, and another to my Lord the Earl of Clanrickarde, his father, to the end your Grace may see the favour intended to my Lord the son, and be pleased to promote His Majesty's good intentions for and expectations from that Lord. [Encloses the two following letters.]

KING'S LETTER to LORD DUNKELLIN.

1680, June 23, Whitehall.—It is with singular great satisfaction that we have understood of your being thoroughly

instructed in the true Protestant religion as it stands established by law in that our kingdom. And that you have thereupon united yourself to the Protestant Church there, having forsaken that of Rome. We shall not enlarge to tell you how great a gainer you are in several respects by this exchange; but we are glad of this occasion to observe to you that you have happily rescued yourself from a foreign jurisdiction and dependance which too many of our subjects in Ireland do make a main essential point of their Christianity; and yet that dependance is such as hath always given jealousies to the Crown, and sometimes brought it to great extremities of danger, most especially in the late Irish rebellion, which was entered into merely for maintaining of that dependance and yet was so cruel that no Christian can think of it without horror. The religion that you have now embraced teaches you better things, not allowing so much as the possibility of a case where it may be lawful for subjects to take up arms against their sovereign. As such a religion is the best security to the public peace, so upon your professing of it we are readily inclined to allow you the same privileges which our other Protestant subjects of your quality do enjoy. We have therefore ordered our Chancellor of that our kingdom to insert your name in the Commission of the Peace and to issue out our gracious writ of summons when a Parliament is called in that our kingdom, whereby you may sit as a Baron in our House of Peers in the right of one of the ancient baronies belonging to your family, to the end you may miss no opportunity nor advantage incident to your quality to assert and maintain the true Protestant religion, as also to maintain as occasion shall require the rights of the Crown, together with the liberties and properties of our subjects, and so we bid you heartily farewell.

KING'S LETTER to EARL OF CLANRICKARDE.

1680, June 23.—Having out of our special grace and favour to your son the Lord Viscount Dunkellin thought fit to put him into several commissions of trust and honour in that our kingdom, and to order our Chancellor there to issue out our gracious writ of summons to him whereby he may take his place as Baron in our House of Peers in the next Parliament to be holden in Ireland, We cannot but express our confidence in you that you will receive this honour done to your son as a mark of our favour and esteem for yourself and your family, and that upon this consideration you will make your son such an allowance for the support of himself, his wife and children as may bear a proportion with those dignities we have or shall confer upon him. His present circumstances do make it necessary that we press you earnestly in this point, and we hope that your compliance will be as cheerful and liberal as our recommendation of your son's case is just and seasonable. To this we expect your speedy answer.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, July 1.—Being confined to my chamber by a little lameness (which I hope will not continue long upon me) I could not wait upon your Grace, and therefore have presumed to send your Grace the enclosed, that you may understand the unfit condition of that man to be Mayor of Limerick whom they have this year made choice of because it happened to him by succession; he is a person so declaredly opposite to the Church and to conformity that I presume your Grace will not hold him fit for so great a trust; there are several worthy persons who may be very fit for that employment in these times: I shall not trouble your Grace with the names of any of them until I shall have the opportunity of attending your Grace; but I held it necessary to give your Grace at present some short account thereof, lest the business might have come before your Grace this afternoon at the Council.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, July 3, London.—On Wednesday morning, being last day of the term, the Lords and others who before had signed the presentment of the Duke came to Westminster Hall with an intention [to send] the said presentment to another Grand Jury who were then sitting, but the Grand Jury were met so privately they came away without their ends, but it is said they still endeavour to arrive at them, and are ready against the Quarter Sessions to be held shortly at Hicks Hall with the said presentment. On Thursday in the evening His Majesty returned again to Windsor.

We have no news from Tangier since my last, the Earl of Ossory making his daily preparation for his voyage thither. The forces to attend him are a regiment of 600 foot to be commanded by the Earl of Plymouth, Mr. Kirke, Col. Charles Trelawny, Major, to be new raised here; 200 foot to be sent out of Ireland to recruit the Irish companies in Tangier; 400 out of Scotland to recruit the Lord Dumbarton's regiment there; 300 to be sent out of Ireland, which are to be mounted on Spanish horse at Cales, from whence they are to be transported to Tangier.

The Judges being summoned to appear at the last Council, had instructions given them to be observed in their next circuits, which were to this effect: that they should take particular care to have well principled men of the Grand Juries in their respective circuits; that they should put the laws against Popish recusants strictly in execution, and that they should distinguish between Papists and other Protestant dissenters; that for the satisfying men's minds, and to prevent the seditious way of tumultuary petitioning, they should acquaint the Justices of Peace and gentlemen of the Grand Juries in their counties that it was His Majesty's firm resolution the Parliament should undoubtedly sit in November at farthest. The Attorney General and King's

Counsel being likewise summoned, were ordered to consult and bring in their opinions, whether by the Act for regulating Corporations the livery men of the several companies within the City of London are obliged to take the oaths, receive the Sacrament, and subscribe the declaration mentioned therein.

Mr. Savile is lately returned out of France, whither it is said he very suddenly repairs again. The King of France is this night expected at Dunkirk, and the Earl of Oxford goes on His Majesty's part to compliment him there, and Col. Churchill from the Duke. The Bishop of St. Asaph is lately dead, and Dr. Lloyd, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, it is supposed, will succeed him in that Bishopric. The Irish Bills are all transcribed according to order, but as yet no committee is appointed to take them into consideration.

EARL OF DERBY to ORMOND.

1680, July 5, Knowsley.—I cannot express how well I am pleased to hear your Grace likes the hawks I sent last. As I was ashamed there was but one cast, so now I am very glad your Grace pardons me for that fault. But I promise you what hawks can be got the next year shall all be at your service, and I hope there will be more then, because I will for the future have more care taken of the eyries than has been yet. Your Grace's falconer told me he thought you had some hawks to spare, which encouraged me to make your Grace a request for one. The greatest plenty we have of game is partridge and woodcocks, crows and herons, but I humbly leave for what game the hawks should be to your Grace's judgment, for I own myself so ignorant of hawking that I cannot pretend to know what game please me best. But you have so given me encouragement as the advice about a faulkner, for which I give you most humble thanks, and the other the invitation your Grace is pleased to make me, I esteem to that degree that I must personally acknowledge the honour your Grace has done me so soon as I can, that whatever happens nothing can dishearten me from that sport, but I will endeavour as much as in me lies to learn something of the same. I must not omit any longer giving your Grace an account of Parson Piggot, who did so brag of your Grace's kindness to him, with what splendour and ceremony he was received, particularly by the clergy in Ireland at his going over there with my Lady Arran, and what preferments he might have had if he had so thought fit to have received them, that he gave me a hint once something to this purpose, as if for his sake I might be well received there. I mention this to show your Grace how well he would have the world to think of him. I will only tell you thus much of him—he is not a man at all beloved by the gentry, for there is few knows what to make of him. He

speaks loud for the Church of England, but at the same time he offered his parishioners at Rochdale, that if they would pay for a curate they might choose whom they would and he would approve of the choice. I thought it my duty to acquaint you concerning this divine; yet if I have been too forward in this I humbly ask your Grace's pardon, and I will trouble you no further only this much, if you would have a further account of what I now say, your Grace will then wonder he durst show his face to you after what he endeavoured to do, which I have under his own hand.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, July 6, Whitehall.—Last post I sent you a copy of my letter to my Lord Sunderland. The enclosed, which I met yesterday at Windsor from Sir Palmes Farebone, I think fortifies what I wrote upon the subject of Tangier. Yesterday morning the King commanded the Earl of Sunderland and myself to attend him about the choice of officers. I desired that the project of what was intended might first be established, upon which the said lord said that if nothing was to be proposed as to augmentation since in that there was an impossibility, and that if I could not defend the place, as he thought I could not, that I might, if I had time, represent so much here, or else leave it the best way I could. I replied that the commission was no way agreeable, and that few who value their honour would willingly undertake it. His lordship said that if nothing were done the people in the streets would throw stones. I answered that if more men and treasure were employed upon a vain undertaking that ten for one would be cast at the advisers. Thus ended the consultation. In the afternoon I got the King alone, and told him that I thought myself bound to let him know that by what we heard, and by the opinion of every man that has been on the field or appointed to go thither, that anything like the supplies intended would prove insignificant, and that though I would obey him always, yet I desired not to undertake a service wherein I thought certainly to miscarry. He said he intended me this as a pleasure, and that no harm was done if I declined, and that he would take other measures. He seemed not in the least displeased, but I will not answer how the ministers may strive to exasperate him; though I said that when I had thus declared myself he should always find me obedient, but that I hoped he would not enforce upon me impossibilities or employment to lose my reputation. Afterward I gave the Duke an account of this conversation, who seemed satisfied, and told me I should in this and all things else find his kindness. The thing is secret, and I desire you not to impart it unto any. You may let my mother and my wife know that my going is not so sure as when I wrote last.

ORMOND to SIR STEPHEN FOX.

1680, July 6, Dublin.—It is long since I ought to have acknowledged to you the part I take in the constant obligations you have laid upon me in the care and kindness you have expressed to my niece Hamilton in all her concerns. It is not over usual that men remember the friendships they have had so long and so usefully where there is so little expectation of suitable returns; but as I ought to put myself into the place of my dead nephew and take his obligations upon me, so I desire you to believe I will never forget the kindness you have shown to his wife and children. My niece is lately gone hence, having entertained me with fresh instances of your great civilities to her.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, July 6. Dublin.—I could not better give you my sense of your employment in Tangier than by a transcript of my letter to your mother, who, with your wife, are at Kilkenny. You may be sure there will not be the [] shall be [] from [] of your concernment. I doubt not but that many young men will go from hence in a belief that they show you affection and kindness. Yet I know how troublesome that sort of people are and that they may be more so in a straitened garrison. But on the other hand I do not find that our nation need discouragements to keep them at home. Let me know how you are inclined in the matter. I like your son being in the Academy, if Whitehall and his friends were not so near; but I will hereafter entertain my Lord Chamberlain on that subject; in the meantime a suit a month is a larger wardrobe than any of his forefathers had. I have much to write by this post and can spare you no more time.

————— to MR. JAMES CLARKE.

1680, July 13, London.—For my Lord's service at Tangier I am commanded to send you the enclosed list of live provisions and other stores that his lordship desires may be made there out of her Grace's stores, and shipped on a vessel hired for the purpose at Kinsale, to sail under convoy of the ships that will be ordered to transport 600 soldiers for Tangier. This matter his lordship would have you to acquaint her Grace withal, and to proceed as you find orders from hence for the transportation of the said 600 men, which orders (my lord says) will go hence to my lord Lieutenant this night.

The reason that have moved his lordship to this is the low price that provisions is at there, that they have a shorter way to sail than from hence, and especially because he must hold little or no communication with the Spanish coast, the plague being in their borders (as His Majesty is informed), and we are told that 5*l.* will buy more provisions in Ireland than can be had for 30*l.* at Tangier, besides the trouble and

hazard of fetching the same under convoy either from Spain or Oran, on the coast of Barbary. What servants you give the charge of these things unto must be paid for their voyage (as you can agree) and returned to Ireland again, if they like not to engage in the service there. [Encloses list of provisions.]

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, July 13, London.—The last Council-day being taken up chiefly with the hearing a long cause concerning the Corporation of Tiverton, in Devonshire, I did not give your Grace the trouble of a letter by the last post. After the determining the cause His Majesty was pleased upon a petition of Mrs. Hyde (daughter-in-law to Sir Robert Vyner) to grant a Commission of Review (which is the last appeal) the Judges' delegates having given judgment in affirmance of the marriage betwixt the petitioner and Mr. Emerson already.

One Mr. Doughty, being condemned for murder, the bailiff of Westminster on Friday morning broke into a house (formerly Mr. Doughty's, but now taken by lease by the envoy of the Duke of Savoy), which being complained of to the committee of Lords then sitting, Mr. Stroud was sent for before them, who refused to deliver up the possession, and was thereupon sent to the Tower and his servants to the gate-house, from whence they all came in two hours by *habeas corpus*. Their Lordships thereupon ordered Mr. Attorney General to inspect the Chamber of Westminster, and if by any of his irregular proceedings the bailiff, Mr. Stroud, have forfeited his place to evict him thereof by law. This morning the Justices of Peace of the liberties upon view of the force have recorded Mr. Stroud and his servants guilty of a riot and put them out of possession of the said house, and restored the envoy again thereto.

The Earl of Inchiquin is returned from Tangier. He waited upon His Majesty at Windsor, but the King refused to let him kiss his hand. This day his Lordship was before the Committee of Tangier (His Majesty being present, but his papers not being yet ready, he had nothing said him of the faults that are laid to his charge, and was only asked concerning the condition which the town and garrison was in when he left it. His lordship referred himself in that likewise to his papers for the particulars, but in general he seems to think the town in a weak condition enough, and therefore advises a peace which, he says, may be had upon very advantageous terms for His Majesty, but that the Moors will not suffer any of the outforts or fortifications ever to be repaired again; and his lordship agrees that whenever the Moors will break the peace, the town without the outworks must be in great danger. The commissions of raising the regiment of foot and six hundred horse were this day signed by His Majesty, but I perceive His Majesty doth not intend the Earl of Ossory shall begin his voyage to Tangier so soon

as was at first resolved. A courier is this day despatched over land to Tangier with a project of peace to be offered by Sir Palmes Fairbone to the Alcayde with instructions to him to endeavour to procure prolonging the present truce for two months.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1680, July 15.—The Act being now over, it will be fit that I render an account of that part thereof which my Lord James supported. And this I shall very cheerfully do, he having acquitted himself excellently well. And if hereafter he speaks with the same assurance and advantage in Parliament and Council and the head of an army as he did in our great audience, he will not fail to answer all your Excellency's both expectations and desires in that particular. I am further at this time to represent unto your Excellency the state of your University in reference to a Vice-Chancellor for the following year. The present man has with great prudence and dexterity performed his duty, but of late there having been examples that his predecessors have been dismissed after a year's service, and the straitness of his fortune not well consisting with the necessary expenses of that office, he is very desirous to be dismissed. On the other hand, it is plainly the interest of the University that Vice-Chancellors should be continued at least for two years, not only because that else they will still quit their office when they begin to understand it perfectly, but also because that else there will not easily be found fit men enough to succeed into the employment, and at this day some of our heads of houses not being divines, others being disabled by age or sickness, it is very hard to find a man in whose hand the government of the University may safely be deposited, when the present Vice-Chancellor shall be dismissed. When Mr. Dean of Limerick returns, I shall give your Excellency a further account, but this I thought necessary to intimate at the instant.

VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD (TIMOTHY HALTON) to ORMOND.

1680, July 16, Queen's College, Oxford.—I have with what faithfulness I could discharged that great trust your Excellency was pleased to lay upon me in this University for this last year. But by reason of my many disabilities I could not answer your Excellency's expectation, and therefore I most humbly beseech that you will be pleased to make choice of some other person who may discharge the office to the greater honour of the University than possibly could be done by, &c.

REV. P. DRELINCOURT to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680, July 16.—Voicy la mesure de mylord James selon l'ordre que j'ay reçu de l'envoyer à vôtre grandeur. Il

nous semble icy que mylord est cru considerablement depuis un an, et quoy qu'il ne soit pas si gras qu'il était l'année passée, cependant il a un peu trop d'embonpoint, à mon avis, nonobstant qu'il fasse icy toute l'exercise que l'on peut attendre du lieu ; il y a plus de neuf mois qu'il se lève régulièrement a cinq heures et demyes, sans manquer il monte a cheval des jours entiers, et dans la saison nous chassons toutes les semaines, et aussy souvent que M. nôtre bon Evêque nous le permet. Mylord fait aussy des armes en particulier, n'y ayant point icy de maitre pour luy montrer. Il joue aussy, quelques fois à la paulme, mais il n'y a pas beaucoup d'inclination, de quoy Mr. nôtre Doyen n'est pas fâché. Il marche beaucoup soir et matin, et hors ses heures d'étude il est toujours en action le reste du jour. Il est assurément, Madame, beaucoup plus vif et plus actif que vôtre grandeur ne l'a point encore veu. Sa santé du reste est très bonne, et il devient fort robuste. Je suis toujours dans le sentiment qu'une bonne academie luy seroit fort necessaire ; cependant je say bien, Madame, que c'est à moy a me soumettre (comme je fais) en silence et avec respect aus ordres et aus sentiments de M. le Duc, souhaittant passionément et contribuant de tout mon pouvoir et avec sincerité que la demeure de mylord icy luy soit enfin aussy avantageuse que sa grandeur peut ou desirer ou esperer. Permettez moy, je vous supplie, Madame, de vous dire librement entre vôtre grandeur et moy, qu'il y auroit quelque sujet de craindre avec le temps que les tentations et les exemples continuelles de buvette icy ne luy devinssent contagieuses et ne gagnassent enfin quelque pied sur ses bons principes nonobstant tout le soin et toute l'exactitude qu'on y peut apporter.

Au reste mylord fit icy des merveilles la semaine dernière en nôtre grande solemnité au Theatre publick, ou il parla avec toute la liberté, la hardiesse, la gentillesse, la bonne grace et le succez que l'on peut esperer, et même au dela.

J'ay bien de la joye d'apprendre, Madame, que M. le Comte se trouve beaucoup mieux de la goutte. Je fais tous les jours des voeus tres sincères et tres ardents pour la santé, la gloire, et la prosperite de cet illustre Epoux aussy bien que pour celle de vôtre grandeur et de tout ce qui luy apartient, etant inviolablement, &c.*

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, July 17, Whitehall.—I have the honour of a letter from your Grace of the 6th current, which I acknowledge with all humble thanks possible. There is nothing yet so much as begun upon the Bills that your Grace hath transmitted hither; only they are transcribing for the several hands that are to use them—His Majesty being so much of his time at Windsor, and the incident of Tangier not allowing time enough yet for so serious a deliberation.

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

On midsummer day there were two sheriffs chosen—Bethell and Cornish, but they being not qualified having not received the sacrament in twelve months before, and having refused the bond that the Court of Aldermen offered them to the end to tie them fast to hold to the place they were chosen to, Wednesday last was appointed for a Common Hall to choose new ones in their place. There was a world of insolencies committed in the Hall that day; one of the sheriffs was taken by the throat and punched in the breast, and all this by the fanatic party who will have the sheriffs first chosen (who have since Wednesday the sacrament) to hold, notwithstanding that the Court of Aldermen hath declared them incapable of being chosen (having once refused and being fined) for this year. Yet that party would by all means have a poll for them. Their names are Cornish, a Presbyterian, and Bethell, a member of the late Committee of Safety, and in that quality most abjured the R-line. Against them are set up two honest gents, Box and Nicholson, and there hath been a poll of the livery-men on Thursday and yesterday, which being not finished is adjourned to Monday. 'Tis thought the majority will prove to be for Box and Cornish. The confidences of the restless party are very great, and so is their diligence at this pinch. I beseech God to bless His Majesty. Such collisions are not without danger. I do not presume to trouble your Grace with the enormous excesses of the head bailiff of Westminster, knowing that Sir James Butler will give your Grace an account of that affair, and take your Grace's directions upon it.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, July 17, London.—On Wednesday morning last just before the Council met, one Owen Callaghan applied himself to me with an account of great discoveries he could make of several persons having a hand in the Popish plot who were of the kingdom of Ireland. I (according to my duty) brought him to the Council, who ordered him to attend your Grace, and have transmitted his information, together with a letter from the Board to your Grace by this post. Your Grace will likewise receive two letters in answer to your Grace's, one being concerning Capt. Patrick Lavalline; the other relating to the titular Bishop of Limerick, and the Popish titular dignitaries in Ireland. His Majesty was at that time pleased to declare that the prerogation of the Parliament should be to the 23rd of August next, and the commission is preparing accordingly.

On Wednesday in the evening His Majesty commanded the summoning a Council at seven o'clock, where the Lord Mayor of London and Aldermen attended, and giving an account of some disturbances which had happened that morning in the Hall upon the occasion of electing sheriffs of London for the next year, and particularly that one of the

present sheriffs endeavouring to adjourn the poll about twelve o'clock was struck by one Osborne, master of the Salters' company, on the breast, and very much bruised, a special commission of oyer and terminer was ordered to be issued out for the trial of the said Osborne and others concerned in that tumultuous way of proceeding. The poll continued all Thursday and Friday, Cornish and Bethell being set up by the factious party, and Box and Nicholson by the others. This day being the day of sessions, the poll was adjourned till Monday, which it is supposed will end the dispute, and at present there is not much difference in the votes.

The Commissioners for raising the forces for Tangier are given out, and the drums beating for raising the men. The horse men come in very readily, but the foot but slowly. The Marquis d'Augeau is arrived here out of France with a compliment to His Majesty from his Master.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, July 17, Windsor.—I hope you will pardon my curiosity in opening the inclosed, imagining that it did concern me and the present expedition. I will employ all my endeavours, and hope that God will supply the weakness of the means that are appointed for me. I cannot write either to my mother or my wife, not having anything material to say; besides I am a little indisposed in my eyes, and I abstain writing as much as possible for fear of a relapse.

NETTERVILLE to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, July.—The Farmers have declared to the King that if these Bills go on they must quit the farm, and have desired that they may have their advance money and so be at quiet; this also they have declared to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and have also declared if my Lord of Ormond have any other set of people that he had rather should have the revenue than they, they are willing to resign it; they have also declared that the country cannot bear any taxes, for they are poor, and the money current in specie is not above 30,000*l.* in the whole kingdom, and the Farmers declare to me that if their farm be dissolved, which the present Acts will certainly do, that though they be all hanged at Tyburn some great men shall pay for it, and that dearly too, though the Duke of York espoused their [cause], and do bid defiance to the greatest men that lives to ruin them if he dares; this they told me in some rage two days ago, but of this not one word for your life, and do say that the Parliament in Ireland shall not sit, and if they do those that think to carry all, shall be much mistaken and laughed at into the bargain. The Farmers if the Parliament do sit, will go to the House of Commons and declare the state of Ireland and their reasons for not passing the Acts; they do tell the King that if the pretences be to get money by a new law, they will show the King how he may by the laws in being levy 300,000*l.* which he is entitled

to, and do say that the Lord Lieutenant will find more difficulties in the Parliament of Ireland than he thinks, and this they assured me as also that I might take my measures of them, and their knowledge in Ireland of this assertion of theirs, and I do believe them in that as I do in any other matter, and they are no fools; besides they will set forth all the state of Ireland to the Parliament here, if ever they sit. And this, my Lord, they do openly declare, and also declare that they do not value any man for his greatness or power, whoever he is, though they are assisted by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Lanesborough, Col. Dillon, Nick Armorer, Mr. Ellis, with his coach and six horses. Things my Lord are come to another kind of posture than you can possibly imagine, though you may think my letter the discourse of coffee houses and the *male* contents, yet you will find them to be syllobically true at the long run, and pray do you remember I have told you of it.

Says my Lord Shaftesbury: "What! does Ireland, the snake, which we have harboured in our bosom and warmed it then when it could scarce live, think to give law to England? To give money to make the King independent of his people, to raise an army if they be so powerful! It's time for England to look about them, to make it a province; and for the grants of Ireland contrary to the intents of the declaration, and which has swallowed the satisfaction of Protestant adventurers, and soldiers, they will vote them null and void, and make a law also to that purpose. Lord Strafford thought to have saved his neck by sheltering it under the law there, that a law did this, and by a law that was done; but the Parliament here knew very well how laws in subordinate governments are compassed; and how also Privy Councillors are made there too, who transmit the Bills." This Sir William Cooper told me, so I do judge some letters came out of Ireland to that effect, or else somebody well knowing in the affairs of Ireland was with my Lord Shaftesbury to inform him of all matters, for he has the names of all the Council that were for and against the Bills there, and also the measures of their understandings and capacities with their estates, substance and dependencies on the King; of all this for your life speak not one word. He also told me that Strafford was a ——— and lost his head too, and he did not question but to see those who thought to bring England under the same tyranny my Lord of Strafford did to have the same fate. My Lord, till you assure me you have burnt or destroyed all my letters, I dare not write any more to you, for we live in dangerous times. Pray let me except my Lord Lieut. see my letters.

[*Endorsed*: "Mr. Netterville's letter received the 19th July, 1680."]

ORMOND TO EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, July 20.—In one of Mr. Netterville's he tells you the East India ships are arrived, which I wish may hasten your journey that you may be upon the place before the Bills be

returned or wholly laid aside, that you may expedite your own affairs and return to us before the ill weather we are to expect about Michaelmas. Your lordship will observe your correspondent continues the freedom of his style, exalts the powerfulness of the Farmers, their magnanimity, their desperate intentions, and that with all this he would terrify me to a very humble compliance with them. Your lordship will further observe that my Lord Lanesborough, Cary Dillon and Ellis are added to the number of my Governors, and it is not his least mistake that he allows Ellis six horses to his coach, whereas I doubt he has but four and erects a chariot to the dignity of a coach. I could not imagine how Cary Dillon came to be a Governor till I remembered I had the ill fortune to be a small obstruction to his pretensions: after all he is damnably afraid his intelligence should come to be confronted and therefore repeats his conjurations of secrecy so often, yet after all this he is not to be angered, for as the hot weather is or may be, the most despicable insects may be troublesome, and so much for your correspondent. I am in good hope that some time next week I may be at Kilkenny, and if you resolve for England sooner than you intended, you will do best in case of your sudden going to leave my daughter at Kilkenny, or to bring her hither and leave her to my conduct.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, July 24, London.—I am very sorry to be one of those that give your Grace an account of my Lord Ossory's indisposition, and that he hath at present an intermitting fever, which hath been upon him these five or six days, but it is hoped he is something better than he hath been at the beginning of his distemper.

The last Council day was read a letter from Murphy to Hetherington, in which he complained that Oliver Plunket's trial was to be at Dundalk, which would be a great discouragement to himself and several others who would be evidence against him, which occasioned the letter from the Board to your Grace and Council recommending the having the said Oliver Plunket tried at the King's Bench at Dublin only. A commission was likewise then ordered to be issued forth empowering the Admiralty to give commissions of reprisal to such merchants who trading to the straits should desire the same against the Algerines, as likewise another commission to empower two officers of the Navy Board to impress artificers and workmen for the King's ships now building and repairing in the yards, according to a former precedent in the 16th year of His Majesty's reign upon the request of the Admiralty. The poll for the sheriffs of London is ended since Thursday last, but the present sheriffs have taken time till Sunday next to declare who is chosen by the majority, but it is agreed by all that Cornish and Bethell have the greatest numbers.

The Earl of Oxford is returned from Dunkirk with a present to the value of nine hundred pounds. The Earl of Carlisle is upon his voyage hither from Jamaica.

The Irish Bills remain still in the Attorney General's hands, and have not yet been read by the Board.

DENNY MUSCHAMP to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680, July 24, London.—This town has been more alarmed at the apprehensions of my Lord Ossory's sickness than at the loss of Tangier. Yesterday I spent my whole time running to the several coffee houses, where, greatly to my satisfaction, it was the whole discourse amongst the rankest and most accursed Presbyterians the great loss that this nation would have in the loss of my Lord Ossory. It's really hard to relate with what hearty affection all people speak of him. God be praised, he is very much better this afternoon than he was last night. The not operation of the Jesuit's powder which he took yesterday did much to frighten us, but now he is pretty well and his fever abates as well as his drowsiness, and by the next post I hope to tell you he is well. [Extract forwarded to Ormond.]

ORMOND to EARL OF CORK.

1680, July 24, Dublin.—I have proposed to myself to be at Kilkenny the last of this month, foreseeing nothing that is like to disappoint my purpose; yet as the times are it is possible a packet out of England may do it. There are two at the waterside, besides Sir James Shaen and his brethren, but if they should bring me business they may, if they think it worth the pains, follow me. My Lord of Ranelagh has brought his accounts to a balance, which I am told will weigh heavy on him and his partners. Yet I will bear him witness it has not been for want of ability or industry, and I am confident all that are engaged with him put together could not have come off so well without him. The intimation I give your lordship of my intended journey should have been as far as Lismore, but that I am not in any degree so much master of my time as I am with all reality, &c.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, July 27, Arlington House.—The last carried your Grace the ill news of my Lord of Ossory's sickness, since when we have suffered sharp alarm by the increase of it; but this day, God be thanked, all symptoms are much more favourable, of which your Grace receives a particular account under the physicians' hands, wherein yet I cannot forbear saying to you that they speak yet more hopefully than they have written. It ought somewhat to alleviate your Grace's grief to know how this whole town of all sorts are concerned for my lord your son's recovery, and I hope in God their good wishes will yet keep him among us. But let him recover never so fast

it cannot possibly be so fast as to enable him to make the expedition for Tangier, which, when he is well enough to understand, will be of no small satisfaction to him, for never man was put upon a thing so against his mind, as being of so hazardous an event in point of reputation (as he thought and not without reason). It exercises everybody's guesses who will be now named to the command, it being concluded impossible to find another so fit for it. I leave it to others to tell your Grace what report my Lord of Mulgrave brings from Tangier, my time having been wholly taken up in looking after your son. I opened yesterday his letters from Ireland, and amongst them that your Grace sent with copies of what correspondence is held betwixt the Bishop and Col. Mansel. All I could do with them was to read them directly to His Majesty, which I immediately did, desiring him to send you by this post his directions upon them. I have nothing to add but to pray God the next may carry your Grace better news of this your great concernment. I could not omit inclosing herein the letter I receive just now from Windsor that your Grace may see to what degree the King and Queen are concerned for my Lord of Ossory. [Encloses the following letter.]

RICHARD COLINGE to EARL OF ARLINGTON.

1680, July 27, two of the clock, Windsor Castle.—All this morning His Majesty was very inquisitive and impatient to hear how my Lord Ossory did, and as soon as your lordship's came to my hands, which was about one of the clock, I showed it His Majesty at dinner. He was very much satisfied with the account your lordship hath given, and desires by all means that the physicians may continue giving the drops and in a great quantity, to try the utmost that can be done, since there seems to be some good symptoms from what hath been given already. His Majesty desires he may hear often how he does, and is pleased to express a great sorrow, and that he shall have the greatest loss, and cannot speak of him but with great concern, and sometimes with tears in his eyes. The Queen hath wept often, and is very sad, and so is the whole Court—a place seldom generally concerned for any one. The Earl of Rochester is dead, of which His Majesty had notice last night. Dr. Dickinson is of opinion the drops should be continued and given to four score or a hundred drops. God preserve your lordship and yours in this time of danger, where the symptoms are so malignant.

REPORT of PHYSICIANS ATTENDING LORD OSSORY to EARL OF ARLINGTON.

1680, July 28.—Since our last my lord's fever hath increased much, with great signs of malignity, particularly a great fainting fit, and an eruption of spots all over his body. He hath been delirious these three days, and his water like small beer, and hitherto he hath had no sweats neither could

they conveniently be forced by reason of the great burning heat of his head, which hath accompanied his fever. This afternoon his delirium hath somewhat abated, and his pulse keeps up tolerably well, which gives us some hopes. We have treated him with remedies suitable to his condition and shall continue our care and diligence as becomes those who are sensible of the great quality and worth of his person.

[Signed] THO. WITHERLEY, W. NEEDHAM, TH. SYDENHAM,
FERD. MENDAS, RICHD. LOWER.

MR. MULYS to [HENRY GASCOIGNE.]

1680, July 28.—On the 25th I sent you a diary of my lord's condition from the time that his fever seized him to 10 that night, and did hope this post might have afforded more comfort. But our troubles and frights have ever since increased as his disease hath heightened. Saturday night and Sunday morning he was very restless, and tho' I called to the assistance of the physicians formerly mentioned to you, Dr. Walter Needham (Sir Charles Scarborough and Dr. Dickinson being at Windsor attending the Duchess' daughter, the Lady Isabella, ill of convulsions) and Dr. Sydenham, we could not find that his lordship found any relief from anything that they have prescribed from the beginning. On Sunday night his fever returned and kept him raving till 8 the next morning. Sunday in the forenoon I besought my Lord Arlington that I might get a Divine to him whilst his understanding remained, and accordingly I fetched Dr. Lloyd, the Bishop of St. Asaph elect, and about 4 that afternoon they were private above an hour to the very great satisfaction of both. It was then resolved that on the morrow morning his lordship should receive the Sacrament, and accordingly I prepared to receive with him, and the Bishop came about 7 of the clock, but finding his lordship in a delirium he sat by the bed to watch an interval to speak to him, when all of a sudden his lordship rose up in his bed to get out of it, and upon laying him down again a swownding fit seized him, and for about an hour we all gave him for dead; at last the spirit of hartshorn applied to his nostrils, cordials, rubbing with warm cloths, &c., it pleased God he revived. The physicians agreed to let him blood, finding on his hands, arms, and breast indications for it, and accordingly eight ounces were taken from his left arm, after which the spirits returned into his eyes, and we began to have new hopes. In the afternoon he was restored to his understanding and our joy doubled. In the evening they bled him again in the foot, hoping to draw it from his head, but about 11 at night his fit grew strong upon him, and we expected every minute he would expire. The Queen's physician, Dr. Mendas, watched with him. The night was very bad, as can be imagined. This morning he dozes, and to deal plainly with you, I do not expect he can outlive it, though while he has life there is hopes. Dr. Lower tells me they have

but one good sign, viz., his pulse keeps up ; a great many bad ones appear, as fits spots, though they put out but faintly ; moisture about his tongue, his teeth furred : his water now casts white, which they apprehend, for that thick cloud and muddiness which was wont to be in it and stained the glass does now offend the head and the brain, to disperse which and make room for the spirits they put twenty drops of Godderd's drops into his beer, or other draughts, and have this day laid pigeons to the soles of his feet. At 5 this evening the physicians have a council and agree what further method to use ; I have got them to write to his Grace an account of my lord's present state, a copy of which my Lord Chamberlain sends this night to the King. Perhaps this account may not agree with what you may receive from other hands. I desire no use may be made of it to afflict their Graces or confront those better accounts you may have from better hands, and that I may find pardon for telling this truth.

My Lord Mulgrave is returned to Windsor, and 'tis said in much grace ; people about the town say he hath kissed the King's hands for the Government of Ireland, but I do not believe it. Yesterday I received your letters of the 20th. Mr. Netterville prays you to forward the passing of his patent.

Postscript.—Several polls declared. 20 July, '80.

Bethell.	Cornish.	Box.	Nicholson.
2274	.. 2481	.. 1428	.. 1229

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, July 28, Dublin.—This will contain little more than my letter to the King, which I desire you would deliver upon the first opportunity after you have received it. I have your short letter of the 17th inst. The twelve Scotch companies sailed from Kinsale the 15th or 16th of this month. We may hope they may be there now or in a few days. The commanded men to recruit the last five companies of that regiment and the commanded horse are drawing to the rendezvous about Cork, and I suppose the Farmers of the Revenue are preparing provisions for their transportation. The freight of ships for that voyage is extravagantly dear here, as you will find by Ja. Clarke and Sir Richard Rooth. My Lord of Ranelagh's accounts being brought so far towards a conclusion as that there remains nothing more for me to do, I go to-morrow towards Kilkenny, where I shall be more ready than here to supply any defect that may be in the sending the men to Tangier. My Lord of Ranelagh has brought in a very civil appeal from the proceedings of the Council and the Commissioners of his Accounts in several particulars. The appeal is partly to the King and partly to the law. Our informer of the Presbyterian Scottish plot is very large in his information and very particular. There is a very ill character

given of him, and I believe him to be a man of no excellent morals, but such are most of these we have had to do withal on such occasions. Yours at Kilkenny are well. I hope to hear as much from Knowsley.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, July 29, Whitehall.—The two despatches from your Grace and His Majesty's Privy Council there, bearing date the 16th current were this day, by His Majesty's special command, read before my Lords the Committee of the Council here for the affairs of Ireland. Their lordships were pleased to command me to let your Grace know they are very sensible of your Grace's great care in this affair, and to desire your Grace to continue your endeavours to apprehend and secure the three unknown persons that landed at Cork, and to inform yourself whether the Lord Bishop of Waterford hath any correspondence with or knowledge of James Hackett *alias* Hara the Jacobin, mentioned in some of the papers sent over by your Grace in that despatch which related to Hackett and Macarty. The other despatch relating to Johnston, together with the papers belonging to it, was by order of my Lords transmitted to his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale, This was all I had in command.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to [EARL OF ARRAN.]

1680, July 30, London.—Woe is me that I can acquaint your lordship with the death of my brave Lord of Ossory; his sickness occasioned my silence hitherto, still hoping to be rather the messenger of good than bad news; but he is gone to rest and has left the generality of mankind in tears and trouble; I cannot write to my Lord Lieutenant, knowing his grief must be insupportable for the like loss was never made. The narrative of all you will have from my Lord Arlington, whom I left just now in tears writing to my Lord Lieutenant. God comfort you all.

I have much to write to his Grace, but truly I am so confounded that I must be silent; only the King is seemingly convinced of the necessity of a Parliament in Ireland, and so is most of the Council with whom I have spoken; by my next his Grace shall have a full account of what may be expected. The King is out of town, but expected here on Tuesday; then they speak of falling to work about our Irish affairs. Your lordship will excuse me to my Lord Lieutenant. Be pleased to honour me with your commands, for truly I am, &c.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1680, July 31, Oxford.—We are here under the consternation which the loss of my Lord Ossory brings with it. But although your Excellency's share therein be infinitely the greatest

yet is your courage and constancy in the same proportion superior to that of others ; and with the same firmness of mind wherewith you have borne all past calamities you will also bear this last and severest stroke. I earnestly beseech Almighty God who has sent this severest trial to support your Excellency under it, and give you comforts answerable to your afflictions. The occasion of my writing at so unfit a season is that with the notice of my Lord's death, my Lord Chamberlain sends to me that your grandson should immediately come to London. I have written back to his lordship that within the compass of fourteen days an answer may be expected from Ireland, which I conceive, considering the retirement which is decent in the present occasion, will be as soon as it can be needful for my young Lord to appear in London. And therefore I have begged of him that I may be permitted to receive your Excellency's directions and commands.

SAME to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680. July 31.—I know not with what words to bespeak you in the present amazing calamity. It has pleased Almighty God to take from you the light of your eyes, and comfort of your life, your most worthy son, and in that stroke made whole nations mourners. With you the wound is so deep that it could not be borne but by a courage and virtue as great as the occasion, and only the mother of the Earl of Ossory can be able to support the Earl of Ossory's loss. Most honoured Madam, this is the season when you are to call together all the aids of reason and religion. Your best, your dearest, your most worthy son is taken from you ; but he is taken by a gracious God, is taken from the miseries of a vile sinful world, and received to the rewards and joys of heaven. He is now at ease, free from the languishments of sickness and scorchings of his fever, is above the malice and designs of naughty men, and secure from the temptations of the world, the devil and the flesh, and could you now be so cruel to wish him now again engaged in all the miseries of life, and yourself to be put in the possibility of having all your griefs renewed again upon you ? No, madam : Almighty God knows what was best for your most worthy son, and he has done it. From the prospect of what is taken from you it will become you to divert on what is left behind. Whatever comforts are removed will, I hope, be supplied in my Lord James unto you ; and no kindness can be so great unto the father as that which you desire unto the son. My Lord Arlington has now written to me that my Lord should come to town. I do not understand the expedience of the counsel, and know that place has not been thought by your Grace to be the best for my Lord's abode. I have represented to my Lord Arlington my apprehensions that it cannot be of use to my lord to be now in town, where it will be indecent

for him to appear at present, and that within the compass of a fortnight we may expect my Lord Duke's and your Grace's direction, without which I must be very unwilling to make any step in the disposal of my Lord who was entrusted to me. Whether my Lord Chamberlain will over-rate me herein I know not, but hope he will be content to respite things till your pleasure can be known. I have only to add my heartiest prayers to Almighty God that as he has laid the severest affliction on you, so he would give patience and strength to support it.

DUKE OF YORK to ORMOND.

1680, July 31, Windsor.—I am sure you will easily believe me when I tell you that nobody is more sensibly troubled than I at the death of the Lord Ossory. It is not only a very great loss for you and all his family, but to the King and indeed the whole nation, and more particularly to me to whom he was so true a friend. I could say much more upon this subject, and pray to God to give you patience to bear this as a good Christian, and be assured you shall always find me a true friend to you and yours, which I am sure you deserve from all our family.

JAMES.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, July 31. Whitehall.—It is with a most unfeigned deep sadness that I humbly take leave to break in upon your Grace with these few condoling lines for my most honoured Lord the Earl of Ossory. He was a person that no eulogy of mine is able to reach. He was the glory of the King's subjects. This appeared eminently by the love he had won himself at home, and by the respect he met with abroad. And which is yet more than all this he was a hero, I may say, in Christianity eminent, and (as great men cannot but be) an honour to the communion he was of. God Almighty had disposed him excellently for this change. The Dean of Bangor, who assisted him all along, told it me just now with tears in his eyes. My lord, when the King hath asked him of your Grace, you have not grudged to part with him, though to the most certain dangers. We have therefore no reason to doubt but that you do resign yourself now that Almighty God hath taken him to Himself, and that you do bow to and adore that Providence, which that it may multiply comforts and blessings upon your Grace and all your illustrious family is my most hearty poor prayer.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, July 31. Arlington House.—My last gave your Excellency some hopes of my lord your son's recovery, and the next day after those hopes were strengthened by the concurrent opinion of all the physicians, but we at length were undeceived on Friday. At a quarter past seven in the

evening it pleased God to take him from us, to whose will we resign ourselves, as I hope your Excellency will do, and in so extraordinary occasion fortify your Christianity with your prudence and experience of the vanity of this world, which we take more pains than we ought to render pleasant and acceptable to us, and value ourselves upon possessions which in a moment we may lose.

His disease was so strong in his head (being a high malignant fever) that he had but few intervals free from the delirium that troubled him more or less all his sickness, which Dr. floide* with much care and prudence made use of for the composing his mind and to render him capable of receiving and doing other acts of a good Christian. In the middle of his sickness he spoke of making a will, but finding him so ill I diverted him from it in the presence of some of his servants by telling him the circumstances in which he was did not make that so necessary for him as another man : for, said I, my lord, I think you have nothing of that nature to do but to recommend your wife and children to your father, and to him likewise the payment of your debts and gratification of your servants, and this, if you choose, I will do in your name ; which he seemed very well to accept of, and never more mentioned it ; and I the rather humoured this way with him, because in the times he hath heretofore put himself into any extraordinary actions at sea or land he used to leave a short paper to me which contained the same things in effect, and particularly beseeching your Excellency to increase his wife's jointure, which I knew not whether she were ever acquainted with but now ; and then too I ever told him the afore-mentioned points would be over secured by your Excellency's generosity.

I have caused his body to be prepared to be laid into a vault in Westminster Abbey, that it may be in a condition of being buried hereafter here or carried to Sussex or Kilkenny as your Excellency shall think fit to direct. What I have further ordered concerning his affairs you will find in a memorandum I have put into Mr. Mulys's hands to receive your orders thereupon. In the meantime I have presumed to send to the Bishop to let my Lord James come hither to show him to the world whilst they are so in love with his father's memory and lament to such an excess the loss of him that it would look like flattery if I should tell your Excellency but half the truth herein. I cannot end this letter without adding that I never saw a better set of orderly, affectionate and deserving servants, who have sufficiently shown it in his sickness, each of which I have promised to recommend to your Excellency as any occasion offers for their preferment and advantage.

And thus I will dismiss your Excellency for the present, and myself too from this displeasing theme, reserving myself to compliment my Lady Duchess and Lady of Ossory upon it

* The Bishop of St. Asaph.

(as my wife does also) until we have better recollected ourselves upon a matter of so hard a digestion, and in the meantime only offering myself to obey all the commands your Excellency shall be pleased to lay upon me in this or any other occasion. The bearer is a very ancient faithful servant, St. Paul, who in pure obedience submits himself to be the bearer of this unhappy news.

RICHARD MULYS to [CAPT. GEORGE MATHEW.]

1680, July 31.—This afternoon your letter of 25 was received an hour before that I sent by Mr. St. Paul, who goes express to his Grace, a further account of my lord's sickness to the time he expired. I presume St. Paul and this letter may arrive together; to him I refer you for further account of all things, it being too sad a strain for me at this time, my heart being deeply wounded for the loss of the very best and bravest man in the world. All your enclosed letters are according as you directed. I will observe his Grace's commands touching my Lady Delvin, and obey him in all things as my Prince. It is many things that cumber me at this time, wherefore I must be in the comptroller's debt till the next post.

RICHARD MULYS to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1680, July 31. Sat. 3 a'clock.—On Wednesday night last my Lord's condition altered so much for the better that we all had hopes of him. But in the night when the burning fit came upon him he raved much of Tangier, posting his men, attacking, retrenching and defending, then sighing heavily as in despair, more bewailing the loss of his people's lives than his own; on Thursday he grew very bad, the Sacrament was administered to him, in taking whereof he seemed very sensible. That night he fell speechless about 5 o'clock, although he had a medicine in his body the good effects whereof the physicians did expect in twenty-four hours. And that was the principal reason why they would not admit a quack who tendered himself with a powder, and if the physicians would give leave he undertook to do wonders. But he was an idle man. He lay gasping till about a quarter after 7: at which time he expired. This morning the body was opened, and enclosed you have an account how the physicians found it. The body is to be embalmed and laid in a leaden coffin in some vault in Westminster Abbey until his Grace's pleasure be known. My young Lord Ossory I sent an express for last night by my Lord Chamberlain's orders.

PHYSICIANS' ACCOUNT OF LORD OSSORY'S ILLNESS, AND POST MORTEM EXAMINATION.

1680, July 31.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Ossory being seized of a fever with a latent malignity which did not appear

for six or seven days, did on the ninth day fall into a fainting fit, after which time he continued phrenetical with many other malignant symptoms. He died on the thirteenth day. His body being opened, the brain was found very full of blood and water, insomuch that the white part of it was discoloured ; his lungs was very black upon the settling of the blood, but they and all the entrails were sound. The stomach and guts were puffed very much with wind, which occasioned the swelling of his belly some days before he died.

THO. WITHERLEY, FERD. MENDAS, WALTER NEEDHAM,
EDW. WARNER, RICH. LOWER.

EARL OF RANELAGH'S APPEAL to COMMISSIONERS OF FARMERS' ACCOUNTS,

1680, July 31,—We have perused the general account of your undertaking as drawn up and engrossed by the auditor, which consists of two parts. In the first part we find ourselves charged with six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, payable to the Earl of Arlington, whereas we humbly conceive we were not obliged by our covenants to pay his lordship any more than what remained unpaid to him of his grant of ten thousand pounds, which then was but five thousand pounds and no more. So that we look upon ourselves as charged with one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds more than we ought to be, and therefore in this particular we do with great submission to your lordships desire the judgment of the law upon our covenant in a legal way. As to the rest of the charge in the first part we make no exceptions, nor to the discharge of it.

In the second part we find ourselves charged with ten thousand pounds as due to His Majesty, he having paid that sum to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, which your lordships are pleased to say we ought to have paid. To this sum we humbly conceive we are no ways liable, it being not so much as mentioned among the sums by us undertaken, and we cannot find any clause in our contract which makes us liable to be charged by inferences or constructions, and therefore in this particular we do with great submission appeal to the law, being advised that your lordships as commissioners of our accounts are judges of our payments and of the vouchers relating thereunto, but not of our covenants, which, if disputable, are to have a legal determination, which therefore we humbly desire they may have, and in the meantime we do with much respect to your lordships declare that we can by no means submit to or allow of this charge.

We also find ourselves charged with the sum of twelve thousand nine hundred and three pounds one shilling, so much having been allowed us in the several accounts of our undertaking passed by the Earl of Essex and the former Commissioners of our accounts for the salaries paid by the late Farmers to

the then Commissioners for government and management of His Majesty's revenue. To this charge we can by no means submit, an allowance for those salaries having been so often and so solemnly adjudged to us both in England and Ireland, and that under some of your lordships' hands; and besides we are advised that no allowance granted us by the former Commission of our accounts (which had a particular clause empowering the Commissioners to make us allowances) can properly be questioned much less disallowed by the present Commission, in which we can find no power granted either to make us new allowances or to surcharge us with allowances formerly made us, and therefore with great respect and submission to your lordships we do in this particular humbly appeal to His Majesty's justice, and again declare we can by no ways submit to this charge.

We also find ourselves charged with ten thousand one hundred and twenty-two pounds ninepence halfpenny for assignments yet unpaid, and with seven thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds three shillings eleven pence for deductions made in the treasury. Whether these sums be rightly computed we do not now examine. But we assure your lordships that now that the process hath liberty to go abroad we will take a particular care to see them paid and will not desire a discharge as to our undertaking till they are satisfied. Having said this we must beg your lordships' leave to say further that we humbly conceive those two sums ought not to be brought into the charge of this second part of our accounts, they being not money we owe His Majesty but our private debt, for which if not paid the subject hath his action against us and very good security to answer his demands; therefore with great respect to your lordships we do not submit to have these charged in this account.

We also find ourselves charged with four thousand five hundred seventy-one pounds five shillings and one penny to make good compositions alleged to be made by some employed by us, to which we cannot submit. For whether we have broken our covenant in that particular and what penalty we are liable to upon such breach, are questions as we humbly conceive to be determined at law, and thither with respect to your lordships we humbly appeal, only observing that the article which chargeth us with this sum doth not take any notice that the officers of the regiment besides the money paid to them had upon their own desires signified under their hands exchequer acquittances given them for as many debts of record due to us as completed their full pay.

From the foregoing exceptions your lordships will please to observe that we humbly conceive ourselves charged with forty-six thousand five hundred sixty-three pounds ten shillings eleven pence more than we ought to be. But what we have now to offer to your lordships is an exception of another kind, and which accountants seldom make, for it will

complain to your Lordships that we are not charged with twenty-four thousand pounds, which His Majesty was pleased to furnish us with by way of imprest, of which no notice is taken by your lordships but by way of memorandum after the closing of the account. Whereas we humbly conceive and are advised that the same ought to have continued as a long time it did, part of the charge of our account, both because the King's letter which directs the impresting of that sum to us declares that it was for the use of our undertaking (viz.) to enable us to clear December pay, 1675, to which it was accordingly applied as by our accounts for that quarter signed by your lordships doth appear, and because the condition of the bond which we entered into before the receiving of that sum wholly relates to such just demands as should appear to arise to us from our contract.

As to the discharge of this second part of our account we must likewise beg your lordships leave to except to it. What we have to say thereupon is that we humbly conceive and are advised that all accountants have a right to apply their allowances to what part of their charge they please, that your lordships have thought fit within these few days not only to turn the twenty-four thousand pounds impressed to us out of the charge of our accounts when it was lodged for two years and more without having any objection made to it, and where we humbly conceive for the reasons mentioned in the preceding article it ought still to have continued. But your lordships have been pleased to refuse at the same time our humble and repeated desires for leave to withdraw out of our accounts before signed or closed as many allowances formerly granted to us as should amount to that sum, and your lordships have brought into our account against our will the allowances lately given us by my Lord Lieutenant and Council, by which means those allowances and demands which we always designed to apply to the satisfying of the condition of our said bond, and not only kept and brought into the account against our wills, but also notwithstanding the accountant's right of application are by your lordships applied without our consent to those imaginary charges to which we have herein before excepted, and therefore with great respect to your lordships we do enter our absolute dissent to all this proceeding humbly appealing herein to His Majesty's justice.

The foregoing exceptions are what we are at present able to make, having had so short a perusal of the account and these we do humbly offer to your lordships this 31st of July, 1680.

[Signed.]

RANELAGH.

JOHN STEPNEY.

*Copia vera ex
p. Ri. Chapell dept. Audr.*

HENRY GASCOIGNE to ORMOND.

1680, July 31. Dublin.—I have inquired, and find the post office fixt with the Farmers, with whom I have no friend at present, nor can I learn their names as yet whereby to make friendship in the office. I have waited on my Lord Primate on this matter, who has not directed me being, I conceive, at as great a loss, but thinks by the time he returns I may find out some means for continuing the discovery, tho' it be not advisable to meddle with it yet for 2 or 3 posts : if it be now urged, perhaps the person to be made acquainted with it may be discharged, or rather so unacquainted with the method that he may find himself necessitated to make use of those formerly employed ; if he holds it, my Lord P. thinks he it too much a creature of Sir James Shaen to be true to your Grace. However I have found by them—the Farmers—that the packet when it comes in is to be kept till I shall have discharged it, within an hour : I can on this power only receive your Grace's, and send them to you, for if I should pretend to take up any other, an officer (whom I dare not trust) of theirs will be by, and tho' I should cull out one or more, the craft will be how to get that when made use of into it again ; and without such help as I had before, or the like of it, I shall not be able to go on with it ; and finding that neither my Lord Primate or my Lord Lanesborough can put me on a better or securer project or design for it, I humbly acquaint you with what I have done, and wait your Grace's further commands. I am by directions from my Lord of Longford preparing a cypher betwixt his lordship and your Grace.

I have presumed to send Will Somers to Kilkenny to attend your Grace on any occasion you may have in my behalf while I am here.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, August 2. Enfield Chase.—I never had so little satisfaction in performing any duty I owed your Grace as I have in this of condoling with you for the death of my dear Lord of Ossory. When I consider by how many infinite circumstances your Grace hath lost more in him than I by my own disturbance, I cannot but guess how great a disquiet this sad accident must bring to you and his highest relations. To tell you how much he is generally lamented here were but to mind you the more of the value of what you have lost, and consequently in no way a diminution to your sorrow ; but thus much I must say. It is a very strange thing in so very bad an age to see so good a man lamented by so many of all sorts.

The only way of comfort I can present to you is to have recourse to your own great experience of the uncertainty of all worldly things, and consult your own virtue and practice how they have been and are to be borne. I pray God this be not a prelude to greater and more universal tragedies,

and that the Earl of Ossory appear not to have been taken away from such evil days as no man could wish a friend to live in. I beseech God to recompense this loss to your Grace in some eminent marks of his favour and protection to yourself and family, and all that are left of that worthy Lord. I beseech the presenting of my humble services and sorrow to my Lady Duchess and to the afflicted widow, whose sorrow will require the utmost courage of your Grace to comfort. I pray God bless you and all yours to whom none is more entirely devoted than, etc.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1680, August 2. Dublin.—I am extremely ashamed to find among my papers a letter of yours of an ancient date unanswered. It is that wherein you mention a house in your neighbourhood that was to be had, and proposed my son Ossory's seeing it; at the same time came such alarms and so very unsuitable commands to me, that for some days I laid aside all thoughts but those of applying myself to perform my duty and prepare for another kind of life than that I had figured to myself and is still in my wish more than in my hope. The heat of the alarms have not since abated, but seem to me to be come to such a height as it is not possible they can long stay at, and our condition looks to me much like that I was once in near Havre de Grace: there was not water enough to let the vessel I was in into the harbour, and the storm was too fierce to let her live without. God give the same issue to the difficulties we labour under. Just now letters of the 24th bring me notice of my son Ossory's sickness, so that I must ask you leave to refer you to my Lord Longford for all things relating to this place.

LORD CAVENDISH to the DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680, August 3.—I had always so high an esteem and value for my Lord your son, that my affliction can hardly yield to any but that of your Grace and my Lord Duke, and therefore if anything could be said to moderate your grief upon so sad an occasion, I were very unfit to offer it. Only I presume as an eye-witness to acquaint you that never any loss had more sharers in it, nor was more universally lamented, and I should think the more immediately your Grace is concerned in it the more comfort you ought to receive from the great character my Lord has left behind him. I am sure whatever can contribute to your Grace's supporting so great a loss is wished by none more than Madam, etc.

SAME to ORMOND.

1680, August 3.—If anything could be said to moderate your Grace's grief upon so just an occasion, I should not pretend to offer it, but only presume to observe that if

afflictions can be lessened by the sharers in them, your Grace's may, for never any loss was so generally lamented. The sense I have of it in my own particular is not to be expressed, having ever had the highest value and respect imaginable for my Lord your son, and therefore hope your Grace will pardon me if among a crowd of others I presume to assure you of the unspeakable concern of, etc.

LADY CAVENDISH to ORMOND.

1680, August 3. Knowsley.—Though I have upon this sad occasion a very sensible trouble of my own, I must confess it is no small addition to it the affliction it must be to your Lordship. I am so unhappy as not to be able to wait upon you now, though my desires for it is very great. I have sent this messenger to bring me an account of your health and my mother's, for which my prayers are never failing. I shall by all the actions of my life desire and endeavour to express as I ought to your Lordship the most affectionate duty imaginable.

SAME to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680, August 3. Knowsley.—My great sense not only in my own loss but the just grief and affliction it is to your Ladyship and my father is not easy for me to express. There is no consideration in the loss of so kind a brother but is very afflicting, though what I suffer upon your Ladyship's account I think is more to me : it would have been a great satisfaction to me if I could have waited upon you now, but it was impossible for me. I shall with much impatience expect the return of this bearer to have an account of your Ladyship's health and my father's, there being nothing of that concern to me, and for the long continuance of which my prayers shall be constant.

RICHARD MULYS to [HENRY GASCOIGNE.]

1680, August 3.—On Sunday morning about 1 or 2 we deposited my Lord's body in a vault in Westminster Abbey until his Grace's further pleasure be known. Pray deliver the enclosed to my Lord Duke. I expect my Lord James here this week ; by my Lord Chamberlain's directions tomorrow I send a coach and six horses and mournings for him.

There is one Mr. Lauze who served my Lord as Gentleman of the Horse, and for whom his Lordship had a kindness ; his care of my Lord in time of his sickness and his other merits hath disposed my Lord Chamberlain to recommend him to his Grace's favour for some military employment, being fitly qualified that way. And his Lordship desires you to move his Grace in it. Somebody hath told Mr. Lauze that a cornet's place is void in my Lord's troop.

SIR HANS HAMILTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 3.—So soon as I came home I sent for three or four of the Presbyterian Ministers who, I was confident, would deal freely with me in what I should say to them, and after some short discourse of the affairs of the Hill meetings in Scotland and of the influence that wild humour might have amongst the Presbyterians in this kingdom, and of the evil consequences it might be of to the Presbyterians here if it received the least countenance amongst any of that persuasion, they very freely and seriously protested that nothing was more abominable to them than the wicked and damnable principles those impious rabbles held, as being in the highest degree opposite to the laws of God and Nature. They also told me that they and the rest in this country had in their several congregations forewarned their hearers of the wickedness of those Hill-meeters and their principles, and that they would make it a great part of their business to prevent the people's being deluded by such wicked insinuations.

They also told me that they feared themselves to lie under the jealousies of the Government as persons not loyally principled to His Majesty and his laws, which they apprehend gives ground to believe several things represented to the Government against them—though mere mistakes or misinformations. And therefore they thought it might be convenient for them, four (being acquainted with the Lord Granard, and he now in England) to write a letter to his Lordship declaring their abhorrence of the transactions of the Hill-meeters, and of their rebellious principles, and that his lordship, if he shall think fit, may give His Majesty assurance of their sincere loyalty, which latter they have since writ to him, a copy whereof being sent to me, I have sent to your Grace by the bearer. They likewise told me and have so hinted in that letter that (if it will be approved of) they will in some short time (as soon as they can conveniently meet with others of their brethren) give a more full and ample testimony of their loyalty by an humble address to His Majesty, which they resolve to present to your Grace and (if by you approved of) beg your Grace's favour in transmitting it to His Majesty. To this I gave no other answer but that I would acquaint your Grace with it: and would let some of them know your Grace's pleasure in it. The bearer will acquaint your Grace what we hear more of Cameron's party than what I sent your Grace by my letter to Mr. Secretary Ellis. I do find that not above four Presbyterian Ministers went out of the counties of Down and Antrim to Scotland; how many went from Derry I know not.

SIR THOMAS WHARTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 6. Edlington.—I scarcely remember that ever I writ to your Grace in trouble before, nor should I now if

I did not more consider the public loss that the King and these kingdoms and myself in particular have had by the late death of your excellent son than anything as to himself by it ; for I verily believe by what I have heard myself that never any person died more generally regretted than that eminent man has done, and I can freely say that the death of my only grandson (not many weeks since) that I loved well, and had reason to do it, being the hopefulest youth of his age that ever I yet saw, went not nearer to me than this has done. But God's declared will must be submitted to and should be with cheerfulness, and as to this of my poor Lord Ossory's being taken away in the height of unblemished honour and esteem by all great and worthy persons (probably in these parts of the world) it may be as to himself and your Grace in the greatness of his memory in after story in ages a considerable blessing and advantage. For what might have been the success of that employment designed him nobody knows, and I think those that loved and honoured him most suspected and feared, considering all things in this juncture of time and wants, and then if anything had happened contrary to wishes and interest, probably the fault would have been laid upon the Commander-in-Chief though never so unreasonable and unjust. Now this is all at an end, and he is come without any gainsaying to a glorious period. I wish and heartily pray that neither your Grace's nor my Lady Duchess's natural affections may anyways prejudice your healths, but that you may both live cheerfully to very great old ages for more public good.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 6. Dublin.—When I received the honor of your Grace's by Captain Richbell, I immediately sent to my Lord Ranelagh to desire his assistance upon the matter of those two letters which your Grace sent me, for I much doubted that he would be gone to sea. My letter came to him very seasonably, for he told me since that had not my letter come as it did he had certainly gone to sea that night. We had yesterday and this day a meeting at the Council table, and the Farmers being sent for declined at present their insisting upon any other particular in those letters of the King and of the Lords Commissioners of the Revenue than that of their interest which hath been kept from them above those two years. Upon debate thereof we held it reasonable that they should be allowed to draw out their interest (which is 500*l. per mensem*) for the time to come, but we could not be of the opinion that they should draw out in moneys that which is already past, it being a considerable sum, and not to be spared until such time as their dues were satisfied according to their contract, there being a great sum in arrear upon them by Sir John Champante's computations, and the rather because they had deducted by license of the Lord Lieutenant and Council 36,000*l. per annum*.

which much exceeded their interest and was not included in their contract. They were not satisfied therewith, and we could not see how it could be agreeable to our own security to allow them more. Thus much is signified to your Grace by a joint letter from the Lords of the Committee by to-morrow's post, upon the return whereof from your Grace Mr. Solicitor is to prepare a full account for your Grace, which your Grace may make use of as far as you shall think in the return to the Lords Commissioners of the Revenue. This I write in discharge of what your Grace was pleased to command me in that particular. The packet is not yet come in, and I could almost wish that it would never come. I am to-morrow for Blessington, where I shall attend your Grace's commands. Upon Tuesday I am to be at Dublin to conclude our transmission of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts.

SAME to SAME.

1680, August 7. Blessington.—This evening brought hither the dismal certainty of my Lord of Ossory's death. Did I not believe the steadiness of your Grace's mind to be above all the incidents of this world, I should much fear that the loss of that most noble person might shake you to some distrust of that Providence which hath ever governed you through the great and various difficulties of all your life. But your Grace knows very well that whatever conjectures we make to ourselves upon outward affairs, and whatever aggravations we may create to our own infelicities by the review of circumstances, they are all fallible and deceptive. There is a God above which rules the world and who disposeth all things according to the pleasure of His own will, and for the advantage of those that dare rely upon Him; and especially of such who place their confidence in Him when their own imaginations cannot afford them the least prospect of any comfort. The good old patriarch when he lost (as he supposed) the son of his love by the fury of wild beasts, did not in the least foresee that this afflicting accident could in any way conduce to the preservation of himself or to the glory of his Maker, but your Grace knows what a great work God brought to pass by that sad and improbable medium. God hath His own secret ways in His proceedings, which are not visible to us, nor is He accountable to us for what He doth. He brought light out of darkness, good out of evil, and it is the top honour and glory of a Christian that he dares trust himself with God even at that time when He seems most bitterly his enemy. Pardon me, my Lord, that I presume to write thus to your Grace, who have ever showed yourself unto the world most eminently upon such occasions, to the great honour of that religion you profess, and have frequently withstood the shock of many desperate attempts against you, even when the life and fortune of yourself and of all yours have been at the stake. I cannot therefore be so vain as to think that your Grace, who have so great

and so good a spirit within yourself, can receive any vigour or support from anything that I can write upon this subject. It is only to put your Grace in remembrance of yourself to stir up those noble fires within you which this mighty affliction might labour to suppress or smother. The best man in the world is but a man still, while he is on this side of Heaven. Besides, my Lord, I am so great and so particular a sharer in the loss of that glorious person, that I am easily excusable while I write that to your Grace which I must endeavour to apply unto myself. He was my great patron and defender, the worthiest person and the best friend in the world; he was the terror of foreign nations and the glory of his own; he was indeed more than I dare speak or think upon this occasion, lest I wholly disappoint my present business and raise that tempest which I labour to allay.

Your Grace, I hope, will pardon me while I promise myself your leave to attend my Lady Duchess and my Lady Ossory upon this sad occasion. Really (my Lord) my heart bleeds within me when I consider their condition. The great God of Heaven and earth, that God which was never wanting to you in all your extremities, stand by you now and support you and yours under this heavy weight of pressing difficulties.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, August 7. Highnam.—From my very soul I condole with your Grace your irreparable loss—irreparable not only to your Grace but also to the King and kingdom, as well as myself. For no prince ever had a faithfuller servant or kingdom a braver champion, or so much an inferior so condescending a friend. I have of late signally tasted of his obligations, the relish whereof is still so fresh in my palate as to double my sense in this common calamity. But I will no longer harp on this harsh and unpleasant string, but for diversion's sake humbly offer to your Grace's consideration what follows, humbly craving as speedy a result as conveniently may be. Thus stands the state of the case. My Lord Poulett being dead hath left his uncle Fra. Poulett (who your Grace saw at Wells when you dined with that Bishop), Sir Jo. Sydenham, Sir Tho. Putt, Sir Tho. Carew, Mr. Strode and myself, his six executors and trustees of his whole estate; he hath also left two daughters by Col. Popham's daughter and a son and two daughters by this dowager (my Lord Pembroke's sister, and the whole estate (being within 200 of 5,000*l.* per an. and whereof 600*l.* per annum is old rent) thus settled; on his eldest daughter by his first wife, 10,000*l.*; on her sister, 6,000*l.*; and on the other two sisters, 4,000*l.* each; on his son his whole estate liable to these incumbrances, his son so marvellous infirm of the King's evil that his life is under great suspicion (unless his present ague helps to lengthen it); if he dies his own two sisters will but have their 4,000*l.* made up 6,000*l.*, the whole estate is to be divided between the two elder sisters (those

by Col. Popham's daughter), and the eldest of the two (much the healthier, much the handsomer, and much the more eligible) is to have besides her equal dividend of the rest of the estate, the house and furniture, demesne and manor, all the park at Henton, really worth 30,000*l.*, added to her share, and if her sister dies, the whole. Now if your Grace can approve of the certainty of 10,000*l.* with these contingencies, my little Lord Ossory hath the refusal of her. About other proposals the trustees will be divided; in this we all centre: and till I have your Grace's answer we have put an embargo on our young lady, who, I assure you, is a most deserving young woman, improved by their Henton breeding to a miracle. She is very comely, very well shaped, very ingenious, and above all of a most excellent disposition. I shall limit myself to this scantling of account till I receive further encouragement from your Grace to enlarge on this subject. Whether or no your Grace conceives this worthy your consideration, let it obtain both your Grace's answer to and pardon for him that would more readily engage in your Grace's service than in any subjects living. Be pleased to let your Grace's commands to me be directed to be left with Mr. Jackson, my Lord Devonshire's servant at Newport House, who will certainly convey them to me wherever I am.

RICHARD MULYS to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1680, August 7.—On Wednesday last I received yours of 29th of the last month, which takes notice of your receiving mine that day of 24th with the account of my Lord's sickness; how justly my fears were then grounded time hath since shown; and I cannot yet get off the resentment which makes a deeper impression in me than in the ordinary course of the world such relations as master and servant does admit of; but to say truth I had a love for his person even to an excess; and my happiness was wrapt up in his, which I can say without vanity (and have a cloud of witnesses to make it appear) that all the actions of my life since I had that honour to be concerned in his affairs hath been one continual instance thereof.

In my Lord Arlington's family one of the servants belonging to his Lordship's chamber (Mr. Clarke), an ingenious young man, and very affectionate in time of my Lord's sickness, diligent and handy about him, and frequently in watching. since his Lordship's decease the young man sickened of a fever and was delirious not unlike to my Lord; yesterday they gave him the Sacrament, and in the night he departed this life, which fills people with discourse as if his Lordship's disease were contagious. I bless God the rest of us that were constantly about his person night and day found no other ill than what an extreme grief for him hath occasioned.

I just now received your letter of 1st August—your several despatches are delivered, as is that also from Sir Cha. Fielding.

My young Lord is this evening arrived here in good health, and for corpulence and stature is far beyond what I did expect. As he passed by Stanhope House in a hired mourning coach and six horses, the coach happened to overturn in the dirt and break, but I thank God without any further mischief. My Lord Chamberlain told me that he would be in town from Windsor to-morrow or on Monday to accompany my young Lord to Windsor. Until he arrives we have little to do here, but to entertain my young Lord with chat and keep him out of company. I hope his Grace will suddenly give some directions about him.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, August 7. Dublin.—I have, in obedience to your Grace's commands, as well as my memory would serve me, put down in the enclosed paper the discourse your Grace desired me to make to my Lord Arlington, and I think I have come pretty near the matter. If your Grace please to add anything to it or to omit any part of it, your Grace's commands may overtake me by the next packet at my arrival in London. if your Grace's letter for me be directed to Mr. Notts, at the Queen's Arms, in the Pell Mell, stationer. I carry a copy of it with me, so that your Grace if you find no cause for alteration need not return the enclosed to me. My Lord Ranelagh went to sea the last night, and though I go on board this night I doubt not but to be at London before him. Captain Richbell and the Farmers are not satisfied with the resolution the Council have taken upon His Majesty's and the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury's letter in their favour. They think themselves under shackles till they are rid of Mr. Ryder, which they are not able to effect, unless your Grace will permit them to have their arrears of their interest money, which will amount to above 13,000*l*. And how such a sum can be spared in the present exigencies of His Majesty's Revenue, I cannot foresee. I find Captain Richbell intends to wait upon your Grace at Kilkenny, and hopes by laying before your Grace a clear state of their accounts with His Majesty to prevail with your Grace to condescend in easing him and his partners in this particular.

COUNTESS OF LONGFORD to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, August 10. Dublin.—I have sent Bland on purpose to enquire after my Lady Duchess and my sister Ossory's health. I should have given my Lady Duchess the trouble of a scroll from me, but my great concern for my brother will not permit me to write on so melancholy a subject. The omission thereof I hope you will excuse to her Grace. I am extremely concerned that La Her: is fallen ill of so troublesome a distemper, though it shall not in the least hinder me from waiting on my Lady Duchess if it might be convenient, being not at all afraid of that disease, and shall humbly beg your Lordship's advice both

as to going and the time when it might be most proper. My Lord set sail for England on Saturday night and landed on Sunday noon at Holyhead.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, August 10. London.—This day the Lords of the Committee for the affairs of Ireland met and took into consideration several of the Bills transmitted hither from under the great seal of Ireland. That of annexing the Phoenix Park to the Crown is agreed to with some amendments, viz.: the word "Imperial" before "Crown" is left out, and the last proviso is altered, all grants of His Majesty being declared to be void for any part of the said park since the 29th of May, 1660.

The Bill for enabling Archbishops, Bishops, etc., to let leases for three lives is totally rejected.

The Bill for imposition upon coals is referred to Mr. Solicitor General to consider whether it is convenient that goods of English growth should have an imposition laid upon them when imported into Ireland, as likewise to add a clause for the better accounting for the said moneys in case the purport of the Act is agreed to.

The Bill for hindering Papists to sit in either House of Parliament is referred to Mr. Solicitor General to make agree with the Act made in the Parliament 30th of His Majesty.

All the Bills of the Revenue are referred to Mr. Solicitor General to make report to the Board of his opinion thereupon. Mr. Attorney General being at present out of town was the occasion of these references to Mr. Solicitor.

A letter from your Grace and the Council of Ireland with the enclosed examinations of Nathaniel Johnson was likewise read and remitted to his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale to inquire farther into the matters contained therein. As likewise another letter dated the 28th July, concerning the trial of the Earl of Tyrone, but the examinations enclosed being very long, were ordered to be read the next Council day. Another letter from your Grace and Council concerning Mr. Alderman Bence was likewise read and referred to the Lords of the Treasury, who are to advise with the King's Counsel learned in the law of the best means to comply with the contents of the said letter.

SIR JAMES BUTLER to ORMOND.

1680, August 10. London.—Having been at Windsor this morning to wait on the King about some matters relating to the forests, etc., whereof I am Deputy Justice, His Majesty (after that affair was over) asked me some things concerning my Lord James's growth, etc., which, when I had answered, His Majesty said he did not know that he could have a greater loss than the death of his father. I told His Majesty it was reported abroad in the town that he intended speedily to remove your Grace from that Government. His Majesty answered

that he had heard of this rumour from others before, but that it was as false as anything in the world and that they were his enemies that reported it, that your Grace should not be removed by him till God removed you, and wished with all his heart that you had been 20 years younger, that no family ever served the Crown better, and that the worst your enemies could say was that you had had a great store of money since His Majesty's restoration. But His Majesty said that he knew you lost more and disbursed for his father and himself than you got. I replied what your Grace had from His Majesty's bounty you spent in his service and put none of it to use; he answered he knew you were no banker. Upon my acquainting the Duke with the same, he said none but a madman would imagine such a thing. This I thought was fit for me to acquaint your Grace with.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 11. Arlington House.—I have not made haste to add anything to the melancholy letter I sent your Grace by St. Paul. What passed betwixt His Majesty and myself when I gave him your Grace's letter (inclosed in one to your son) stands in the enclosed paper in cipher, wherein I have made use of Mr. Ellis's hand. Last night I came hither and found my Lord James here according to my desire to the Bishop of Oxford. To-morrow early I carry him to Windsor to kiss the King and Queen's hands, and with a purpose to keep him by me until I have your Grace's orders, which, I confess, I wish may be to put him into Monsieur Faubert's Academy here in London rather than to send him back to Oxford, where he makes but little progress in his books, being little addicted to it, and goes rather backwards in his manners according to the education of the colleges; in the mean he is accompanied with Monsieur Drelincourt to teach him within doors, and one Monsieur Lauze to follow him abroad—a good and discreet man who was his father's gentleman of the horse and hath desired me to recommend him to your Grace for some military employment in Ireland, he having served with credit in the French army as an officer, I think, of horse, and this is the only man we add to the equipage he had at Oxford. I expect your Grace's directions upon this, and what I sent by St. Paul, that I may apply myself to serve the best I can.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, August 13. Whitehall.—I durst not venture to give your Grace the trouble of a letter of mine at a time that you could not be but very much oppressed by the grief your great loss must have given—which was the occasion of my deferring for some days to let you know that no man is more sensible than I am of the misfortune you have, and the public, by my Lord of Ossory's death, who is most generally lamented by all men, and by none more than etc.

EARL OF FEVERSHAM to ORMOND.

1680, August 14. Windsor.—J'espère que vous me faites asses de justice pour estre persuadé de la sincere part que je preus a la perte que vous venes de faire, elle est trop generale et je puis dire trop particuliere pour moi pour n'en estre pas aussi touché qu'homme du monde, ayant perdu assurément, je puis dire, un des meilleurs amis que j'aye jamais eu, je ne vous importunerai pas plus longtemps sur un si triste subject, mais seulement pour vous supplier de me faire la grace de vouloir temoigner a madame la duchesse d'Ormond que si je ne me donne pas l'honneur de lui escrire sur une si malheureuse occasion que c'est par le respect que j'ay pour elle, et pour ne lui pas donner le chagrin de lire une lettre sur un tel subject quoi qu'assurement homme du monde ne participe plus sincerement a sa douleur que je ne fai, vous voules bien me pardonner la liberté que je preus, et me faire la justice de croire que j'ay trop d'obligations a toute vostre famille pour ne me pas interesser a tout ce qui la regarde et a vous mylord en particulier.*

SAME to ORMOND.

1680, August 14. Windsor.—Si je ne me suis point donné l'honneur de vous escrire plustost sur la perte que vous venes de faire, et permettes moi de vous dire que nous avons tous fait et moi en particulier, je vous supplie tres humblement de croire que je n'est point manque de respect, assurément my lord ni que je ny sois aussi sensible qu'homme du monde, car je serois le ingrat de tous les hommes si je ni prenois la part que je dois apres tant d'obligations que je vous ai mylord et a toute vostre famille lesquelles assurément je n'oublierai jamais et me tiendrois bien heureux si en ma vie je rencoutrois quelque occasion a vous pouvoir temoigner avec quelle sincerité et respect je suis et serai toute ma vie, etc.*

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 14. Sheen.—Though I am not of the first to condole with your Grace upon so sensible a loss as has lately befallen your family, yet I am sure your Grace will easily believe me one of those that take the truest part in it, as I shall ever do in whatever can arrive to you of good or of bad in the world. The true lenitives for such a wound must be found out and applied by your own piety and prudence and not expected from the compliments or reasonings of your friends, how good soever upon such an occasion. At least I will confess myself of all men the most unfit to make such attempts upon your Grace, having never been able to succeed in them upon myself after an incurable wound I received last year in the same kind and which I will hope I may live sometimes to forget but never to remember without the most sensible trouble and grief. And to say truth after the best offices I have

*The spelling of the original has been followed in this transcript.

performed to others upon such occasions, I find nothing of effect in any remedy but what may be extracted from the course of time which, like a natural opium, helps us to forget such pains as nothing else can allay.

I have been for nine or ten months past so much out of all thoughts of business and so engaged in little attendances of my health or journeys designed either for that or diversion, that I have not thought fit to give your Grace any trouble by my letters when I found they could be neither of use nor entertainment to you. But I have not failed to give my brother at times several notices that I thought concerned you in particular and might be necessary for you to know, and though my brother's modesty or tenderness of troubling your Grace may possibly have kept them from you, yet I do not know whether you are to thank him for it or no, and wish you could prevail with him to tell you the particulars that some have so much endeavoured to make use of to your Grace's prejudice, that so you may judge how to treat them, either by justifying yourself where there has been no occasion, or preventing any hereafter if there has, for no man can hope not to lie open in some part or other to a scrupulous or envious inquisition. I confess I was to other day surprised when for the first time I attended the Irish Committee to find such a scroll of exceptions endorsed upon all the Acts lately sent over that I could not but say to one of the Council, who gave them me to read, that I could not judge of the exceptions because I had not read the Acts, but if they were justly or fairly made, I thought the only thing the King had to do upon them was to change the Lord Lieutenant and the whole Privy Council of Ireland for transmitting over a parcel of Acts that could deserve such an arraignment. Three or four of the least moment were read over that day, but I know not whether any progress has been made further in them, nor am I apt to believe all things will be concerted towards the sitting of a Parliament there so soon as it seems your Grace had thought necessary for the affairs or wants of that kingdom. I know not whether the matter be great, because I am inclined to believe that the next session of Parliament here is like to determine one way or other the fate not only of this kingdom but of all our neighbours, whose posture cannot continue another year without some great change in the measures of Christendom, unless we should be in a condition of falling into them with another sort of weight than we have been of late or are at this time. For my own part I have for a good while esteemed myself wholly incapable of either advising or serving His Majesty in his affairs at home, and for that end had asked his leave four months since to make a journey this autumn into the southern parts of France for my health. But His Majesty and the Ministers about him have thought it fitter for me to make such a southern journey in some capacity of serving the Crown upon the measures they have lately

taken (too lately I fear) than to travel like a young gentleman at my age ; and so have for three months past pressed me very earnestly to charge myself with an Extraordinary Embassage into Spain, which I consented to about a fortnight since, and is now public. I am neither tempted by the dignity of it, though esteemed the greatest heretofore of that kind, and now greater by the King's present resolution to have no other Ambassador abroad (though several persons of so much better quality than I) nor by the fortunes which others have made in that station. Those circumstances are balanced enough by the risk a man runs of being undone if payments fail from Court, and for such distempers this is a very sickly time. That which encourages me is the strong opinion His Majesty has that I am capable of doing him more service in that Court and in pursuit of his present alliances with them than any man else. And on the other side the desire I have rather to hear of at a distance than to see the distractions of my country so fatal to our neighbours and I fear in time to ourselves, when I have no hopes of being able to do anything towards their remedy. I give your Grace this account of myself rather to divert than to inform you, and because I might end it with the assurance that in whatever places or stations my humour or my fortune may lead me, your Grace will ever be sure to find in them a most faithful and obedient humble servant.

RICHARD MULYS to CAPT. GEORGE MATHEW.

1680, August 14.—Yesterday I received yours of 8th, and am sorry St. Paul was detained so long on this side by contrary winds ; tho' ill news God knows flies apace ; and I believe nothing in this world could have been more unwelcome to Kilkenny. My Lord Longford, I hear, is arrived to town this day and lodges in Suffolk Street.

Everybody's expectation is strong and their discourse positive as if the Parliament should sit in October next. In order thereunto several things are doing for making it a happy sessions, and talk is of eight or ten pardons that are taking out ; some are so confident as to say the Duke withdraws into Flanders, and others will have my Lord Duke Lauderdale and Chief Justice Scroggs to go for their health sake into France, Lord Sunderland as Lord Lieutenant for Ireland ; and a great many other disposals of persons and places are made in ordinary discourse, which I for my part pass by as idle talk.

On Wednesday last at Windsor their counsels changed as to the affairs of Tangier. And letters of the 10th of the last month from thence, which, I saw, speaks of Muly Hamett's being come thither from the K of Fez with proposals for a peace.

On Wednesday last my Lord James was received by the King at Windsor with great expressions of kindness, and 'tis

said the Queen and Duke dropt a tear at the sight of him. I wish his Lordship were with you in Ireland, being of humble opinion that no course in the world could be more proper for him at present nor do him so much good. I cannot yet hear how my noble Lord's places and honours are bestowed; that which I resent most is that I find not one of them, neither in possession nor reversion, is like to be conferred on my young Lord.

Enclosed you have the King's letter for my Lady Delvin. The charges thereof I have put to his Grace's account as you directed.

We are here at a loss not knowing whether my Lord's title of Earl of Ossory were by creation, and consequently we know not how to stile our young Lord.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680, August 14.—My Lady the Countess of Clancarty came to us at a time when we were under the confusion which your's and the nation's invaluable loss lately occasioned. However, I have endeavoured to take such care for the settlement of my young Lord as I hope has given her Honor satisfaction. And I shall make it my study that she may never take up other apprehensions concerning the disposal of her great treasure than those she has entertained; nor retract her belief of the effect which your Excellency's commands have and ever shall have with me. I should fear that this representation might appear now unseasonably rude did I not know that no personal calamity can make your Excellence forgetful of the concernments of your friends.

As to what relates to the affair of your most hopeful grandson, I have already taken the liberty to give your Excellence an account of what has passed, and hope your commands will speedily arrive and put an end to the present uncertainties of counsels, which by no means tends to my young Lord's advantage. I beseech Almighty God to give your Excellence support and comfort in this great affliction which He has laid upon you, and convert your temporal crosses to the advantages of eternity.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, August 14. London.—This annexed Report from the Committee of Intelligence being put into my hand to be read the last Council, I according to order delivered it to my Lord President, but His Majesty not being present, the reading it was deferred till the next Council day, being Wednesday, at which His Majesty's presence is expected. It coming so into my hands and not yet read at the Board, I most humbly beg your Grace to keep it in your breast for the present, but it being of so particular concern to your Grace and some other of your friends and servants, I thought myself obliged by that duty and service which I shall always with the

greatest sincerity pay to your Grace to give your Grace this account and therewith to send the annexed copy of the said report. I shall not presume to make any comment upon it being acquainted with my Lord Granard's instructions from your Grace, but shall endeavour to give your Grace an account of what further progress is made therein.

[Encloses a Report of the Committee of Intelligence, as follows :—]

In pursuance of your Majesty's commands we have spoken with the Lord Viscount Granard, who attended us at the Council Chamber the 5th instant, at which time the Earl Sunderland produced unto us two papers which the said Lord Granard said he had received from the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and which we found contained a representation of the ill posture of affairs in that kingdom. The said Lord Granard did also tell us that there were great fears that in case of any invasion many discontented persons and particularly those who had lost and forfeited their estates would be ready to join with any foreign enemy ; that the army is in a very ill condition, two-thirds of the soldiers being, as he supposes, tenants and married persons who have small farms and other concerns. That there are upwards of 400 old and unserviceable soldiers in the army, and consequently not above two thousand effectual men fit for service. That there is no ammunition or stores in the kingdom. That the forts are all ruined and out of repair, and not one gun mounted, except at Kinsale, where a new fort is building. That it will require at least 100,000*l.* to repair the forts, mount the guns and provide stores, but that not above 40,000*l.* can be laid out in a year, it being to no purpose to provide stores till fit places be made to receive them.

And his Grace the Lord Lieutenant having in his abovesaid papers offered to your Majesty that in order to remedy these defects, at least some of them, a Parliament might be speedily called there, we do humbly represent to your Majesty that we have considered of this whole matter, and do offer it as our humble opinions, that in regard it is necessary in order to the sitting of a Parliament in Ireland that some bills be first transmitted back hither, that the said Bills be forthwith looked over and maturely considered of, till which be done we do not think ourselves enabled to give your Majesty our advice concerning calling a Parliament there ; but finding it also necessary that in the meantime all care may be taken to provide for the safety of the country and to remedy some of these defects complained of, we do farther offer to your Majesty that

1. Orders may be sent to the Lord Lieutenant frequently to remove all the troops and companies of the army from place to place, which we conceive will in a great measure prevent the abuse of putting tenants in the troops and companies, and remove those that are in.

2. That whereas we are given to understand that an hospital is building for old and unserviceable soldiers, and that one hundred are already provided for by having half pay, that the rest of the old and unserviceable men of the army should also be allowed half pay out of the deduction made for the hospital.

3. That to recruit the army in Ireland 1,000 men be forthwith raised in England and sent thither to be distributed in such manner as the Lord Lieutenant shall think fit.

4. That towards the repairing the forts, mounting guns and providing for stores, a suspension may be made for one year of the following payments upon the Irish Establishment, viz. :—

Lord Chancellor's Salary	1000 00 00
Sir Robert Hamilton's salary at Secretary to the Commissioners of Accounts	2000 00 00
5000 <i>l.</i> per annum which was paid to the Duke of Ormond	5000 00 00
The salaries of three of the Commissioners for managing the Revenues	9000 00 00
Half the 20,000 <i>l.</i> reserved to your Majesty on the Civil List	10000 00 00
Creation Money	0544 00 00
Half the Pensions	5200 00 00
Mr. Hayes, as Controller of the Revenue ..	0200 00 00
Sum Total	23044 <i>l.</i> 00 00

EARL OF CORK to ORMOND.

1680, August 15. Lismore.—If the universal sorrow which possesses all men that had the honour to know your incomparable son could for his loss lessen in any measure the grief that your Grace has for it, there would I am sure be subject enough for its mitigation; but since it is of a nature that needs higher helps, your Grace's piety will, I assure myself, persuade you to resort to His divine assistance for support under this affliction, a greater than which, unless it were the loss of my son, I have not myself undergone, who do heartily pray that by the continuance of the remainder of all the branches of your noble family your Grace may find those comforts and satisfactions which you may justly expect.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, August 17. London.—Your Grace's intimation to me by my Lord Arran I have received and obeyed, but if it had not come I had pursued the same method, having had an account from my Lord Chamberlain on Sunday last at Windsor of what his Lordship wrote to your Grace by his Majesty's commands on Saturday last. And indeed His Majesty's expressions to me upon the delivery of your Grace's letter were so affectionate and tender towards your Grace

that I have reason to believe he was in very good earnest and meant truly what he directed my Lord Arlington to write, from whence without further hesitation I concluded it both unnecessary and unreasonable to mention to his Lordship anything of that discourse your Grace gave me in common at parting.

My Lord Granard had so effectually pursued your Grace's commands in representing to His Majesty the state of that kingdom and the necessity of the meeting of the Parliament there to put it into a posture of defence, that by his Lordship's discourse and the arguments my Lord Chamberlain used afterwards to him he was convinced of the necessity of the Parliament's meeting, and accordingly gave order to my Lord Sunderland that the Committee for Irish Affairs should immediately take into their consideration the Bills sent over which had lain asleep by the private whispers and insinuations of Sir James Shaen and others. And yesterday being appointed for their meeting, my Lord Arlington came hither on purpose to attend the committee and promote the passing of the Bills. The first Bill taken into consideration was that for granting the 200.000*l.*, against which most at the Board made objections, and Mr. Hyde proposed that Sir James Shaen might be called in to hear what objections he had to make against that Bill, he pretending that if any such supply was granted by Parliament, that he and his partners were by their contract entitled to the collection of it, and also averring that the poor condition of that kingdom was such that the kingdom could not bear such a charge, the collection of which would both break the farm and the country. To this my Lord Chamberlain replied it could not be imagined that my Lord Lieutenant and the Council there could be so far mistaken in their measures as upon so serious a deliberation to propose a thing so destructive to the kingdom, and it was a disparagement to their government to have the opinion of Sir James Shaen put in balance with the resolutions of the Council there, who were men of interest and fortune, and without doubt as it was their interest to preserve the kingdom, would propose nothing to the disadvantage of it or the King's service. Notwithstanding these arguments insisted on by my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary Jenkins, they were overruled, and Sir James Shaen was sent for and called in, who alleged the poverty of the kingdom was so great that in the collection of the Revenue their officers were necessitated to distrain the pots, dishes, kettles and blankets of the poor people, and he was sure the running cash in the kingdom was so small that there was hardly enough to answer the King's rents, so that if this supply was granted by Parliament the kingdom must either be ruined by the payment of it and the Revenue, or the present farm of the Revenue must break. Upon which he withdrawing, it was proposed that he should by Thursday morning

bring in his objections and reasons in writing and produce his contract that gave him and his partners the collection of the supply (the benefit whereof it seems he values at a sixth part of the whole). And my Lord Arlington acquainting their Lordships that my Lord Granard and I, who were members of the Council there, and might possibly be privy to the debates upon the Bills, he thought it was necessary that we should be desired to attend their Lordships on Thursday, which was accordingly ordered, and Mr. Gwyn has given us notice of it. This morning I waited upon my Lord President, who told me the several objections Sir James Shaen made, to which I gave his Lordship distinct answers, with which he seemed to be pretty well satisfied. He further told me that the great objection against the Bill for confirmation of the settlement was that if it passed my Lord Ranelagh and the Farmers would be entitled to a defalcation for the benefit they had by their covenant to concealed lands. I answered first my Lord Ranelagh had no pretension, the time of his contract that entitled him to the benefit of concealed lands being some years since expired, and as for the Farmers' pretension, it was but a shadow, they having no title till the lands were discovered, and the benefit that might come to them by the mesne profits of such lands when discovered being an *individuum vagum* and uncertain, they could make no demand of a defalcation for it. His next observation was that we had not sufficiently appropriated the 200,000*l.* to the uses for which it was intended, which he said the committee were resolved to supply, by making the appropriation stronger; I told him it was our respect to the King that made us not save their Lordships that labour, and it being the first example of this kind that was ever offered at by Parliament in Ireland we were unwilling to make it too harsh to the King. His Lordship's next objection was against the sevenpence per pound allowed for the collection of the subsidies, which the Lords of the Committee were of opinion was a very exorbitant allowance, and therefore were resolved to reduce it to threepence per pound. I told his Lordship that from former experience we having found that where the allowance for collection was so small no man of substance would undertake the collection, and consequently His Majesty had been at great loss by the breaking or running away of the collectors, to obviate which inconvenience for the future it was thought expedient a reasonable encouragement should be given that men of substance and estate might undertake the collection who were capable of giving security for performance. These are all the objections (as I remember) his Lordship made, with my answers to which he seemed well satisfied. This afternoon I gave Sir James Shaen a visit, which I did on purpose to feel his pulse, and I find it beat very high, seeming much unsatisfied with your Grace's unkind usage of him, and discountenancing of him and his partners, notwithstanding

all the submissive applications he has made and tender of his service to your Grace from time to time these 20 years past, in which he can call my Lord Chamberlain and Colonel Fitzpatrick as witnesses of his sincerity to your Grace. And that after all he finds no other return from your Grace but neglect, and a proceeding by the Bills sent as if designed to ruin him and his partners, which they could no longer bear, and therefore for their own preservation he was necessitated to oppose the Bills and the sitting of the Parliament, being assured the Farm must break if the supply went on, it being impossible that kingdom could bear both. I told him his passion and mistakes had transported him too far, and I presumed the Lords of the Committee would not be satisfied with his positive assertions unless he backed them with good reasons and demonstrations, or at least unless he could propose a better expedient than a Parliament to put that kingdom into a better posture than now it was. Upon this he fell upon his mercurial notions and computations how the revenue might be improved to 300,000*l.* per annum, and magnified his own service to the King in the improvement of the revenue above 40,000*l.* per annum more than any man else thought it worth. He further told me that by the Bill for the additional revenue they were cut off from the double duty upon foreign goods imported, to which they had a legal right, as they were informed by the best counsel in England. Then I asked him whether they had by their contract a title to the collection of the 200,000*l.* He said they had not, but they had a title to collection of what additional duties of Excise and Customs should be granted by Parliament during their farm. But he had not the book of his grant by him to show me that covenant, which I suppose he will produce on Thursday. He also said that in the Bill for the 200,000*l.* there was an exception of the entertainment of the officers of the Civil and Military Lists, and of the college and hospital, but there was no notice taken of excepting the salaries of their commissioners, so that though they belonged to His Majesty's Revenue they were not thought worthy of any favour. For the rest of his dissatisfactions I refer your Grace to my Lord Arran. My Lord Granard went yesterday to Ham and desired me to acquaint your Grace that he had His Majesty's commands to let your Grace know that the forces designed from Ireland for Tangier are stopped, and that instead of their going to Tangier there will be sent from hence 600 of the new raised foot with their arms to supply the army there and recruit it instead of the antiquated men who are fitter for an hospital than an army, which he would have writ to your Grace by Saturday's packet but that he came from Windsor so late that the packet was gone from this end of the town. My Lord Chamberlain begs of your Grace to remember the falcon your Grace has long since promised him, for which he is contented to send his falconer to Chester.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 17. Arlington House.—The grief your Grace expresses in yours of the 9th is no more than what was due to the loss of such a son and such a friend ; I hope you believe I rate my share as I ought to do in it, but I hope withal the Christian and moral remedies you use for the digestion of it will prevail at last upon you, and that the sorrow the world expresses for the loss of him will in some measure alleviate yours, for it is certain a man never dies so well as when he is most lamented, and without flattery in this particular your son has the advantage of all the men small or great that have fallen within my knowledge and observation.

According as your Grace hath directed me I will send my young Lord of Ossory back to Oxford, tho' he goes with some repugnancy, and I myself have not less to send him, because I know the discipline of Faubert's Academy would have turned more to account with him than that of the college, and the exercise have done him more good, for his taille wants it as well as the strength of his constitution. His father's body lies in a vault in Westminster Abbey, to be transported into Ireland as your Grace shall direct. Your goodness to the mother is like yourself, and 'tis certain more of that kind cannot be done than she deserves, and yet she is happy to be in your hands.

Here enclosed I send your Grace two letters from the Prince of Orange, one for yourself, the other for my Lady of Ossory, and the terms wherein he expresses his grief to me for what we have lost deserve, methinks, you should see them, wherefore I here also enclose a copy of my letter from His Highness.

I leave it to your Grace's other correspondents to tell you what difficulties have offered themselves upon the reading the Money Bills, for the Parliament of Ireland. The Committee met yesterday upon them, and Thursday they are to meet again. The King is himself very desirous of a Parliament in that kingdom, but others are not.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY to LADY ———.

1680, August 21.—I have sent on the paper, but not for Mrs. Crook to print, but for Mr. Secretary to consider. The name of Ossory is a tender thing, he that sullies it by handling it with dirty thumbs won't be excused by saying he meant no harm. 'Twas writ between the time of the first credible news he was dead and the certainty of it ; but since worn out in the author's pocket for fear it was not suitable to the subject. But since nobody appears, whereas I thought a hundred would, let this (after consideration) go out to draw them on.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, August 21. Whitehall.—I should long ere this have sent your Grace an accompt of the Bills transmitted, but that it was many weeks before my Lords of the Committee entered upon the consideration of them. I cannot say that any one Bill that hath been before their Lordships hath escaped some little animadversion now under a reference to the Attorney and Solicitor General; there hath no Bill yet been absolutely laid aside, but that enabling ecclesiastical persons to let leases for lives. The Act for granting 200,000*l.* to His Majesty is now under debate. Sir James Shaen was called upon to give in his reflections upon it in the behalf of the Farmers. A copy of what he gave in on Thursday last I take leave herewith to enclose. Whether the Committee will resolve to transmit them in the shape and under the name they now are is not determined. It is to be hoped the Bill will pass here, and on that side too, notwithstanding the objections against it. For besides the deference that in such cases is most justly due to your Grace, I do not well see how any man will dare to advise the King not to call a Parliament as soon as may be, since your Grace and the Government there have advised and prepared for it as the best (if not only) means to answer the necessities and to prevent the dangers of that kingdom. On Monday my Lords are to receive Sir James Shaen's expedients how to provide what is wanting without a Parliament; if they be in writing I shall not fail to transmit them to your Grace. The extracts of your letters to Mr. Secretary Coventry, the Earl of Essex, and the Earl of Danby, that your Grace did me the honour to transmit to me, I have read over carefully and afterwards communicated them to Mr. Hyde and Mr. Godolphin; they have given me very good light and help in some debates, and will do so particularly when my Lords do come to the Bills of Settlement. I most humbly thank your Grace for them.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to LORD [EARL of ARRAN].

1680, August 21. London.—The honour of your Lordship's I received, and all I can now say is matters here are at the same uncertainty as formerly, whether a Parliament or not is the debate in the Committee for Ireland. By my last to my Lord Lieutenant I gave his Grace a narrative of what had passed here till my Lord Longford's arrival, who has the pen of a ready writer and will ease his Grace of the trouble of reading my scribble. There is reported of several changes both in Court and country preparative to the sitting of the Parliament here, but since they are no more than conjectures I will not trouble your Lordship further with them.

Postscript.—Since my writing of this I have got Sir James Shaen's objections against a Parliament in Ireland, which he gave in to the Council on Wednesday last, which the Clerk

of the Council sent me. I have not time to get them copied, but you may expect them by the next post. I assure you they are insolent

JOHN KNOX to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, August 21. Dublin.—I most heartily condole the great loss that your honour and indeed the kingdoms have had in the death of your truly noble brother. I wish the loss may be made up by some of his hopeful issue.

The Lord Mayor hath appointed the thirtieth of this month for perambulating the franchises of this city, and will be attended by the several Corporations, and I, being at this time Master of the Guild of Merchants, design to give them a small treat, which makes me presume to entreat the favour of your honour to send me an order for a buck, which not only myself but the Corporation will own as a favour. We shall next week have two presses going, the work goes on very well.

RICHARD MULYS to CAPTAIN GEORGE MATHEW.

1680, August 21. Whitehall, Saturday.—Yesterday I received the honour of yours of 11th and find both my Lord Arlington and Sir James Butler at this time at Windsor, my next must therefore answer your commands in the particular of my Lady's administration, and by that time I may also hope to send a list of the debt and credit as you mention.

On Thursday last my Lord James returned to Windsor with my Lord Chamberlain, with purpose as on Monday next to part thence to Oxford, according to his Grace's desires, and there to remain till his Grace's pleasure concerning the disposing of him for the time to come be known.

I have this day put the remaining part of my late Lord's family to board-wages, and warned them all to provide for themselves, as my Lord Arlington thought fit to direct; pursuant to the paper formerly sent. I have put the Diamond George and Garter, etc., into my Lord Chamberlain's custody, and have taken a note under his Lordship's hand of the receipt thereof, copy whereof shall be sent to you in my next.

If Sir Stephen Fox be not concerned for my Lady in the administration, it were not amiss that his Grace writ to him to concern himself in getting in such money as is in arrear and due to her from the several public funds; his dexterity that way, besides his present station, rendering him most capable in that particular. The Bishop of St. Asaph elect, Dr. Lloyd, who is at present minister of our parish of St. Martin's, was with my Lord in time of his sickness, and performed those actions of Christianity which belonged to his function much to the satisfaction of my noble Lord, as it was also highly pleasing to the Bishop to find his Lordship,

who had been so much upon the stage of the world in action and living in a Court, so fit to die. My Lord Chamberlain thought it necessary for his Grace to write to the Bishop acknowledging his Lordship's kindness and great concern for my Lord. It was indeed very extraordinary, being five or six days and some nights in watching and prayer with him. It is presumed a present of a piece of plate, to what value her Ladyship thinks fit, would be becoming, and also to have my Lord Arlington's servants where his Lordship died rewarded.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, August 21. London.—I am but just now returned from Windsor, whither I went yesterday to serve my Lord Chancellor, and it is so late that I fear I shall scarce have time to give your Grace so full an account of our Irish affairs as is necessary for your Grace to have. Upon my Lord Granard's representing (by your Grace's commands) to His Majesty the ill condition of that kingdom for want of money to provide stores, ammunition of all kinds, repair forts, etc., and that the calling of a Parliament would be necessary to furnish His Majesty with a supply for those ends, His Majesty commanded my Lord Granard to give in his memorial to my Lord Sunderland, which his Lordship accordingly did, being a copy of your Grace's instructions to him. Upon this the triumvirate met, calling to their assistance my Lord President, my Lord Essex, and my Lord Clarendon (being all members of the Committee for the Affairs of Ireland), but my Lord Arlington (though then in town) was not summoned, nor my Lord Chancellor, nor Mr. Secretary Jenkins, nor Sir William Temple (though all of them were members of the same Committee). At this consultation, having no mind that a Parliament should yet sit in Ireland, and being convinced that it was of absolute necessity some present provision should be made to rescue that kingdom out of that defenceless and naked condition it is now in, it was agreed that some part of the present payments which might best be spared might for a twelve months be suspended from the use it is designed in the establishment, and applied for the putting that kingdom in some posture of defence, and 25,000*l.* being the sum by them thought sufficient for that use, they agreed to propose it last Council day to the King; and that 10,000*l.* of the money reserved for His Majesty's use, half of the pensions being 5,200*l.*, the 5,000*l.* per annum, which was formerly reserved to your Grace, my Lord Chancellor's 1,000*l.* (because he is believed a very rich man and can spare it), 900*l.* of the fifteen which the Commissioners of Inspection have, concluding two Commissioners sufficient to manage that affair, my Lady Francis Kyately's 200*l.*, and some other small pensions which were not mentioned to me. This project being resolved on last Council day and a positive

order for it being directed to be drawn up by the Clerk of the Council to be by my Lord Sunderland sent this night to your Graces, I went yesterday to Windsor to lay plainly before His Majesty my Lord Chancellor's case, which was particular and distinct in the hardship of it from all the rest, and I had the good fortune to press it so home by the assistance of the Duke, that His Majesty this day has ordered my Lord Sunderland to stop the order till next Council day. And His Majesty promised that part of it which concerned my Lord Chancellor should not pass. But whether he will not be overruled in it by the aforementioned Lords, who are still positive in it unless an expedient can be proposed by Mr. Muschamp to supply my Lord Chancellor's 1,000*l.*, I dare not undertake. It is supposed this is a device to necessitate my Lord Chancellor of himself in discontent at this usage to quit the Seal and by this means to disoblige the King of that good opinion he has of him. But my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Coventry are of the opinion, if (notwithstanding my endeavours to serve him) this hardship should be put upon him, his Grace should by no means take notice of it, but cheerfully submit to it for the present, it being impossible this torrent should last. On Thursday last the Committee for Irish Affairs met to consider of the Bill of Supply, when Sir James Shaen delivered in a paper of his objections against it, containing three sheets of paper, a copy whereof procured by Mr. Secretary Jenkins (who is your Grace's most entire and zealous servant) my Lord Granard just now delivered to me, but I have had neither time to read it or to get it transcribed, but by the next packet your Grace shall have it. I moved both Mr. Hyde and my Lord Sunderland that a copy of it might be sent your Grace by the Committee, which they say they had ordered if they had thought it material. After they had read it Sir James Shaen was called in and asked two questions, 1st, whether he could shew any clause in his contract that did entitle him and his partners to the collection of the 200,000*l.*, which he averred the day the Committee last sat; the 2nd, by what clause in his contract they were entitled to a defalcation in case this Act passed. To the first he answered in the negative, and said it was a mistake, for he averred only he and his partners were entituled to the collection of the additional duties upon those branches of the Revenue which were already farmed to them. But their Lordships by this answer were convinced of his jugglery, for that Bill has never yet been in debate before them. And my Lord President remembered he then asked him how much he valued the collection of the 200,000*l.*, to which he replied at a sixth part. In answer to the second question he produced the general clause for defalcation in his grant, upon perusal of which they unanimously declared he was not entituled to any defalcation, nor could not upon that clause in his contract

legally demand it. Then my Lord Granard and I were called in and asked whether the Farmers in Ireland made any objections to that Bill, and whether they were consulted in it. We answered that we knew of neither. Then we were asked whether considering the arrears claimed by the late Farmers and my Lord Ranelagh, and the scarcity of money in the kingdom, the country was able to bear all those payments together with the rent due upon the present farm, and this supply altogether. We answered that when that sum was to be inserted in the Bill, your Grace and the Council had that matter in consideration, and concluded the kingdom was able to bear it. Then my Lord Chancellor asked what need was there for that clause of enlarging the periods of payments. We answered it was very necessary, because if upon experience those payments were found hard upon the people it might be in the power of your Grace and the Council to ease them by enlarging the times of payments. And as for the present condition of the kingdom we assured their Lordships it was much better now than any time since the King's restoration, for the rents of particular persons were not only well paid, but the rents of lands generally increased as well as the purchase of lands within these three or four years past, from whence we concluded the poverty of the kingdom was not such as Sir James Shaen represented it. Then my Lord President said we had been asked questions enough, and that they had no more to trouble us with. So we withdrew, and their Lordships rose without taking any resolution, referring the further debate till Monday next in the afternoon. My Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Jenkins, Mr. Coventry and Sir William Temple made very smart observations upon Sir James Shaen's paper, and were very kind in their regards to your Grace and the Board. And I doubt not but they will continue them on Monday next. I had a long discourse with His Majesty this morning upon this subject, and find His Majesty has no reverend opinion of Sir James Shaen's projects, with which it seems he has charmed my Lord of Essex and Mr. Hyde, though he could make no impression with them upon your Grace, for he has now the same propositions on foot he made by me to your Grace. My Lord Ranelagh came last night to town, and being this day in discourse with my Lord Granard, shewed as little inclination for the meeting of the Parliament there as Sir James Shaen has; and perhaps by this means he hopes to make his court to the men in power before whom his appeal is like to be brought. I hear no news of the return which the Commissioners of his accounts are to make to the King and Council here of his balance, nor to whom it is directed if it be sent away from thence; and this caution I must give your Grace, that I hear my Lord President will take it ill if it be not sent to him. I had almost forgot to tell your Grace that the Parliament is to meet here the 21st

of October, and a Proclamation ordered to that purpose. One great argument with our statists here is that it may prove of great inconvenience to have a Parliament sit here and in Ireland at the same time, whereas by the delay upon the Bills before them it is impossible a Parliament can meet there by the 21st of October, nor will not by Christmas according to the method now used. The argument against the 200,000*l.* is that it will come in too slowly to answer the pressing necessities of our defence, which requires a speedier supply. And yet the expedient as yet offered is but 25,000*l.* per annum. So that it is past my logic or politics to reconcile these contradictions. His Majesty told me this morning that he had directed Mr. Hyde to send your Grace some queries to have your resolution in.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 21. Blessinton.—The enclosed from Mr. Sher. I received but yesterday, and hold it my duty to transmit it to your Grace. What he saith of me I must absolutely disown, and look upon it only as his civility and compliment; what concerns your Grace therein may perhaps be worthy your Grace's consideration, whether you will think fit to take any notice thereof or to reserve it to yourself; however, I think it very reasonable that your Grace should know it. The other from my Lady Orrery will acquaint your Grace with her Ladyship's desires about the yacht, wherein if your Grace will be pleased to give your directions to Mr. Ellis, I presume he will remit them to me.

By a letter which I received from another hand out of England I am informed that exceptions are made by some of the great lords there unto the Bill which gives liberty for Bishops to make leases for three lives as tending to the prejudice of their successors. This certainly cannot be the reason thereof, if any such thing be, for it is very apparent and plainly evident that it is for the advantage of their successors, and is agreeable to most of the Church tenures in England. There can be no reason at the bottom but this: that the holding for lives makes the Bishop's tenants freeholders and enables them to vote in the elections for Members of Parliament, and perhaps it may be thought by some that this may prove a great strength to the Royal interest. God help us, when the greatest argument to have it done is made an argument against it. I pray God send us better times.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT GRANARD.

1680, August 23. Kilkenny.—Since yours of the 2nd instant I find the Bills have been under further consideration, and I shall patiently attend the result. Your Lordship has fully observed the particulars I recommended to you, only you have exceeded in the estimate you were pleased to make of my ability and interest, but whatever they are or shall be

they shall be always employed in the service of the Crown. I have presumed once more to move that what exceptions are or shall be taken to the Bills or any part of them may be sent over to be considered by those that drew them. I know that formally proceeding thus may be more than can be insisted on by us, but if a kingdom be in hazard I believe it ought not continue so upon formalities. I have nothing to add to what you were content to charge yourself withal or to this letter.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARLINGTON.

1680, August 23. Kilkenny.—I have deciphered the paper that came with your Lordship's of the 10th instant, but think it not necessary to trouble you with a return the same way. His Majesty's pleasure concerning Johnson shall be punctually obeyed upon his retaking; he hath made frivolous excuses for his double endeavour to escape. The King's pleasure concerning myself shall be cheerfully undertaken and your Lordship's advice followed. The Lord that wondered at my persisting to advise a Parliament here had more reason than perhaps he was aware of, for it is plain if I did consider my profit, my ease, my security, or my credit, and would put them in balance against some probability of serving my Master, I ought not to be so earnest for it; and since I may very possibly be mistaken and disappointed in my main purpose as the world goes, the least intimation of His Majesty's disapprobation will be argument enough to silence me; but if he shall think a disappointment well ventured for the advantages that may be obtained, which may be better revolved than expressed, then I must humbly beseech him that the Bills transmitted may not be blasted by whisperers or laid aside without his servants here being thought worthy the receiving some reasons for such a proceeding. How useful it may be that we should be consulted will appear by considering two or three Bills stuck at. That for enabling Bishops to make leases for lives was not by me calculated or considered as it may be of advantage to the Church (tho' I shall always own my reverence and affection to it), but of the Crown in elections to all future Parliaments, for the Bishops making their tenants freeholders and consequently electors, and the King making Bishops, he is always secure of so many well affected members. If Bishops be well enough chosen to understand their own interest, what reason can be given to lay aside such a Bill, I am to seek. The Bill for laying a greater imposition upon coals intended for pious uses I find is referred to the Solicitor to know whether it be usual to lay impositions upon commodities imported from England, when it is so notorious that nothing I can call to mind is landed out of England here, but pays duties, and from thence arises a great part of the Revenue, but if His Majesty shall command the exceptions taken to bills or part of Bills to be transmitted in writing he will the better judge of all.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, August 24.—I have received what your Grace honoured me with by the Earl of Longford. I have been since twice in this town from my solitude to attend the Committee for the Irish Bills. My Lord Longford will, I doubt not, give you a particular detail of that affair and what advance hath been since made, and what obstructions are at present and what more are likely to be interposed in it. They are mysteries beyond a country understanding, and are not likely to be revealed to me till October, when everybody probably will see farther than anybody upon good grounds doth at present. The house I spoke of is yet to be had, but I hope there will be no occasion for it. I shall shew it my Lord Longford when he pleaseth. Our news from Tangier is very bad, the Moors being before it with a considerable army; there is a good garrison in the place and more men are going. We are generally melancholy and I think with reason. I am returning back to my retreat at the Chase to converse with neighbours that have no more cunning than myself.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, August 24. London.—On Monday in the afternoon the Committee for the affairs of Ireland met, and (after some debate) their Lordships proceeded to the reading again the Bill of 200,000*l.*; the minutes of the Committee I have herewith enclosed, which was all that was done upon that subject, only some of the Lords reserved themselves to speak to the matter of the Bill and raising money in Ireland by way of Land Tax till another occasion. The debate I mentioned was concerning a paper brought by Mr. Hyde which had been read and approved by His Majesty, and was said to be recommended by him to the Committee; it contained heads of a letter to be writ from the Board to your Grace and Council of Ireland. The Bill being allowed to have the precedence and first read, the paper was again taken up, but according to the best of my memory was to this purpose.

1. That the Farmers of the Revenue of Ireland, being apprehensive of great inconveniences which would come to the Farm in case the Bills for money should pass, believed they must be forced to throw up the farm: therefore, to know
2. In what condition the kingdom of Ireland is in as to the present state of the Revenue and whether, if the Bills pass, the kingdom is so able to bear it that it may not be a great prejudice to the King's future Revenue there, so much that the Farmers may justly be entitled to defalcations, the King's affairs at present being in such a posture that it is not possible for him to admit of any.

3. That there should be transmitted to the Board a copy of the present Establishment of Ireland as now it stands, with the addition of the Earl of Dumbarton's Regiment; how the forces are at present paid that were sent from

thence to Tangier; what pensions are already stopt by order? Of what rates the ten ships are which are mentioned to be built in the Bill of 200,000*l.* their number of guns and men, how they are to be maintained when built, with an account of what it will yearly cost the King for their maintenance? How provision shall be made upon the Establishment for an addition of men intended to be sent over to increase the army of Ireland? What can be allowed out of the present Revenue towards repairing the forts, providing ammunition, stores, etc.? That the Concordatum money should be 6,000*l.* per annum. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I have misrepeated or omitted anything, having but once read it over.

Mr. Hublan, a Spanish merchant, brought a letter which he had received at that minute from a correspondent of his at Cadiz, which gave an account that the Moors had broke the truce, and that the Alcayd was before Tangier with ten thousand men, but it is here hoped the news may not be true, for the King hath no advice from his Governor there, though there are two expresses at present at Tangier, neither are there any other letters come to the Exchange of that subject.

Since my last to your Grace, I have advice of the death of a gentleman in the country (which though otherways is not disadvantageous to me), yet at this time I must esteem it very unfortunate, since it unavoidably occasions my going out of town to-morrow at a time when, if ever, I might be most capable of paying my service to your Grace in my small station. I fear my journey will take me up three weeks' time. In the meantime I have taken care to have the minutes of the Council and Committee transmitted duly to your Grace by my clerk. And though I could wish the Bills might receive greater dispatch, yet I doubt there will be no great progress made in them at present.

I find the letter to your Grace from my Lord of Sunderland, including the Report of Suspensions, was not sent by Saturday's post as was intended, nor is not to go to-night, the occasion of its stop is some alteration His Majesty intends to make in those suspensions, and particularly that part of it which relates to my Lord Chancellor of Ireland; for that part which concerns myself I have used very little intercession here, but lay myself entirely at your Grace's feet, and most humbly beg the favour that your Grace will be pleased to have me in your thoughts as one that faithfully is, etc.

Postscript.—It is now confidently reported that Bedloe is dead.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, August 24. London.—Mr. Secretary Jenkins having told me that he sent your Grace by Saturday's packet a copy of Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bill for a supply

to His Majesty of 200,000*l.*, I have forborne sending one, though I had prepared a duplicate of it. On Sunday a little before His Majesty went to Council, my Lord Chamberlain had some discourse with His Majesty about our Parliament in Ireland, and convinced His Majesty so thoroughly of the conveniency to His Majesty's affairs and the satisfaction of that kingdom in providing for their own defence in it, that when the Council sat the King fell very warmly upon the debate of it, and told their Lordships he would rather depend upon the opinion and judgment of his Lord Lieutenant and Council there than trust to Sir James Shaen's projects, whom he knew by long experience to be a very notional and busy man, but he could not rely either upon his honesty or skill ; and therefore recommended to the Lords of the Committee for Irish affairs to make all the despatch they could of the Bills sent over. This His Majesty was positive in, notwithstanding all was said against it by my Lord Essex and Mr. Hyde, who gave very large encomiums of Sir James Shaen. Yesterday their Lordships met in the afternoon, where the debate lasted for an hour and half whether the reading the Bill of Supply or the draught of a letter Mr. Hyde had prepared of some queres (concerning the Bills) to your Grace should have the preference, and his importunity being submitted to, and upon reading his draught it being found necessary that the Bills should be looked into before it would be proper to send the queres upon them, the Bill of Supply was then read ; to which these following exceptions are taken :—

1. That every branch of the King's Revenue ought to be excepted from this tax as well as the lands of the college and hospital, otherwise that Bill gives with one hand to the King and then takes away with the other.
2. It is observed that this Bill too strictly appropriates and obliges the ships to be built to the defence and service of Ireland, as if it were designed to make that kingdom independent of this. And therefore the amendment of these two particulars in recommended to Mr. Attorney General.
- The third is that the Commissioners are to be named by the Parliament, and the subdivisions of the sums for each county made by the Parliament, which is conjectured by some of the Lords to be against Poynings' Act.
- The fourth, that it is a Land Tax, and not a Subsidy Bill, whereas a Subsidy Bill, which would excuse the poorer sorts, it is alleged would have been properer for Ireland, where poor people are so numerous.

And lastly that this Bill differs from all other Bills of Supply that have been granted in Ireland, and therefore it was wished they had a copy of the last Bills of Subsidies granted there in the last Parliament, of the titles of which there is only mention made in the Book of Statutes. These (my Lord) are the several objections I have collected were made upon the debate yesterday, the result of which is that the Bill is neither approved of nor rejected, but laid by for the present till their

Lordships have better digested these exceptions. Before they rose the Bill for the additional duties, etc., was put into the hands of Sir George Downing (who is believed to be well skilled in trade) and Sir James, a party concerned in the Farm, who are on Saturday next to bring their exceptions in writing if they have any. By this slow method of proceeding your Grace may judge in what time all the Bills will be run through, and when the Bill for Confirmation is taken into consideration I hear Captain Thornhill has a petition ready in behalf of the deficient adventurers, and that the nominees have an agent here with another petition in the behalf against the Bill, by which your Grace may perceive that the train is laid to put off the meeting of the Parliament to as long a day as can be, if not to disappoint its meeting absolutely. For the King going to Newmarket upon the 13th of the next month it is not to be imagined any Committees will sit in his absence, the great Ministers being to attend His Majesty there, and then after his return the meeting of the Parliament here will postpone any thoughts of Ireland. I had forgot to acquaint your Grace that one exception to the Bill of Supply, that care was taken for building of ships in the first place, but their Lordships will have the providing of arms, stores, repairing of fortifications precede the building of the ships. The project for the suspension of those payments I mentioned to your Grace in my last will not (as I am informed) come to your Grace this packet, and when it is sent I hope my Lord Chancellor's 1,000*l.* will be no part of it. Mr. Gwyn (whom I find very affectionate to your Grace's service) hopes if there be room left for three Commissioners of Inspection, and that the naming of them who are to stand be left to your Grace, your Grace will oblige him by continuing him, since two upon the place may be sufficient to discharge that work, and he may be so useful to your Grace here as to deserve that indulgence from you. This day Mr. Nash was sent to me by Sir James Shaen to tell me that if he may yet be admitted to any share of your Grace's favour, he had rather be your Grace's servant than any man's living. Without doubt he has so possessed Mr. Hyde with that proposition he made to your Grace by me that Mr. Hyde's desire to value himself to the King upon so plausible a proposition for His Majesty's advantage is one of the motions that has engaged him to struggle against the meeting of the Parliament in Ireland with that warmth he does. If your Grace pleases to write to Mr. Coventry, Mr. Secretary Jenkins and Sir William Temple taking notice of their zeal to serve your Grace and the public, for they have very zealously endeavoured to stem this torrent against you. My Lord Granard presents his most humble duty to your Grace, and commands me to tell your Grace that while I am in England with him he has appointed me his secretary to your Grace, and therefore concludes himself absolved from giving your Grace the

trouble of his letters. However, he will never decline your Grace's service, wherein it shall be within his power to serve you.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 24. Blessinton.—I received from Mr. Ellis by your Grace's directions some minutes of the proceedings of the Committee for the affairs of Ireland upon some of those Bills which were transmitted by your Grace and Council. Amongst them I find that the Bill for enabling Bishops to set leases for lives is rejected. If I could wonder at anything in this age this would be to me matter of admiration, a great end of that Bill being designed for the service of the King and country, the former by the votes of the tenants at the elections for Parliament, the latter by the addition of freeholders to complete juries, of which there is great want in many parts of this kingdom. Besides, the gratification of the Bishops and clergy is that which constantly hath been done in all Parliaments, and that could not be done an easier way than this, it being no more than what is agreeable to the laws and practice in England, and convenient for succession and improvement, and must be of necessity be well pleasing both to tenant and landlord. I offer to your Grace's consideration whether it may not be worthy your Grace's trouble to engage my Lord Longford in your Grace's name to attend the Lords of the Committee about it, for amongst those many Bills which have been transmitted by your Grace I cannot recollect any one in the behalf of the Church in general but this. How then can we expect a hearty concurrence of the Bishops in other necessary Bills when they shall know that they are refused in this only one. I must ingeniously acknowledge to your Grace that I shall not be able with any confidence to depend upon them when they shall find my interest so little as not to serve them in such a modest degree. And when they shall see no provision made for the Church amongst many other Bills for secular affairs, they will have some reason to doubt that the Government is either careless of them or unconcerned for them. This was not usual in other Parliaments; the first Article of the Magna Charta (which was confirmed by very many Parliaments) was ever for the advantages and privileges of the Church. I received some account of this intended rejection by the last packet and writ to my Lord Longford about it before I received your Grace's paper. I humbly submit to your Grace whether you shall think fit to offer anything in this matter or no, for I am doubtful that some other Bills of more concern will find difficulty enough to pass, for I am advertised by this packet that some of this kingdom's pretended friends have already avouched to that Committee that if the King would retrench his 200,000*l.* and the pensions, it would do the business of this kingdom well enough without a Parliament. God help us. I pray God bless your Grace.

Postscript.—The Lord Ranelagh was not got to London when this packet came away, but I understand by my old correspondent that the fair lady met him at his landing.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, August 25. Carrick.—I received your Lordship's of the 17 at Kilkenny as I was ready to take coach to come hither to divert myself, which I have done but very ill, bringing with me an additional sorrow for the death of my sister Hamilton, of which I was assured as I was reading your letter, before I knew that she was under more than a slight distemper, but I thank God He has taught me to submit with cheerfulness to his good pleasure. My Lord Chamberlain's discourse on occasion of the Bills was like a Councillor in better times than we are fallen into. I have endeavoured to let the King and his Lordship understand my part in the affair, and that I am no further concerned whether there be a Parliament or no, or how the Bills shall be cast out or mended, than as I conceive they may tend to the security of the Crown and subject, so that Sir James Shaen is as much mistaken as ever he was if he thinks to anger me with exercising his false assertions and mysterious notions against those Bills, tho' since he believes he does, I am to take it for an argument of his formidable displeasure and guard myself the best I can; in the meantime if he were worth an expostulation I could be content he were put in mind of the private articles of his propositions transmitted to me by your Lordship about a year ago, and desired to declare how I have offended his mightiness since. If it be because his projects are too refined for my capacity to comprehend, or, as I think, for anybody to put in practice, his indignation is very unjust, and I shall die in my error, for I think him always fallible and very seldom intelligible. I shall be sorry if your Lordship and my Lord Granard have entered the lists against so sceptical a politician, and I hope His Majesty and his Council will not think it fit work for his Chief Governor and Council here to answer all the quirks and ravings that flow from him, and that they will believe that they, his Judges and learned Counsel, are neither natural fools or madmen.

I send your Lordship some remarks upon the pretensions made by the Farmers in virtue of the letters obtained by them from the King and Lords of the Treasury, also an Order given by me in their favour notwithstanding those remarks, and notwithstanding that I know my condescension will be interpreted by Sir James to be for fear of him. But I look at the King's service and will not be put out of my road either by his impertinent and saucy expressions or by his most flattering cajolings. I would not have him have the satisfaction they will give others to whom your Lordship may more properly shew them. I am called to dinner and so must break off.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680, August 26. Immediately after the never sufficiently to be lamented loss of my Lord Ossory, my young Lord being sent for from me, I hold it my duty to break in upon your griefs and give an account of the disposal of that great and now more endeared treasure which had been deposited with me. My young Lord being this day sent back hither, I am concerned to send unto your Excellency an account thereof by the first opportunity and present my assurances as of all possible care of his person, so of my utmost endeavour for his improvement. But the methods thereof being to be suited to the time which your Excellency allots for his stay, I should be very glad of some light therein, that accordingly I might suit the instruction to the better advantage. The change that is made in my Lord's attendance is, I presume, according to your Excellency's order, so that it will be superfluous to render an account of it. I shall therefore only beg pardon for the rudeness of this second intrusion, and with my prayers that your comforts and supports may be answerable to your great affliction, remain, etc.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 28. London.—In my last by the last post I told your Grace how far we had gone in the Committee, and what difficulties we had met with, proceeding upon the Irish Bills. I think I mentioned therein that we were to meet again as on this day, and that Sir James Shaen was to have a copy of the Bill for Additional Duties and to bring in writing his exceptions to it, which accordingly he did, but not so perfect as he says in a little more time he can make it. We have directed him to make it complete against Tuesday afternoon. His objections seemed to us all friends, and foes to have great weight in them, and that in a word his Majesty would be a greater loser than gainer by the Bill. All I could say in behalf of it was that it was strange to me that the Council of Ireland should prepare and transmit a Bill of that nature to us without consulting the Farmers of the Revenue, if at least Sir James Shaen speaks their mind as well as his own, and concluded my proposition that the exceptions thus finished by Sir James Shaen might be transmitted with all speed to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, which is promised accordingly. In my former I forgot to tell your Grace that Sir Robert Southwell, transferring his place of Clerk of the Council to Mr. Gwyn, had told me he had disposed him to transmit from time to time all things worth your knowledge which should occur, and that I asking the said Mr. Gwyn the other day whether he did so, he answered me he did, and would continue doing so, in which I gave him all possible encouragement, and promised to make his service known as valuable to your Grace as I could. Wherefore I beseech you as there is occasion for it to take notice thereof in such obliging

terms as may encourage his service herein, which cannot but be of great use to your Grace, and in this conjuncture particularly, when I am going as I shall do God willing the next week into the country to stay there until His Majesty's return from Newmarket.

COUNTESS of CLANCARTY to ORMOND.

1680, August 28. Yours from Carrick gave me the surprising news of my sister Hamilton's death, and along with it reflections that are very profitable to me. I had some troubles before upon my hands besides our common great one, for two packets together brought me news of my daughter Fingall and Betty's being ill of the fever that is common and mortal in England. The last of them speaks of my daughter's being amended, but Betty's being worse; but the last of all that came in brings me no news of them nor letters, but the enclosed from Justin, which I send you, that you may please to tell me what answer I may make to that part relating to yourself. He was, I perceive, in the ardour of his passion and grief when he writ it, which made him perhaps propose a thing improper for these times. As to myself I do pray and beseech God and employ all my endeavours that I may spare my sorrow and tears for my sins, where they can only be profitable, and since I cannot yet prevail to have any for my sins, they shall not be misplaced or misspent any other way if I can with all my endeavours hinder them, and for the rest I strive all I can by diversions to keep myself above all other troubles. It is said you have appointed my Lord of Ossory's funeral to be performed in this country. I do much apprehend the doing so may uphold and aggravate the grief of his friends, and make those best resigned to give ground, unless he could be so privately interred with his ancestors that few should know it till it were past, for that of being in their monument must needs be the only motive of that design; methinks the precedent of the private funerals of the late prince and princesses, the Duke of Gloster, the Princess Royal, the Queen of Bohemia and the Duchess might serve for models in this case, and I hope it may. I have of late lost half the ill sight I had by a mist I have before my eyes, so that I hardly can write or read but by guess. I am entering into a course of physick and bathing for that and the pain in my arms, if it may please God I shall mend by those remedies. I purpose to wait on you and my sister Ormond at Kilkenny, and if I could find it were any service to you both I would go as I am, blind and lame. I most humbly salute you both.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 29. Blessinton.—In my last I gave your Grace some account of a proposal that was made to the Lords of the Committee for the Affairs of Ireland; that the King's

20,000*l.* and the pensions being withdrawn the Revenue of this kingdom would be sufficient for its charge without the trouble of a Parliament. It seems by Captain Stone's letter (here enclosed) that they have made some alterations upon that proposal, and have imposed the weight thereof upon other persons. I do not well understand what the meaning is of withdrawing 2,500*l.* per annum out of the Lord of Ormond's quit rents, but as to what concerns myself I am pretty well satisfied that some persons may have a design upon my employment, and they do not well know upon what pretence to have it taken from me, and therefore have chose this way as a means to make me decline it of myself. And indeed the contriver may thus far promise himself success, that I shall never attempt to hold it upon dishonourable terms ; your Grace have known my inclinations in that particular before this time. However, I shall not write anything about it unto anyone until I shall know your Grace's sense upon the whole matter, who, I presume, have received a more particular account of that business than Captain Stone hath sent me. By the same packet I received two letters out of England, one from my Lord Longford, another from Mr. Secretary Jenkins (which I presume to enclose to your Grace), and your Grace will not find in either of them the least word of this matter. Neither did I receive any letter by that packet from Denny Muschamp, so that it seems this purpose was kept as a secret before it was resolved on. Indeed, Denny Muschamp did some weeks since write to me that if your Grace would not decline insisting on a Parliament, he doubted it would bring some great prejudice upon your Grace and upon your servants before we expected it. He found some great persons there so severely bent against it. This I shewed your Grace, but I could not imagine that prejudice could have been intended by any that declared themselves for His Majesty's advantage.

Sir Thomas Newcomen delivered me the honour of your Grace's of the 23 instant. And the Farmers of the Revenue called upon me here, and acquainted me with your Grace's agreement with them according to that warrant your Grace was pleased to send me. I wish it may do their work, but I doubt they are somewhat distrustful of it themselves.

Your Grace may be pleased that Mr. Secretary Gascoigne return me the enclosed letters.

CHIEF JUSTICE KEATING to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, August 30. Roscommon.—My loved and dear Lord, here it is that I had the honour of yours of the 16th than which nothing could be more welcome ; believe me, my Lord, your thoughts of me in relation to yourself are not astray, for surely I shall persevere, blow high, blow low.

What would I give for the opportunity of one half hour with you at Kilkenny. Believe me my Lord if you go not for

England, as I have formerly written and advised you should, you will live to acknowledge it an error. I find very many busy there and many playing the game who understand it not, and if any person of quality would appear there that may have audience, doubtless the bare reason of things would carry them thorough. If Sir Richard Stephens were at London, as he must be, and your lordship at Court, I am certain it would much mend the face of things. I beg your lordship's pardon, I am so tired in Court, where I write this, and where I have been since eight in the morning, and it is now eight at night that I know not what I write.

SIR PHILIP LLOYD to ORMOND.

1680, August 31. Council Chamber.—When I was in waiting before, at my Lord Ossory's command I gave him such minutes as were worth transmitting to your Grace, since which I hope my brethren have taken care to do the same in their turns, but, I coming in again the next month, will presume to renew that trouble to your Grace. I do not doubt but your Grace hath had a full account of those debates that have passed here concerning the two money Bills to this day. This afternoon the Committee met about the additional duty Bill and read all Sir James Shaen's exceptions to it, which (methought) did weigh so far with their lordships as inclined them against the passing of it, but they ordered a letter to be written to your Grace to enclose a copy of them, for your Grace to acquaint the Council with, and to give such answer to as you shall think fit; this letter I presume will go by the next post. Next Thursday the Committee meets again about the 200,000*l.* Bill, in which some alterations have been made. I have sent notice of it to my Lord Chamberlain, who, I presume, will be present at that Committee, as he hath at every one, except this to-day, his lordship being at Windsor. I shall be proud to be honoured with your Grace's commands and obey them.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 31. Blessinton.—I last night received the honour of your Grace's of the 28th instant, with some enclosed observations upon the Bill for Revenue. I have, according to your Grace's directions, sent them this day to Mr. Solicitor.

There are doubtless many mistakes in the ground-work of that discourse, but that which upon the whole matter takes most with me is this:—The people of this kingdom (as of all others) will be unwilling to part with their moneys, but when they see a kind of necessity, or at least some great occasion for doing it; but when they shall find themselves supported by such popular arguments as these seem to be against their giving any money, and these objections received and countenanced in England, I doubt it may have that

effect which may in a great measure disappoint those expectations which your Grace might reasonably enough have promised yourself from the meeting of the Parliament, and if so what reflections will then be made upon your Grace is easily foreseen. Your Grace will be pleased to consider this, when you shall have those observations more authentically transmitted unto you.

I humbly acknowledge your Grace's great favour in that advice which you are pleased to send me as to my own particular. I shall wholly submit myself to your Grace's judgment, and shall expect what a little time may produce of change or alteration upon such a sudden determination as that seems to have been. I am told by Denny Muschamp that His Majesty hath been already pleased upon my Lord Longford's application to him to take it into his consideration, and to express himself very unpleasingly upon that order.

I fear the condition of Tangier may prove desperate if the Alcade hath already invested it with an army of 10,000 men, as is reported by some merchants who came thence very lately, thus my letters tell me out of England. I need make no paraphrase unto your Grace upon the condition of these times. I pray God amend them or prepare us all to undergo what in His displeasure He shall think fit to lay upon us. I heartily pray for your Grace's happiness. I am advertised that the whole body of Adventurers intend to petition against a Parliament here.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, August 31. London.—This afternoon the Committee for Irish Affairs sat and did not only receive Sir James Shaen's long paper of objections against the Bill for additional duties, but also read the Bill paragraph by paragraph in his presence and heard him to every paragraph. He does not only object against the duties themselves, but also against the manner of levying every one of them. The Committee have ordered your Grace a copy of his paper, which was too voluminous to be transcribed this night, but it will ready be to be sent by Saturday's packet. Their Lordships have appointed Thursday to conclude their resolutions upon the Bill for granting the 200,000*l.*, to which my Lord Essex resolves then to speak to that Bill. His objection against it is because it is a Land Tax, which he thinks will lie too heavy upon the poor, whereas they would have been eased if the supply had been by the way of subsidy according to the old method of England. Mr. Sheriff Bethell is said to have a discovery made to him of a new plot of the Papists designed to be executed this next month by massacre upon the Protestants. It is doubtful whether the King will be here to-morrow at Council. I do not hear that the state of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts is yet arrived here, and if it be not sent to my Lord President, his Lordship will take it in dudgeon.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680, August 31. Kilkenny.—You will find by mine of Saturday last by the post that I thought it impossible but that my Lord Longford would have given yourself an account of what he writ so largely of to me, in what you are most, if not particularly concerned, and cannot imagine why his lordship should fancy that your Grace dwells here. By my last it appears that I do not differ in my opinion from your friends in England as to your Grace's conduct in case His Majesty should for other reasons be forced to comply with those lords that put him upon so insignificant and so unjust and mean an expedient, only I differ from my Lord of Longford where he advises that Mr. Muschamp should inform whence it may be more reasonably taken. I am much confirmed in my opinion that your Grace should not gratify your ill willers by giving up the Seal on this occasion (if the King should be prevailed upon in the matter) by the certainty of the Parliament's sitting so soon [] *two lines have been rendered illegible at this point by fire*, resign it with more honour at least I am sure [is] worth your Grace's consideration, and I could wish you would take one journey more hither, that we may advise together, after I have shewn your Grace all that I can collect from the intelligence I have or shall receive. As to a Parliament here I give over the thoughts of it, the rulers at Council being so much against it, and so angry with us for offering at supplying the King as to set on Sir James Shaen, whose talent is proper for troubling affairs and little else. I see by Captain Stone's letter he would fain ingratiate himself with you and magnify his own power, but I believe him to be the sole contriver of all. My Lord Ranelagh was come to London, but that night the post came away. I send your Grace with those you sent me, my Lord of Longford's to me, which you will be pleased to return by the first conveniency. [The Earl] of Cork has been ill of the gout and so it is uncertain when he will be able to take his journey for England.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—I have had a full account of the proceedings about the Irish Bills and Parliament, and must conclude that those who would not have one called here till that in England hath sat have gotten the victory. I was in hope that those who were against our Parliament might yet be esteemed my friends, however they might pity mine and this Council's weakness, and rest upon Sir James Shaen's probity and wisdom. I am sure those that were for it are my friends, and I hope still all the other are not my enemies. Tho' I am taught that a witness in some cases is the more credible for being of ill fame, yet till now I had not learnt that an undertaker in matters of this other nature was more to be relied upon for it. I desire still you will let my Lord

Longford see the place you mention, for till after October it is not certain I shall have no use of it.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—I was fain to send your Lordship's of the 21, as I take it to my Lord Primate, his Grace having had a worse account of his part in the suspension designed than that you gave him when that was projected. I suppose it was believed that my payments of 5,000*l.* a year did continue, but it falls out otherwise, and the blow falls beside me. My Lord Chamberlain having taken the pains to give me some account of the proceedings upon the Bills, I have made him such a return of my sense of the matter in general, and something I have said of Sir James Shaen's paper, to which I must refer you, if his Lordship be not gone to Euston: if he be, I have furnished Mr. Secretary Jenkins with an extract of it which will serve the turn. Whether my Lord be at London or no I desire your Lordship to find means to let him know about the 15th of this month a servant of mine shall be at Chester with the best hawk I yet have flying, and if she be put into a skilful hand, I hope she will please him; she is inward, that is she will follow the company, and yet she flies in a good place. Your Lordship says you mean to prevent the Michaelmas storms, if so we may expect you and my grandson together.

ORMOND to COLONEL EDWARD COOKE.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—It was the 27 of the last month before I received yours of the 7th at Carrick, and it was but time little enough to make me fit to make a return to the later part of yours; besides my wife was not with me, and I advise with her in all affairs that are domestic or that relate to our family, of which the youth you mention in your very obliging proposition is now the principal hope; and in the first place I desire you will give my very hearty thanks to those gentlemen that are in trust with you for concurring with you in the overture, to any part whereof I have no objection. I have a great value for the family, I take your word for the person, and I consider the alliance is in a part of England where I wish in such a way to refresh my ancient relation to many families there, so that if I hasten not to drive it on it is in consideration of the young lady, my desire being that she especially and whoever else shall come into my family may be happy in as many circumstances as is possible. The youth was but fifteen years of age in April last, and if this be the lady my Lord Conway was said to pretend to, he must have been at least as much too old for her as my grandson is too young, and yet that must be enough to make it unreasonable she should stay for him till he shall be made fitter for the conversation and conduct of a wife. I have sent for him over to me, that I may myself make some

judgment of his improvement in three years' absence, being unwilling to depend upon the relation of others who may desire to mitigate my grief for the loss of the father by giving me too favourable a character of the son. When you have informed me of the age of the lady, and when I have seen the youth, I shall be better able to give you my sense with the certainty and freedom necessary betwixt friends upon such occasions; till then be pleased to receive my acknowledgements for the sense you express of the affliction I am in, and for your early endeavour to lessen it.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, September 1. Blessinton.—I have received the honour of your Grace's of the 30th of the last, and with it the enclosed from my Lord Longford, which according to your Grace's directions, I return herewith. Mr. Muschamp in his letters to me gives me not the least hint of proposing any such expedient as is intimated by my Lord Longford. I had rather lose my salary than to retrieve it upon such terms, and I hope he will not offer at any such thing; it were not only very unhandsome in reference to my present circumstances, but very unjust. And indeed it is hard for me to guess at any expedient that may set me right in the opinion of the world, but that the King would not allow it, because he judged it unreasonable to have it done.

I this day received the enclosed from Captain Stone. Your Grace will see what he now writes upon that matter. I presume to send it to your Grace because it seems to comply with your Grace's opinion that he endeavours to magnify himself and friends, while some of them are suggested to be the greatest contrivers; but one packet or two will let us see the full result of this matter, and then I shall be ready to attend your Grace's summons upon what occasion soever you shall be pleased to command me, but I am somewhat unwilling to appear over busy in this affair, lest I should be thought to be overconcerned, and to put a greater stress upon it than indeed I do.

I find by my Lord Longford's that he being demanded by the Council whether the Farmers in Ireland were consulted with about the Bill of Revenue, that neither his lordship nor my Lord Granard could affirm they were, but if I am not greatly mistaken all the money Bills were put into their hands and particularly into Captain Stone's, and they were heard to object what they pleased against them before they were transmitted by your Grace. But I am clearly of your Grace's opinion that since such considerable persons in England oppose our Parliament, that your Grace's indifferency in the matter will the soonest convince them of their mistake. While you contend earnestly for it, it will be supposed by some, at least alleged by your enemies, that you have some private interest of your own besides the King and kingdom's service, which

begets your importunity. Most men make judgment of affairs according to their own principles.

ORMOND to SIR JOHN TEMPLE.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—When you have read over your brother's letter to me and the copy of my answer to him, you will have most of what I am able to say at this time upon the sad subject of my son's death, and something on that of a Parliament here. It is long since it might be discovered that the inclinations against it would be too hard for those for it, much less wit and policy than has been employed would serve to obstruct it, and even to make me indifferent in the matter, but that the offer at it should procure me enemies and give them advantage is hard. The short and the only answer I think I shall give to Sir James Shaen's paper is that I can find nothing in it but what is either impertinent or untrue, but as it is, it has given some colour by what was determined before, and he loses no ground by exposing his extravagancies. I am very sensible of the part you take in the affliction fallen on me and my family, to which I have always found you a real and useful friend. I know you will continue it.

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—If excellent letters from persons of all callings and conditions from the King down to the lowest of those I correspond with condoling with me the death of my son Ossory could have given me immediate and complete consolation, I should be at more ease than I yet feel myself. Your description of your own condition on the like occasion, and the only remedy you have had experience of others is the best state I can hope to be in, with this difference that as you are like to have a longer time to accomplish your cure by forgetfulness, so you are master of stronger faculties to support you than my age and constitution will afford me. It is true when we shall all be in the land where all things are forgotten I shall then rest equally with the best fortified, and thither my journey cannot be long. The province very wisely designed by His Majesty for you will present you with various, and, I think, new objects and diversions, and you will have wherewith to employ you in your charge and leisure besides for observations pleasing to you and profitable to your country, such as you have made in former negotiations in other places, and these help to keep out private uncomfortable reflections. I cannot say but that the station I am in forces me to lay aside my particular concerns and the melancholy that belongs to them, but the thoughts that take their place as far as my prospect extends are but miserable comforters, and he who is freed from the sense of a fit of the gout by one of the stone, may be said to be as pleasantly diverted. If I consider the public and would guess

where and when the agitations it labours with will rest and fix, I am lost in an abyss and my thoughts can find no foundation, till I raise them up unto and leave them with the eternal overruling Providence. If I look upon my own part (as that will have a place, say, what we please) I find myself set up as a mark for envious competitors for my place and for such as know and do not like my principles to level at, and if I did consult only my own safety and ease, it is not clear to me where to find it with that honesty and honour I mean to carry with me to my grave. From these roots are produced those envious inquisitions, inquiries and their malicious results you have so kindly intimated to your brother, which I do not remember he has acquainted me with from you, either because he found I had them some other way, or because he was not willing to give me matter of vexation, but I mean to send him your letter to me and at least some part of this. The sentence you gave against the Chief Governor and Council in case the Bills transmitted prove so ridiculously faulty as the endorsements on them and Sir James Shaen's comments make them, is most just, but it must extend further and take in the Judges and the King's learned Counsel and the House of Commons, too, in case they shall give what will destroy them and so many thousand families. But to what or to whose objections soever they have been or shall be exposed, I would have been glad it had not been thought a distinctive character of my friends to be for or against them; since it was I may have leave so to reckon. It might have been remembered that about January last we were commanded to make haste with Bills that they might be on that side by the end of May, and now it is become a crime that we have obeyed, and Sir James Shaen is set up to rummage his magazine of incomprehensible notions for objections. It is true, I hear Sir George Downing is added to him to allay the other's volatileness; when all is done the judgment you make is most rational, and since the calling of a Parliament here has been so long delayed, all this art need not have been used to persuade me that now it may be longer delayed. Sir, I heartily wish you all happiness in your journey to the end of it and in your return.

ORMOND to THOMAS SHERIDAN.

1680, September 1.—I desire your brother may receive my hearty thanks for the information he gives me by you and desire him on proper occasions (which it is left to him to judge of) to continue it. As to a Parliament or no Parliament here, it would be to me indifferent if I did not believe I could serve the King in it; nay, I should be against a Parliament if I consulted only my own present ease, profit or security. The labour will be most mine, I shall be answerable for miscarriages in it, and I shall pay more than any man out of my estate, since I must confess it is as great as any

man's; but it is an ill sign when ministers of state concur in their wishes and endeavours with the most violent opposers of the prerogative and just rights of the Crown. As to the Government, I easily see the disquiet, envy and danger it brings upon me, and will do from pretenders to it and from such as wish me removed to make the easier way to the accomplishment of their designs against the monarchy, and nothing could persuade me to hold it at this time of my age, going on 70, but that I will never abandon my master or the most dangerous station he can put me into whilst I think myself able to serve him; and whilst the Crown is so threatened this is my sense and resolution. I look upon Shaen as an instrument made use of to disappoint the King of the benefit he might long since have had by a Parliament, if my advice and earnest solicitation ever since I last landed here could have taken place; and they have so far prevailed that now it is impossible to call a Parliament here before that in England will be sitting; and then the agitations there will take up all men's thoughts, and arguments better than Sir James Shaen can furnish will be ready to be laid in the way, so that the issue of things there will be seen and must be patiently awaited.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. London.—On Thursday night I received the enclosed from my Lord Chamberlain, who engaged me to convey it to your Grace. He went yesterday morning to Euston, where he intends to continue till the King's return from Newmarket. Before his leaving Windsor he had some further discourse with the King about our Parliament there, for which he left him fully resolved and possessed with an aversion to Sir James Shaen's projects, which yet the ministers are as positive to promote, as your Grace will find before I have ended this letter, for I make choice of pursuing the series of things as they were transacted. On Thursday last at the Committee for Irish Affairs the first thing they had before them was the letter to your Grace with Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bill for additional duties enclosed in it, both which are ordered to be sent your Grace by this packet. Sir James thinks he has given such undeniable reasons and arguments against that Bill as will never be answered by your Grace and the Council there, and most of the Lords here seem to be of his opinion. I have not seen his paper, and therefore can say nothing to it. In the next place they resumed the debate upon the Bill for granting 200,000*l.*, etc., when it was again proposed by my Lord Essex and Mr. Hyde that Sir James Shaen should be called in, and it being answered that he had been heard already to that Bill, and their Lordships being convinced then that the objections given in by him in writing against that Bill were too slight and not of weight enough to be sent by their

Lordships to your Grace, it was objected as a very extravagant expense of their time to hear him any more. Mr. Hyde then told their Lordships he had some new matter to offer foreign to that Bill, to which it was replied it would be time enough then to hear Sir James to that after their Lordships had come to a determination upon that Bill, which opinion prevailing they proceeded upon it, and after some debate they came to this resolution : That on Thursday next, or the next time His Majesty was present here in Council, this Bill should be reported to His Majesty with those amendments whereof I formerly gave your Grace an account as a fit Bill to be transmitted thither, when His Majesty thought fit to have a Parliament there. Then Sir James Shaen was called in, who out of a paper he had in his hand read a proposition much to the effect I sent your Grace from hence this time twelve month, vizt. :—That only by a better management of the Revenue there without intrenching upon the covenants and contracts with the Forths and the late Farmers, or with my Lord Ranelagh or his undertakers, or with the present Farmers, or without any supply from a Parliament, all the King's debts due to both the lists there should be paid, the present establishment should be paid, provision should be made for the ordnance, arms, ammunition, all sorts of military stores and magazines, repairing of forts, building of new forts, a marching train of artillery, building of ships of war for the security of trade : in fine, whatever else should be thought necessary or reasonable for the defence of that kingdom, money should be provided for it, and as good security as London could afford given for performance. But he professed he desired not himself to be an undertaker, and that he proposed this without any design of advantage to himself, but purely for His Majesty's service and the good of that kingdom. It was asked of him how this could possibly be practicable during his Farm, he and his partners having a grant of all the revenue of that kingdom for that time, and whether he intended to make so considerable a present to the King ? Mr. Coventry observed to him that this proposition was an absolute contradiction to his former assertions of the poverty of the kingdom and want of cash there, for if the kingdom was not able to pay 50,000*l.* per annum for four years, and that there was not current cash enough in the kingdom to pay the growing revenue and the supply proposed by Parliament (as he had averred), how could his present proposition consist with his former assertions ? To this Sir James answered that if their Lordships were pleased to refer the matter of his proposition to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and such of their Lordships as they thought fit, he did undertake to reconcile his present proposition to his objections against the Bills, and give demonstration that it was practicable. My Lord Arlington hereupon took occasion to tell him that he remembered the time when

my Lord Ranelagh's was magnified and cried up for a glorious proposition, which at first seemed very plausible for His Majesty's service, but upon the experiment has proved much otherwise, he being now found 100,000*l.* in debt to the King. Sir James made answer that he was able to prove that my Lord Ranelagh, etc., had received from the kingdom above 100,000*l.* more than he had paid, so that his appearing to be 100,000*l.* in debt to the King upon the balance of his account was the effect of his mismanagement, and no disappointment in the undertaking, the arrears due to the King from the kingdom having been sufficient to discharge his undertaking. Sir James being commanded to withdraw, their Lordships referred his proposition (as he desired it should be) to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, my Lord President and my Lord Essex, of whose approbation of it he makes not the least doubt, for I had some discourse with him yesterday about it. I confess his discourse is mysterious and unintelligible to me. He says when a child is born it must be maintained, and now that he is brought to bed of this brat he must take care to see it nursed; however, though he apprehends your Grace may not approve of his way of proceeding he professes he has no intention of thwarting your Grace, for whom he owns to have all the honour and duty imaginable. He swears he has entered into no engagement with any man living upon this proposal, and having this twenty years constantly courted your Grace with all humility, assiduity and integrity, though he never received any other returns but slights and contempt, he is yet still desirous to be esteemed your Grace's most humble servant. And if you will please to allow him any place in your esteem and friendship he will be governed in this proposition by your Grace's measures solely, and if your Grace will please by any person living in whom you can confide let him but know in what proportion you would have the sums applied to the particular uses of his undertaking, he will be entirely governed by your Grace's directions in it. He says in all propositions that he has ever acted in the revenue since the King's restoration, he never moved a step till he had first acquainted your Grace with it. And he has always first communicated to your Grace the improvements that were to be made of the revenue, which he presumes may be an undeniable argument of the sincerity of his devotion to your Grace; but he finds he has always been so unfortunate that your Grace would never believe him. He apprehends that the Bills sent over and the usage he has received lately there, notwithstanding the favourable letters in behalf of himself and partners from His Majesty and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; look like a designed ruin to himself and partners, for prevention of which he is necessitated to embark in this opposition to the Bills, against which he says he would never have objected if he were not convinced that those Acts will prove

destructive to the kingdom. These are the most material points he discoursed to me, which as near as my memory would serve me I have represented to your Grace in his own words. And having done that, I do not pretend to impose upon your Grace's faith, nor to infuse an opinion that he is as omnipotent to carry all his projects as he may fancy himself in this conjuncture, having gained some of your Grace's late friends, but more of your enemies to countenance his proposition. And now he has got it referred to those he desires it is not improbable but they will watch an opportunity to prepossess His Majesty with an opinion that it is very advantageous for his service to put his revenue there in this method, and when they have fixed him in that opinion it shall be referred to your Grace for your approbation, which if you do not give, they will then press for your removal from the Government because of your aversion to so advantageous a proposal, it being impossible for it to be carried on while your Grace is there. These I confess were my reflections (from the experience I had in my own case after my Lord Ranelagh had proposed his undertaking) to my Lord Chamberlain, who notwithstanding is of opinion that your Grace should persist still in your own way, and commanded me to give it to your Grace as his judgment. I had proceeded thus far when I received your Grace's of the 25th instant, which came very seasonably to me, because it will give me a fair opportunity of discoursing once more upon this subject to His Majesty as my Lord Chamberlain desired at parting. And I hope your Grace will pardon me if I shew his Majesty your letter, which I carry with me on purpose to Windsor this morning.

I find Colonel Vernon very uneasy in his mind upon the suit commenced against him in your Grace's name, which he concludes in the opinion of the world looks like a mark of unkindness towards him from your Grace, whose faithful servant he has ever been, and will be to his death, and therefore 'tis the more afflicting to him, because the suit for the trial of those lands may as legally be carried on in Mr. Butler's or Roscoe's name, as in your Grace's. Your Grace may please to remember I have often moved your Grace in this particular, and if for your satisfaction therein you will refer it to the two Lords Chief Justices there whether Mr. Butler may not have as much advantage in the law for the trial of his title to those lands, the suit being in his own name, the colonel will have great content, and think himself much obliged to your Grace's justice therein.

I had forgot to acquaint your Grace that though Sir James Shaen acknowledges your Grace's favour to him and his partners in the late order concerning the interest of their advance money, yet that order will give them little ease because they have contracted to pay Mr. Ryder his money, and if your Grace will not please to enable them to do it by letting them have their

whole arrear of their interest money they must all go to prison, and the expedient he proposes is that if your Grace will allow them to answer this job, which pinches them so severely, to make use of the arrear of their interest, which amounts to 13,000*l.*, they will be content that all their interest from this time forward shall be stopped to the end of their Farm. I submit it to your Grace's judgment whether it be not necessary that my Lord Arran were here in this conjuncture, for most of your Grace's friends and servants are of opinion he might be very useful to your Grace here. My Lord Granard will soon be gone, and I cannot stay long after him, for I must attend my law affairs the next term. And without doubt my Lord Arran's being here when the Parliament meets may be of importance, for he has good interest in my Lord Russell, who will be the leading man in the House of Commons, and his lordship can himself represent the true state of affairs there in the House of Lords.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. Dublin.—I find nothing by this last packet about the retrenchment of my salary, but what I formerly gave your Grace an account of. By a letter from England I was advertised that the Committee did continue their inspection into our Bills, and that it was supposed they would yet return us some Bills to begin a Parliament, which I confess is now become my dread. They have taken off the authority and reputation of the Government by their objections against our transmission, and it is not now easily foreseen what may be the success of such a meeting. I this day came to Dublin in expectation of meeting my daughter Blessinton, and and I was not unwilling to shew myself in this place at this time that people might not apprehend me affrighted at the storm that threatens me. Here we have abundance of riff-raff news of the change of all the great places both in England and Ireland, but I find no ground for these reports, and therefore shall not trouble your Grace with the particulars.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD.

1680, September 4. Kilkenny.—When I took the liberty to inform my Lord Chamberlain of my intention to send for my grandson over to me I had so many letters of public concern to write and was so ill set for the exercise that I could not at the same time give your Lordship an account of it. What induces me to it is that I may myself get some acquaintance with the youth and be able to make some judgment of his temper and inclinations, and the best I can fit his future course to it. Besides I thought it some sort of expedient to reconcile the differing advices I have received concerning him from those that I am sure agree in their kindness to me and my family. The testimony your Lordship has given of

yours would require more and other acknowledgments than you may be willing to receive, but I beseech you to allow me to assure you that I shall ever have a thankful remembrance of it.

SIR JOHN TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. Dublin.—I received lately from my Lord Primate by your Grace's direction a copy of Sir James Shaen's observations on the Bill that was transmitted from here for raising 200,000*l.*, which seem to be a great many, but are indeed but two, one that Ireland is very, very poor and not able to pay any tax besides the ordinary revenue, to prove which there are about 25 several heads; and the other is that by this Bill the Farmers may be taxed for the rent that they pay the King, which is the most extravagant fancy that ever entered into any man's head. He concludes with an offer to propose something that may accomplish the ends designed without any Act of Parliament, which I suppose is intended to bring on some new project of his about the revenue. I find by a letter that I since received from your Grace, that you have resolved to make the best and shortest answer that can be to this paper, for it certainly neither requires nor deserves any other than that which your Grace designs to it. I cannot but be very much concerned at the usage your Grace meets with on the other side, whereby it is plain that nothing that you can do will be free from exception, though I thought the sending over this Bill had been one of the things that could not possibly have been objected against, especially at Court, where your Grace, I believe, is the first man that ever was found fault with for endeavouring to get the King too much money.

I find by my brother's letter that he mention[ed so]me things that he hath acquainted me with relating to your Grace, which you have had no notification of from me, whereof I can remember but two: one was concerning some there that aimed at the Government here, which was no more than your Grace I am sure very well knew, and had been for some time the common talk of the town before he writ it to me, and therefore I thought it to no purpose to tell you that, as news from him, which neither your Grace nor anybody else here was ignorant of; the other was something a nicer matter for me to concern myself in, which he left me at liberty to make what use of to your Grace I should think fit, and was about reports that were raised there and wherewith some persons of the best quality he said were endeavoured to be possessed, as if matters were now managed here in the same manner as they were in my Lord Berkeley's and Sir Ellis Leighton's time; but in regard he gave me no particular instances, nor named any of the persons from whom he heard it, and that I knew the matter to be so far from truth, I doubted whether it would be fit for me to say anything to your Grace of so general

an advertisement, and if I have done amiss either in concealing it hitherto or in mentioning it now, I humbly beg your pardon for it, and am very sure that I have done neither out of any design of disservice to your Grace therein. Your Grace may be pleased to remember that not long since I made an humble suit to you for the reversion of the Chief Remembrancer's Office for my son, and your Grace was pleased to tell me that you had not recommended anything of that kind since Mr. Coventry's parting with his place, but that I might apply myself to my Lord Sunderland for it, which I have done, and do send to-night the King's letter for it to Mr. Ellis to be presented to your Grace. I return unto your Grace herewith Sir James Shaen's paper, together with my brother's letter.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, September 4. Kilkenny.—In the performance of the King's commands for the sending several recruits out of his army here to the garrison of Tangier, I have met with some difficulty from the absence of many officers, from the want of experience of others, and from the corruption and backwardness of some, of which I have and shall take such notice as that the King's pleasure on the like occasions for the time to come shall be more readily put in execution. And that it may be so it is not only necessary that those who have been wanting in their duty should be reproved and punished, but that such as have been ready and diligent should be encouraged by being commended, and as occasion offers advanced and rewarded. Amongst these latter the Lord Shannon, Governor of Cork, has with extraordinary care and prudence performed all that was required from him, and that with such evidence of his affection and zeal to the King's service that it may deserve His Majesty's taking particular notice thereof, either by letter immediately to himself, or by laying his commands on me to let him know his gracious acceptance of his performances, but that the letter contain nothing of any other subject.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. Whitehall.—I shall endeavour to be as good as my word in sending your Grace Sir James Shaen's observations upon the Bill of Additional Duties, notwithstanding I know that the Clerk of the Council is ordered to send a copy of them to your Grace. The major part of my Lords were of opinion on Thursday and voted that the Bill of Supplies should be reported to His Majesty as fit to pass with those amendments that their Lordships had to offer. The rest of the time after this debate and vote was over was spent in hearing Sir James Shaen's project, how to do tantamount to all that the Bill for the 200,000*l.* pretends to do without any such Bill, but by a legal improvement of the present revenue. Tho' he was not brief, yet he was somewhat obscure. He had a paper in his hand for the help of his memory but

when he was desired to leave it behind him, he excused himself for the present, but when he comes next I suppose he will have a writing prepared. My Lords have yet done nothing upon the Bills of Settlement; the Report of the Supply Bill must be first made to the King, who will be in town on Thursday next.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. Audley End.—When I wrote to your Grace on the 2nd telling you the resolution I had taken to send Mr. Mulys to Oxford to help the removal of my Lord of Ossory from thence, Mr. Ellis was in the country ignorant of your Grace's purpose concerning him. Returning home to London he hath taken the pains to follow me hither to be particularly instructed towards the journey designed him. All I could tell him was you had wished in your letter your grandson might make haste into Ireland before the storms of Michaelmas, that you had ordered he should conduct him thither and that I had ordered Mr. Mulys to carry money with him to Oxford to facilitate his remove from thence and to perform his journey into Ireland, which should be put into his hands, which trust he submits to, and promises to discharge with all possible care. In requital of which I hold myself obliged to let your Grace know he hath served my Lord deceased these three years past with much diligence, application and discretion; that he was so sensible of it in his life as to express it often to me and to desire me to join with him in getting some good turn for him of his Majesty, that might enable him to live comfortably the rest of his life. Now as to any employment about your grandson more than the conducting him safely to you, I will presume to tell you his talent lies not that way, viz.: neither to be his tutor nor his Governor. For this he must have a man not only well stiled for his behaviour, but his nature will want one that may execute that place with some authority and resolution, even to the displeasure of the young man, who to deal freely with your Grace will need it for some years yet. For the teacher he must have a plain preceptor who may teach him the Latin tongue under the authority of the Governor, and in a plainer method than he was put into in the University, the want of which perhaps is the principal cause of his backwardness therein. Now because it was my fortune once to enlarge myself in my discourse upon this subject to Mr. Ellis, I pray he may teach his tutor in a few words how my young Lord is to be taught, after which I leave him to your Grace's bounty and good will, which he deserves, and I am confident will submit to with all cheerfulness and duty.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 6. Kilkenny.—Your Lordship's of the 28 of August to my son Arran seems to import that some

Bills might be soon transmitted in order to the calling of a Parliament here, but what Bills is not mentioned. I know any return will serve for a meeting, but I hope it is not believed that any Bills will serve to procure supplies. I am sure I never gave encouragement to such a belief. It is all the reason in the world that care should be taken on that side that nothing should pass here prejudicial to the trade of England, but if it prove or be thought that Ireland's being above water hurts England, some invention must be found to sink it, for burn it will not till the world shall burn, to my certain knowledge and experience. What else to say to that point I know not till I know wherein those Bills encroach upon the English traffic. If a Parliament shall be called, Sir James Shaen's ridiculous paper countenanced as it is will be admirable topics for speeches against giving of money; and to be sure that they shall prevail, there must be joined to them a refusal of all laws that may secure interests and improve manufacture. Upon these terms I never did, never shall, advise the calling of a Parliament and am sorry your Lordship puts yourself to the pains to travail so earnestly in it. When the King and his Council on that side shall think fit to command it, I am ready to obey, and if my opinion of the success shall be required I shall give it faithfully, but cannot do it pertinently till I have had time to consider what shall be returned to us. It is no small discouragement to us to find that Sir James Shaen's arguments are so convincing that all the Lords at first sight without hearing anything on the other side conclude them to be unanswerable. Judgments were not used to be passed so in cases of less moment, and where men of less quality were concerned in more than ordinary interest, namely, in their credit and sobriety. For if the Bills we sent be liable to all the faults laid to their charge, it must be concluded we were not in our right wits when we sent them. Your Lordship and my Lord Granard may have recovered yours and therefore I desire you would hasten over to try if you can bring us to ours.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to ORMOND.

1680, September 7. Oxford.—*Quelque rude que me soit la perte que je fais en étant séparé de Monseigneur vôtre petit fils cependant je la reçois avec toute la soumission et le respect que je dois aus ordres de vôtre grandeur, d'ont la sagesse et la bonté ne peuvent et ne veulent ordonner rien que très justement et qui ne soit pour le bien et pour l'avantage de mon cher Seigneur, ce que je dois préférer au mien propre and a ma satisfaction particulière. Mais Monseigneur après tous les mauvais offices que la malice and l'intérêt m'a rendus auprès de vôtre grandeur, oseray-je prendre la liberté de dire qu'elque chose en ma faveur et de reduire à présent mon employ passé à trois chefs; le 1er qui regarde les études de my lord, le 2d sa conduite, et le 3e qui se rapportera à sa dependance.*

Pour ses études son tuteur en a toujours été le maître et le directeur, cela lui appartenant alors, et j'ay toujours travaillé de tout mon pouvoir et avec tout le zèle imaginable, à ayder et à pousser mon cher mylord dans le chemin que le dit tuteur lui a fait prendre, et personne ne contredit icy cette vérité.

Quant à sa conduite Mr. nôtre bon Evêque a la connoissance duquel rien de ce qui concernoit mylord n'a été caché, sayt fort bien que M. vôtre petit fils a toujours gardé régulièrement ses heures d'exercices aussy bien qu'aucun autre dans le Collège et que je ne l'ay jamais mené faire aucune visite, ou a aucun divertissement hors du Collège sans sa connoissance et sa permission. Et je laisse à la justice de cet excellent prélat quelque sévère qu'elle soit à prononcer mon arrest sur ce sujet. Pour ce qui regarde la dépense vôtre grandeur a été amplement informée de sa nature et de la manière d'ont elle s'est faite ainsy Monseigneur vôtre grandeur m'obligeroit infiniment, si elle vouloit me faire la grace de m'apprendre la cause particulière de mon malheur. C'est assez monsieur que je perde mon cher seigneur sans faire en même temps une autre perte que je ne puis porter, qui est celle de l'honneur de vôtre précieuse bienveillance que j'estime par dessus tout ce que je possède au monde.*

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, September 7. London.—I waited upon His Majesty on Sunday last at Windsor, where I met with a fair opportunity of shewing to him your Grace's letter to me of the 25th of August, which he read every word and asked me what were the kind of proposition Sir James made to your Grace the last year, which I told His Majesty as well as I could remember; and this introduced a discourse of his last proposals, for which I do not find His Majesty has any inclination, for he did speak of him with no respect or reverence not only to me, but also in the afternoon to Mr. Secretary Jenkins. But Mr. Hyde (who is resolved to support him with all the credit he has with the King) seems to like his proposals better than a supply by a Parliament, and is of the opinion his methodizing the revenue will be more effectual to answer the King's service and less oppressive to the kingdom than the 200,000*l*. But what the proposition is, or the method Sir James has projected to manage the revenue by, he has not yet thought fit to declare. But I suppose by Friday next when the Council sits it will appear in its own colours, and then we shall know whether the Parliamentary or projecting way will be preferred. As to your Grace's own particular, His Majesty was pleased to repeat to me the very same assurances of his favour and kindness to your Grace, which some time since my Lord Chamberlain gave your Grace. And he added that he would do whatever was within his power for your Grace's and your family's support. I shall communicate to Sir Stephen Fox

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

Mr. Secretary Jenkins and Sir Edw. Deering those observations your Grace sent me relating to the Farmers, for the rest are too much Sir James's friends to have things of that kind communicated to them.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680, September 8.—Your grandson, my Lord Ossory, according to your command now attends upon you, and I hope will both return with all safety and also so appear before you as to be a comfort in some proportion answerable to your late cause of sorrow. I am exceedingly concerned that my Lord should at this critical time of his life lay such a foundation for knowledge as may hereafter stand him in stead to all the great and good purposes for which God and nature have designed him, and therefore hope that your Excellency will free him from the flatteries and divertisements of the Court, and pernicious infusions of servants, and engage him to industry and application of mind, which he will hardly retain amidst glittering and pleasurable diversions. I should have thought myself exceedingly happy if I could have served your Excellency and family in this great occasion, but since Providence has made another disposal, I shall labour not to be wanting in my endeavours in the behalf of your relation, my Lord Clancarty, who remains with me, from whose tractable disposition I have great encouragement to believe that all things will succeed and prosper with him. I add my prayers for the return of all comfort and blessing to your Excellency and family, Mr. Drelincourt being fearful that he may have been represented disadvantageously to your Excellency, and having desired me to express my thoughts of him, I humbly declare that tho' he may not have been a skilful manager nor happy in preserving authority in his station, yet I take him for a faithful, diligent and virtuous man, who has not willingly failed in the discharge of his trust.

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to ORMOND.

1680, September 9. Bretby.—Could I ever be capable of any omission either in my duty or respects to your Grace, I should never forgive myself, but sometimes the accidents that in this world befall us are of so high a nature that the naming them is a renewing of misfortune, and this consideration has kept me thus long from saying anything to your Grace on a subject that nothing but heaven can make me mention without murmuring, though I do not doubt but that your Grace, who in the many changes of this life has always expressed a fortitude of mind above the rest of men, will continue the same in this fiery trial and receive in it that assistance from above which is most passionately wished your Grace by, etc.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 11. Whitehall.—It is with all the humble thanks possible that I acknowledge the honour of two from your Grace, the one of the first, the other of the fourth current, with an extract of your Grace's letter to my Lord Chamberlain in relation to a Parliament and the Bill of Supplies that is now before my Lords of the Committee for Ireland. That extract had so much of demonstration in its that I thought it a right I was not to deny to your cause to show it and read it (as I have this day) to His Majesty and his R.H. His Majesty appeared to me to be fully convinced of the reason of it, and of the just resentment in it as to his carriage that embroils the affair. The Duke had leisure to enter (as he did) into a closer discussion of it, and of a great man's part that appears much, and yet would not be thought to have the same view with Sir James Shaen. Sir William Temple had been but a little before with the Duke, and had done your Grace a great deal of justice, as he does in all the Committees of Ireland that he appears in. The Duke told me he was very well pleased to find Sir William Temple so just to and zealous for your Grace. I must confess the perfecting and sending back these Bills should in all reason go on with better speed, and I am heartily troubled to see it. Sir James Shaen was on Thursday last to expose his project in the Treasury Chamber before the Lords of the Treasury, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord President, my Lord of Sunderland, my Lord of Essex, and myself. He had two or three papers that he began with. Then he broke off from reading them and discoursed his proposition, but he was not so successful either way as to be thoroughly understood. My Lords were forced to adjourn the debate till Monday, and he hath that time to consider how he may express himself more intelligibly. I could not get a copy of the papers he produced, nor will I take upon me to divine any more of his *project* than that it is a *management* he would be at. Some things he did ingenuously enough profess to conceal, at least to endeavour it, from my Lords. I should tire your Grace to no purpose if I should essay to repeat his discourse. The report that my Lords shall make of his project will be the best account that I can hope to give your Grace. I cannot imagine that his project should bring us to lay aside a certain supply and the calling of a Parliament, yet that is not only the consequence but the aim of his reasonings. One thing we must endeavour, that is, to get his Majesty to enjoin the Committee to be ready to report the Bills that are fit to make a session (as soon as a Parliament can be called) by that time His Majesty comes back from Newmarket, which will be ('tis thought) about three weeks hence. After that my Lords will have no moment free, the Parliament will be so near, which I beseech God to give His blessing upon. There are cabals already working to disturb it.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680, September 11. Kilkenny.—I am tempted by the fair weather to take a journey to Dublin and intend to be there on Wednesday next. Tuesday night I mean to lie at Grangebegg, and if your Grace pleases to take you with me to Dublin if you please to meet me on the road Wednesday morning. In the meantime I send your Grace Sir James Shaen's exceptions to the Bill of Additional Revenue, but do confess I have not yet read them myself. I think it will be found in my papers and perhaps in the Council books that we were commanded to send such a Bill, and if I am not mistaken such a Bill was sent in the first transmission, and as I think upon Sir James Shaen's consent if not promotion. However, if it shall be wholly laid aside, I know not why it should grieve us, and consequently why we should contend for it, only it may be fit to show that our part was purely obedience, and that what we sent was not so irrational as seems to be thought. By several things in the transaction of that affair in England it seems to me that the having of no Parliament here is the thing aimed at, else it is not credible that Sir James Shaen's fortune, reputation, and talent can be so unknown as that any serious weight could be put upon his advises or offers. I know not therefore why there should not be a short history collected of all that is past concerning the Parliament in England and here which may contain the grounds of desiring one, namely, the security of the Government the Protestants and Protestant religion in time of plottings and contrivances by the Papists against them, which was only to be done by the providing of arms and ammunition, building and repairing of forts and garrisons, and by making laws to free both houses of Parliament from Papists, and the kingdom from Bishops and regulars, the most dangerous of them. Upon these heads much may be seasonably said from the Council here to that in England and to consider whether this may not be more fitly said is a great part of my errand to Dublin, though I will own my kindness to be such that I go likewise with some expectation to see my grandson there shortly and to bring him with me. I find Sir James Shaen has at last offered that he will propose a way to do all that was designed to be done with the 200,000*l.*, and this by legal ways without a Parliament; and to this extravagant offer so much count is given that His Majesty is desired to refer the project to the consideration of the Lords of the Treasury and my Lord President and my Lord of Essex, the issue whereof I suppose will be the taking the penalty of the act for sowing of flax, relief and double duty on imported commodities, of which the two first are impracticable, but with the highest discontent of the people of all sorts and the last illegal. Being I hope to see your Grace so soon, I know not why I trouble you or myself with all this stuff, but the letter may serve for a memorandum.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, September 12. London.—Sir James Shaen's proposals appear to find great favour with the King, accordingly the best policy for the Lord Lieutenant would be to temporise, as it would be injudicious to declare openly against Sir James's scheme for settling the Establishment, when His Majesty appears to be so fond of it; such opposition would supply a good pretext to Ormond's enemies for urging his dismissal from the Irish Government. The Lord Lieutenant has given the King fair warning, and he cannot be justly blamed if the latter is deceived a second time.

Mr. Nash has come to the writer with a message from Sir James Shaen to Ormond, desiring to be acquainted with the latter's wishes as to the persons to be placed on and left out of the Establishment, and the sums to be expended on arms, fortifications, etc. Lord Longford thinks it would be no harm if Ormond would favour him with his views on this proposal, even though nothing resulted from the negotiation.

As to his own return to Ireland, Lord Longford thinks it will not be too soon, except he can shortly settle a money matter with the East India Company. He has informed the Lord Chamberlain of the despatch of the hawk and thinks he will send his falconer to Chester without much delay. After a tribute to Lord Granard's good conduct in Ormond's business, he speaks of the petition from Dublin re Whitehaven coals. Sir J. Lowther's tenants in that place have been at the bottom of that petition, which has been scouted by the English Council.

[*Abstract.*]

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 14. Whitehall.—On Monday Sir James Shaen had a full hearing before His Majesty at the Treasury Chamber, the same Committee that I mentioned in my last being present. He had not the luck so to clear his points as to satisfy His Majesty, who, I perceive, makes the same judgment of the person as your Grace doth. His Majesty will hear him again to-morrow upon the same project, with the assistance of those of his Privy Council of Ireland that are here in town. To that end my Lords of Longford, Granard, Ranelagh, and Sir William Temple, as also Sir Robert Hamilton (whom His Majesty himself named to be joined with them, as having a good estate of his own and an inspection into the Revenue) have summons to attend the King in the Treasury Chamber. I humbly take leave to enclose herewith the papers that Sir James gave in on Monday; the Lords of the Council of Ireland have copies of them and will, I doubt not, take that account of them that they deserve. The Elector of Brandenburg having lately set out some ships (7 or 8) from the Port of Pillao that he hath upon the Baltic for a merchandizing voyage (as was

pretended) to the coast of Guinea ; those ships being come to the height of Ostend took out of that very port a merchant ship of about 300 tons belonging to Spanish subjects. This alarms the Dutch and us lest the Elector should be acted to do this by some that design to disturb the public peace. His pretence upon Spain can be but for subsidies promised in the last war. His Majesty upon this complaint of the Spanish Ambassador hath sent orders to a man-of-war now at Plymouth to set out and cruise in order to meet the Prince of Parma to advertise him of this incident and to take him on board, if he please, to prevent him from falling into those hands. This I thought it my duty to advertise your Grace of, lest anything should happen upon the coasts or in the ports of that kingdom that might occasion to your Grace any trouble. Both these parties are His Majesty's friends, but we are in a strict tie of alliance with Spain ; nay, we are under an obligation to the Crown not to suffer the peace to be broken upon His Majesty's seas, not, especially, in his chambers and ports.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, September 14. London.—Yesterday in the morning His Majesty spent three hours at least in the Treasury Chamber upon Sir James Shaen's project about the better management of the revenue of that kingdom, a copy whereof Mr. Secretary Jenkins has promised me to send your Grace, otherwise I had done it by this night's packet. His Majesty has not yet come to any resolution upon it, and upon Mr. Secretary Jenkins' motion copies of his four several papers were sent to my Lord Ranelagh, my Lord Fitzharding, my Lord Granard, myself, and Sir Robert Hamilton to consider of them, and we are ordered to attend His Majesty to-morrow in the afternoon by four o'clock at the Treasury Chamber. Upon perusal of the papers I find so great uncertainty in them for want of filling up the blanks in the covenants from His Majesty to the contractors and in the covenants from the contractors to His Majesty that till these blanks are filled up no reasonable man can fairly object to them. And therefore when we are called in if any questions are asked us by the Lords of the Committee, we are resolved in the first place to desire that Sir James Shaen would withdraw himself out of the clouds by filling up his blanks and make his propositions plain and certain, and then we will furnish His Majesty with the best observations for his service that occur to us, and then we shall humbly offer to His Majesty that he would please to send the proposition when it is made plain, easy and certain to your Grace and the Council there, who have the assistance of the judges and his learned counsel, and not to lay the burden solely upon us, who are not furnished with law enough to judge of the Farmers' present contract nor how far this new proposal may interfere with it to His Majesty's

prejudice and disadvantage, which we presume carries so much reason with it that it will not be denied. In the mean time though the cheat is very visible, we must not offer at the discovery of it till we have fixed him by filling up of his blanks and obtained a full explanation of the covenants on both sides, and then we resolve to lay him open in his colours. The truth is he bids fair for my Lord Ranelagh's employment, which your Grace will easily imagine is no part of my concern. There will this night go to your Grace His Majesty's letter for making my Lord Drogheda of the Privy Council, which has been effected by my Lord Sunderland at the solicitation of Sir Robert Reading. The Duke has out of his friendship for your Grace and family so far interposed that His Majesty has consented my Lord Granard should be Lieut. General and my Lord Arran Marshal, and I suppose my Lord Arran has acquainted your Grace with the terms agreed on between their Lordships. The King and Duke make an end of their buckhunting this day with Mr. Secretary Coventry, and to-morrow the Duke dines with the artillery officers. The Prince Elector is dead and his son (the now Prince) is hastening from hence home to take possession of his principality. The Elector of Saxony is also dead, and by this means two Garters are void. Sir James Shaen is now for the meeting of a Parliament there (but without giving of money) to pass such Acts as may be for the good of the country.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, September 15. Highnam.—This answers your Grace of the first inst. as far as I am at present capable of it. In the first place it acknowledges the great sense of the obligation your Grace hath been pleased to lay on me in pardoning the great presumption [I was guilty of in making so partial an overture for my niece [Poulett], but seriously if goodness and ingenuity with comeliness enough (in my eye) may pass for part of payment, her portion will not be inconsiderable; as for the rest thereof my last gave so punctual an account that I need make no repetition. I considered my little Lord's age when first this motion came into my mind, for the honour I have so long had of being one of the domestics made me capable of shooting near the mark, nor can I at this time be punctual in giving an account of her age, only I am sure (notwithstanding that grave Lord's pretensions) there is little difference between them in that point, and that only in weeks, not a year, and I believe she the younger of the two; but of that more punctually in my next, for since your Grace's pen hath dropt so many encouraging circumstances, I shall neither despair of my niece's happiness nor be wanting in my endeavours to promote it. I dare be responsible for the endowments of her mind, that they will deserve my Lady's approving and improving, and that they are very capable of the latter. As for those of her body, every one's own eyes

are their judges ; as for other circumstances my last spoke her part and as for your Grace's there will be no difficulty when it shall be ripe for that discourse, for you shall in all those particulars be your own carver. I shall transmit the substance of your Grace's letter to all my partners in the trust ; all five are great adorers of your Grace's, and I confess I do not know any other proposition of this kind wherein there would have been so universal a concurrence. I can lay my hand on my heart and with a safe conscience say when I aimed in this proposal at the honour of my Lord Poulett's family, I equally considered the happiness of your Grace's, which if I did not believe very consistent with the other, I would as vigorously oppose as now I do zealously propose.

CHIEF JUSTICE KEATING to ORMOND.

1680, September 17. Galway.—On my arrival here late this night I met the honour of your Grace's letter of the 13th from Kilkenny with the copies of Sir James Shaen's volumes (for such they are) against the two money bills. They will require more time than I am or shall be master of whilst I stay here to read them over, and much more to understand them, though I am apt to believe the substance of them (if any they have) might have been fairly written in the title of the paper they now fill. I shall take little rest until I have finished here and waited on your Grace at Dublin. In the interim I presume most humbly to advise your Grace to deliver copies of these observations to Captain Stone in private and to desire his on them, which I am sure he will well faithfully and honestly give your Grace, and by that time I shall attend your Grace at Dublin.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, September 18. Whitehall.—The King having been pleased to grant me a pension of 3,000*l.* a year for seven years to begin after the determination of the Earl of Feversham's, I desire your Grace will give order for despatching the patent when the letter is brought to you, which I have sent to Mr. Solicitor to attend your Grace with. I cannot think it will meet with any difficulty, seeing it is the concern of one who will be ready upon all occasions to testify to you and to the world that he is with great truth, etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 18. Dublin.—I have your Lordship's of the 12th and at the same time received one of the 11th from Mr. Secretary Jenkins giving a better account, I believe, of Sir James Shaen's proceedings at the Committee than you could have from Sir James himself or his trumpet Mr. Nash. However, your Lordship mistakes my purpose if you think I set my rest upon baffling his proposition. On the contrary, I wish with all my heart I could believe it could be performed

for so long at least I should have a pleasant delusion. But I cannot give so much credit to it as to employ any of my time, much less give your Lordship the trouble of setting down answers to all his questions; it will be time enough to make the distributions for ships, arms, ammunition, and forts when the found shall appear. When your Lordship gives me caution how I vainly oppose a project so countenanced and delighted in by powerful men there you do not remember the disposition I am in relation to this Government, or you do not believe it to be really what I told you it was, but it is most certain I would not purchase my continuance in it at the price of a low compliance or of being silent when I think my Master is in danger to be prevailed upon to quit a solid and plain way of coming to his end for a chimerical project, and such I cannot but suspect that in hand will prove. Mr. Secretary Jenkins (to whom I am content your Lordship should show this letter) will have a copy of our joint letter to the Lords of the Council there upon Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bill of Additional Duties. It is some part of our misfortune that serve His Majesty at such a distance that many times the commands we receive and the returns we make are forgotten by the interposition of some more important affair. Hence it is that the rise of that Bill is thought to have been from hence, whereas it was prepared in obedience to absolute and repeated commands, and as much against my declared opinion as it was possible for me to express, preserving the duty and submission I owe to the King's pleasure.

I desire your Lordship would assure Sir John Lowther that if I had known he had been the person concerned in the complaint of this city, he should have been the first man that should have been made acquainted with it, and that I am in all occasions most ready to manifest my value of him. I hope my Lord Granard may arrive here with James, which adding Lord to his present title.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1680, September 18. London.—According to the summons which I gave your Grace an account of in my last, we attended the King in the Treasury Chamber last Wednesday, where Sir James Shaen's proposal was in some measure debated, but there being many blanks in it and many doubtful expression, it was humbly desired that before a full opinion was commanded both those might be filled up and these explained, and some instances were given which showed the necessity of doing it, by which the King was let to see that the goodness of the proposition or otherwise depended wholly on those things. Some of the Lords seemed to be possessed with an opinion that this proposition would advance the revenue 48,000*l.* a year, and conceived that however the blanks were filled, or the other expressions explained, the main of the

proposal could not be thereby much changed, and therefore delivered an opinion concerning the substance of it, the particulars being to be matter of further debates. To this their Lordships were answered that the arrears the Farmers were in was no sign of so extraordinary a bargain, and that though it was believed that the revenue of that kingdom was an improving revenue, yet not so suddenly and in such proportions as this paper seemed to promise, nor was the proposition itself such as it seemed to be understood, the 288,000*l.* a year not being offered as a neat revenue above reprisals, but that poundage and allowances were to be deducted out of it, and that by this means it would be reduced at the best but to the terms it is at now; besides which the proposer would entitle himself to the 60,000*l.*, which the present Farmers are to pay the King at the end of their Farm (within two years) by three monthly payments, so that whatever might be the casual advantage the King would certainly lose so considerable a sum as 60,000*l.*, which they are bound to pay him within about two years. Upon the opening of these things, the result was that Sir James was commanded to perfect his proposition and withal to name his security against the next time he appeared, and those of the Lords who came with so strong an opinion for the proposal seemed to be left with an impression far otherwise, so that by what I can guess by what passed there, and by having spoken with some of the Lords since, this project must be quite another thing than it is before we receive further trouble by it.

This debate being over, the Lords asked some questions about the Bill for increasing the revenue, whether it were likely those additional duties would hinder the payment of those already in collection, as had been objected; to which they were told that thing had been well examined before the Bill was sent over and that no reasonable ground for such fears had appeared, besides that late experience had proved the contrary when a considerable monthly sum was raised without any such prejudice. But that which stuck with the King and Lords was an objection made against the Bill of Settlement by which the King gives up an undoubted right he has to about 6,000*l.* a year quit rents with the arrears and mean profits of all those lands which persons decreed to several quantities of land are in possession of above the quantities decreed without any colour of title, and it was conceived that it was too much to expect that the King at the time that he passed many other acts of grace should withal discharge so great a right for the present, but of 200,000*l.*, which he might well expect for his other condescensions now in proposition.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, Sept. 18. London.—By Tuesday's packet I gave your Grace an account that my Lord Ranelagh, my Lord

Granard and myself, with Sir Cyril Wyche and Sir Robert Hamilton, were ordered to attend His Majesty by the next day at the Treasury Chamber, which we accordingly did ; and Sir James Shaen being called in, the first question my Lord Chancellor asked was [was] what objections we had to make to Sir James Shaen's proposal which he thought we had [had] time to consider, having had the day before copies sent to each of us. My Lord Ranelagh (who by agreement between us was to manage the chief discourse on our side) said that till Sir James Shaen filled up his blanks, and explained what he meant by fees, poundage, and such other allowances, his proposition was so uncertain that neither we nor any other man living could tell what objections to make. My Lord Chancellor replied [that] if in a proposition of so great consequence to His Majesty, which carried the face of so just and considerable advantage, we had not other objections than Sir James filling up the blanks, he was of opinion that His Majesty ought [not] to hesitate one minute in closing with the proposition. To this my Lord Ranelagh said that this proposition was matter of calculation by comparing the present state of His Majesty's revenue, and by the supply of 200,000*l.* proposed by Parliament with the advantage Sir James Shaen offered in his proposal ; and therefore till he filled up his blanks and explained his expressions we could not show His Majesty the difference between His Majesty's present affairs relating to his revenue and this new proposal. For as his blanks were filled up one way the proposal might be better for His Majesty, and as they might be filled up another way His Majesty might be a loser of at least 70,000*l.*, and to demonstrate this he desired Sir James to declare in what time of the year he designed his contract should determine. Sir James answered he intended it should end the first day of May, when my Lord Ranelagh observed to His Majesty that his contract ending in May he would hook in a whole year's hearth-money, which was near 30,000*l.*, and half a year's Crown rent and quit rent, which would amount to about 40,000*l.* more ; and that by their means both the list would for half a year, viz., till Michaelmas, be left without any other provision for their payment than the product of the Customs and the casual revenue ; and he further observed that those two quarters of the Customs were the worst in the whole year, and consequently this would beget a new arrear, and much disorder His Majesty's affairs. Then it was observed to us by my Lord of Essex and Mr. Hyde that for two years yet unexpired of the Farm there was an advance proposed to His Majesty of 48,000*l.*, making for the two years 96,000*l.* Upon this we asked Sir James whether he intended by this proposal to drown the 60,000*l.* he was to pay His Majesty three months after the determination of his present Farm ; to which he answered that he did, resolving to pay all and to receive all. Upon this my Lord Ranelagh

observed to His Majesty that instead of Sir James Shaen paying His Majesty 96,000*l.* in those two years remaining undetermined of the present Farm, Sir James would receive in lieu of it 100,000*l.* For first he would pay himself 60,000*l.*, which was due to His Majesty three months after his Farm determined, then he reckoned for each of those years 12,000*l.* for interest (in his own projected establishment), which was 24,000*l.* more ; and by his own calculation of fees, poundage (both upon the receipts and issues) and other allowances, he might reckon upon 20,000*l.* more. To this plain demonstration, neither Sir James, nor my Lord Essex, nor Mr. Hyde had one word to reply

Next we were asked whether we thought His Majesty's revenue could bear and make good Sir James's proposal. To this my Lord Ranelagh replied that if there were not allowance made for the management, which the Farmers reckoned at 30,000*l.* per annum, it was his opinion His Majesty's revenue could not be made clear to him 288,000*l.* Then he observed to His Majesty that His Majesty's present rent did not amount to more than 240,000*l.* ; and yet Sir James and his partners could not pay that according to their contract, for they were now in so considerable an arrear that if His Majesty would please to take the advantage of the forfeiture upon their breach of covenant, he might justly do it, for they were considerably in arrear of this Farm rent ; and to prove it he produced a certificate (which he received by the last packet) wherein there was a state of their rent due to the last of July, which by the days of grace was not payable till the last of August, by which certificate they were in arrear 49,000*l.*, out of which, allowance being made them for 15,000*l.* the money expended on Rincorran Fort, and 3,000*l.* more which was not placed to account, then their arrear last of July (besides what they owe for the last of August, for which they have time till the last of this month) will be 31,000*l.* In opposition to this Sir James produced a letter from his partners, with an answer from Sir John Champante to several particulars, concerning which they had appealed to your Grace, by which it appeared they ought to have had allowance for about 12,000*l.* To this my Lord Ranelagh replied that it was a state drawn for the month of June, and allowance was made them of all their demands ; but that certificate he produced was for the month of July, at the end of which, after all allowances they pretended to being made them, they owed His Majesty 31,000*l.* Then it was observed by some of their lordships that this debate was foreign to the affair in hand, and misspent His Majesty's time ; whereupon Mr. Hyde proposed Sir James should fill up the blanks in the proposal and explain all the doubtful expressions excepted to by us, and we having copies given us then to give our objections in writing, which was accordingly ordered.

Thus ended the debate upon Sir James's project, after which some of their Lordships discoursed upon the Bills sent over, and particularly of the Bill of Confirmation; upon which my Lord Chancellor and my Lord President observed to His Majesty that not only all cheats in false admeasurements and concealed lands were confirmed, but also His Majesty was debarred from the title he had to concealment of old Crown lands, so that for ought they knew His Majesty gave half a million value for 200,000*l.*, if the Bill were passed. And therefore their Lordships asked us whether we thought the Parliament would pass the Bill of 200,000*l.* without the Bill of Confirmation. I presumed upon this to tell His Majesty that when the subject gave a supply it was a usual method in Parliament for His Majesty to grant acts of grace; and therefore I doubted if the Bill of Supply was not accompanied by the Bill of Confirmation the passing of it would be more difficult. But my Lord Ranelagh was of a contrary opinion, though your Grace may remember when he was in Ireland he thought the Bill of Confirmation necessary. So upon the close their Lordships seemed inclined to believe that the Bill of Supply (to which most of them have a great mind) accompanied by those Bills for the advancement and security of the Protestant religion may be grateful to a Parliament there, and concluded the debate in that opinion to His Majesty.

I had almost forgot to acquaint your Grace that Sir William Temple (whom His Majesty commanded to attend that day) spoke with great warmth and to very good purpose in opposition to Sir James Shaen's project; and according to the best observations I was able to make most of their Lordships are sick of it. And after His Majesty had retired into the garden he did both to my Lord Granard and to Sir William Temple express his dislike of it. And yet Sir James keeps his mettle, swears his proposition shall take place, for it is a self subsisting proposition; and there shall be no Parliament in Ireland, for he both can and will do the King's business without one. I had also almost forgot to acquaint your Grace that we are now asked whether the levying the 200,000*l.* would prejudice the Farm in collection of the King's revenue. To this was answered that during the late Farm there was a tax of 30,000*l.* to make good the supply of the deficiency and the year's value, at the collection of which the late Farmers did not complain, and the condition of Ireland was so much improved since that it could bear a levy of 50,000*l.* per annum better now than it could then one of 30,000*l.*, which demonstration seemed to give satisfaction to their Lordships, though Sir James very untruly said that that tax broke the Forths. We also observed to His Majesty that Sir James Shaen proposed no security for his performance, to which Mr. Hyde replied it was not by a Farm but

by a management, in which case security was not necessary ; and that by experience His Majesty found that his Customs here, which were under a manager, proved much more advantageous to His Majesty, and that the revenue was much better paid now than when it was under Farm, and His Majesty had 400,000*l.* security for it To which it was answered by us that in the case of the Customs the Commissioners who managed it had only to do with the receipts, but in this proposition of Sir James Shaen's he was to manage both receipts and the payments, and therefore security was necessary for the performance. Thus, my Lord, for the present I have done with Sir James's project, in which I have been the larger that your Grace might be acquainted with all that passed, which your Grace could not be without this prolixity. I am now to acquaint your Grace that Sir James being nettled at the opposition given him, in revenge is again setting on foot the suspension projected by him a month since, and which was laid aside upon my application to His Majesty in favour of my Lord Chancellor, and his malice transports him so far that because my Lord Granard has vigorously opposed him ; he designs to have his entertainment as marshal among the suspensions ; of which I have given notice to my Lord Chamberlain to prevent any surprise of this kind upon His Majesty.

Last night there arrived here, as I am told by a good hand, fourteen discoverers of the plots in Ireland, who were presently welcomed in town and treated by Mr. Oates his man at their lodging, who this morning conducted them to my Lord Shaftesbury. Burke and McNamara are of their number, but the names of the rest I have not yet. They came on foot all the way, and are in an ill condition without clothes or money. They complain they were forced to leave Ireland for fear of their lives, having been severely fallen on by people there, insomuch that they were fain to steal on shipboard in the night, and being without money the good Bishop of Meath (who is the only Protestant Bishop in that kingdom) sent them privately three pound, conjuring them not to let it be known, lest it might turn to his prejudice. They rail severely against your Grace and my Lord Primate, saying they had all the discouragements imaginable from you ; and that when some of them acquainted your Grace that they intended for England, and desired some money of your Grace to defray the charge of their journey your Grace asked them what business they had in England, and said you had no money for them. Your Grace must expect that in a few days all the coffee-houses in London will ring with their discourses and that the fanatical party will make use of everything to reflect upon you. In the meantime I have given intimation of this to my Lord Chamberlain, that he may, as he finds occasion, acquaint His Majesty with it. Since the writing hereof my intelligencer tells me that

the Irish discoverers were at my Lord Shaftesbury's house, but he being not well they were not admitted to him, and that they resolve to lie close till Parliament meets.

Your Grace's of the 5th instant I have received, wherein your Grace tells me that in mine of the 28th of August to my Lord Arran I wrote that Bills might soon be sent over for a Parliament to meet there. I confess I have not time to copy my letters, and consequently cannot own that I writ these; but if I were in my wits I could not suggest any such thing; for I have not yet observed any steps towards the calling of a Parliament there, though several Bills have been under consideration. And when I reflect on the encouragement has been given all along to Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bills, I must want sense when I believe those on thy side are desirous a Parliament should meet. I only gave my Lord Arran an account of matter of fact here, and told him what the King said to me and others.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 20. Dublin.—I have your Lordship's of the 14th and Mr. Secretary Jenkins' of the same date with the proposal of Sir James Shaen. I hope by the next to hear that you have seen further into the mystery than anybody here can do. You will soon discover whether my Lord of Ranelagh though seemingly most directly struck at the proposals be not yet in the bottom of it, as I confess I have suspected ever since Sir James became a purchaser of so many shares in the undertaking and ever since I received his project from your Lordship, which is a year ago and more. I write in very great haste, the post calling for my letters, but I must not, as I have heretofore, forget to tell you we cannot find entries of letters from the Council here directed to the President of the Council of England and so without order cannot innovate. Mr. Nash continues the freedom of his style and gives more and other kind of advice than is desired from him, from him, which, together with his menaces, are lost upon your Lordship's faithful servant.

EARL OF BARRYMORE to ORMOND.

1680, September 24. Castlelyons.—Being at the interment of Sir Philip Percival on Wednesday I met there with most of the gentry of the north side of the county of Cork and some of the county of Limerick, who desire me to acquaint your Grace of the frequent robberies almost overy night committed by one Gerald Fitzgerald and others (whose names I have here enclosed to your Grace), and the hazard their corn and such as live in thatched houses are exposed to should they attempt to set these rogues or otherwise be active in the bringing of them to justice, which will not be done without your Grace's special order to have some forces in

small parties appointed to do service on them, and countenance the country, and I do not doubt to get Fitzgerald set, so that your Grace will empower me so to do and to reward the person or persons that do that service as your Grace shall think fit, all which is humbly offered to your Grace's consideration.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 25. Whitehall.—I should have acknowledged the honour of your Grace's letter of the 11th current by the Tuesday post, but that I was in hopes to have sent you Sir James Shaen's blanks filled up by this night, having moved in Council (as I did on Wednesday) that he might be enjoined to bring them in. Their Lordships commanded the Clerk of the Council in waiting to call upon him, but I can yet hear of no return. I will be sure to lay before His Majesty (as soon as he returns, which I hope will be this day sennight) your Grace's judgment upon the Bill of the Additional Revenue, together with the true reason of it's being made temporary, as also how currently it had passed the Farmers. I could not but suspect there must be much of fallacy in the strictures of Sir James Shaen upon it, for it is morally impossible that your Grace and the Council should so far mistake your measures as not to have charged one commodity that was capable of bearing the addition, and which is yet more strange that you should altogether be mistaken in the ways and measures for levying the duty, supposing that the commodities would bear it; but this is no wonder that we cannot get forward if Sir James Shaen must be heard and answered as long as his inventive faculty can furnish matter. Our master upon occasion of his readiness and confidence called to mind an expression of M. de Turenne's of somebody not unlike this gent. *c'est le plus honneste frippon qui est au monde*. The three Irish witnesses keep very close. They have not yet seen my Lord of Shaftesbury, who hath of late been indisposed, but now recovers. They say they have been forced to steal away out of Ireland for fear of their lives. I beseech God to preserve your Grace from all malice.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1680, September 25. Kilkenny.—I have yours of the 18th and by the account it gives of the last meeting upon Sir James Shaen's proposals I conclude they and the consideration of a Parliament here are adjourned. Those who were unwilling there should be a Parliament could not have found a better expedient than to set up Sir James to object and propose, as appears by the event. If we that serve His Majesty here had neglected to represent the ill condition the kingdom is in when it is threatened with Popish plots and a French invasion, and if we had barely represented the danger and proposed nothing to prevent it, we had justly merited the censure of stupidity or treachery, but having done both

I hope we shall escape any such reproach, tho' if the misfortune happen we shall feel our share of it. Now that objections and proposals (which can never be wanting) have taken place, I conceive it would be reasonable to let any improvement of the revenue and any contingent advantage be made use of to be applied towards the supply of our greatest defects. Of this nature I think was what I long since represented to my Lords of the Treasury of a double payment made by His Majesty of the same sum, one in England and one here. The case you have by you and can best judge whether and when it may be fit to refresh their Lordships' memory in it.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 27. Kilkenny.—Your Lordship's of the 18th got hither in six days, but that from Mr. Nash, of the same date, was stopped till yesterday by the hand to which it was directed. I send it you that you may see how much better he is informed of what passed at the Council than your Lordship, though you were upon the place and had a part in the action, whereby you may judge how safe it may be to give absolute credit to an intelligencer so easily misled. Perhaps your Lordship may think fit to extract some of the most notorious falsehoods to convince Mr. Nash that he is not to depend upon his idol for oracles. I look upon the proposals and an Irish Parliament as laid aside for some months. If my Lord Ranelagh should be at the bottom of the proposals, he has a dexterous way of disguising it. When your Lordship arrives, we shall have leisure to discourse more at large, and then if my son Arran has kept your letter it will appear whether I mistook or you have forgot what you writ about the speedy sending of some bills.

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1680, September 28. Kilkenny.—Yours of the 19th comprehends a great deal in a little room; my return shall be as short as I can make it. The time draws on apace when ordinary capacities are like to know more than the highest can guess at, which revelation I shall attend with others of my form and with the best resolution I can put on. Nothing has exercised my thoughts in the affairs of Ireland so much as to find out some reason why some (especially one) have found it necessary to make use of such a tool as Sir James Shaen, for tho' he has no reputation to lose, yet to patronise him can be no addition to that of any man's either in point of probity or intellectuality; but I leave this with other mysteries to future explanation and apply myself to the kind and most obliging part of your letter where you tell me what in my conduct sticks with unbiassed men, who by the way cannot make good that character without hearing defences as well as charges before they give credit, which in this case

is sentence against the accused. First, that all or half the military places have been sold in any time of my government or any of them to my use or to the use of anybody else to my knowledge is absolutely false, and yet it is true that a custom has been introduced by other Governors and not by me to permit officers to sell their places to their best advantage, wherein whether they follow the example of England or whether they thought it best for the service or for what other reason they began the traffic I will not determine, but finding it thus I have in some (not in many) cases permitted it to go on—when one has bought I have allowed him to sell and where I found a loyal meriting officer antiquated and charged with children, I have given him leave to sell his command, but in all cases I have been as careful as I could to bring into the army none but such as either had served well or were like to do so. That in twenty year's peace many of the army should grow old and look rustily, and that under diversity of generals they should in that time contract some corruptions is the less strange that the army must be dispersed in few, and many times, in single companies all over the kingdom and that contrary to the état of all other armies this is not regimented; for their number all that can be done to keep it full can be but frequent and strict musters and often changing their quarters, which is constantly practised. But now I think of it I will with this send you the copy of some heads by way of instruction I gave my Lord Granard when he went into England. They were hastily drawn according to the time he allowed me and were further communicated than I intended, something towards the end of them might have been more smoothly expressed, if it had perhaps the opposition to a Parliament here had been less violent and fewer faults would have been found in our Bills, but I must now own the words were mine. I remember my old friend Tom Elliott valued himself much upon the absolute government of his wife, and yet lookers on thought she governed him; why may not some be as much mistaken in the case betwixt me and the person you mention? It is easy to say, but I defy any man to show where I have been imposed upon to do an unjust—nay, an unreasonable thing by my resignation to his or any man's sense. My faults and failings, which, God knows, are many, are all my own, and I want that—even that poor excuse for them. I will confess that in men's peculiar professions I defer much to their judgments and where they mislead me I will lay it as much at their doors as I can.

My grandson is now with me and to stay with me till the next spring. In that time I hope to get acquainted with him and provide a fit person to trust abroad with him, if any such comes into your memory or knowledge it would be the highest obligation to me and my family to get him for us. I shall think nothing too much to allow a man capable of such a trust,

and that probably would make as much of the youth as God has furnished materials for. A proposition was made to me about a month since of a wife for him in the West of England, and it is still in some faint motion.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 28. Whitehall.—I have the honour of two letters from your Grace—the one of the 18th, the other of the 20th current to acknowledge; both coming yesterday to hand at one and the same time, together with the remarks of your Grace and the Council there upon Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bill of Additional Duties. Those remarks were read this morning in Council, and there was little said upon them in regard your Grace and the Council seemed not to be much concerned in the fate of that Bill, which (for aught I perceive) will be laid aside. Before these remarks were read, a letter of the Farmers in Ireland to Sir James Shaen had been read. The occasion was this: I had observed to my Lords that Sir James Shaen had not complied with their Lordships' order whereby he had been commanded to fill up the blanks of his project and to ascertain the time in which his bargain was to begin and end for that the filling of these blanks, and the fixing of the precise times upon which the contract should begin and end would very much guide my Lords of the Council of Ireland in the judgment they are to make of the project. Upon this motion one of the clerks answered that Sir James Shaen was attending at the door; being called in and asked for his project with the blanks filled, his answer was he had not yet done it, and for the time it should be his own time, that is, the King's he said, (for his advantage should be the King's advantage) and the contract should begin when it should please the King. After he had expatiated very much upon his reality and honest meaning in the project, he produced a letter from his fellow Farmers (or some of them) giving an account how far they were made privy to the Bill of Additional Duties when the Bill was first drawn up, and also how they had been called to the Council the other day and made acquainted with Sir James Shaen's objections against that Bill, that letter being read, the issue was that my Lord's monished Sir James to give obedience to their first order and to bring in his blanks filled up and his terms ascertained, to the ends my Lords of the Council of Ireland here may give their thoughts upon the project and be ready to do it against the King come home, which will be to-morrow sennight, or it may be a day or two later. The King hath within this three or four days declared himself at Newmarket that he thinks it very much for his service to have a Parliament called as soon as is possible in Ireland, and my Lord Chancellor hath this day represented to the Council that their Lordships should give to the Bills before them all the despatch possible, because the

very engrossing of the Bills will take up a great deal of time. Mr. Oates informed the Council this day that there are great numbers of Irish Papists about the town lately come, that there came 200 in one week and about 7 or 800 within these very few months. I know not whether there be any medium to examine the truth of this on that side, or whether it be worth the while to do it. We have Mr. Oates's word for it here.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, September 28. Blessington.—It is a very short account which was sent me by the last packet of Sir James Shaen's project; I should otherwise have given your Grace the trouble of it before this. They write only thus much to me on that occasion: that the Lord Ranelagh was the spokesman of the committee, that he desired Sir J. Shaen should fill up the blanks, and it was ordered so accordingly. Several observations were made upon the proposals which were not well relished by Sir James, who doubted not but in case there should be a Parliament in Ireland they would give no money, but of this I should hear more hereafter. My Lord Granard had left London and was gone to Cassiobury in his way to Ireland, and with him Sir Garnet Erwin, who had obtained a letter from the King to your Grace for the next troop of horse. I am advertised that the Lord President is no friend to Sir J. Shaen or to his proposal, but yet it is not doubted by some but that he will compass his business.

It is already discoursed by some what the King intends to speak to the Parliament at their meeting; first he will ask no money unless they will think fit to appropriate some to Tangier. Secondly, he will vindicate his brother from any knowledge of the Plot; thirdly, he will allow them to propose any laws for the security of the Protestant religion, and of property and against the French, but he will admit nothing upon the point of succession. If this will not take but that the Houses will be interposing in the last particular, the world may judge where the fault lies. Thus the speech is already prepared by the Court, and some cabals are already made in the city to discountenance it. Where it will end God knows.

The enclosed from my cousin Fitzpatrick came to me upon Saturday last at the evening, which I presume to send your Grace. If your Grace have any commands for me unto him, I shall take care to convey them according to his former directions. I know not whether he hath received mine or no, he says nothing of it in his letter, but by some passages therein I guess that he hath. He likewise enclosed the little note about the Sheriff of Queen's County, which I presume your Grace will be pleased to return me with his letter. I have likewise enclosed to your Grace for your diversion a copy of verses or rather a libel fathered upon my Lord

Rochester, but let the poet be whomsoever report makes him, he hath dealt very unkindly with a lady unto whom I have the honour of some relation.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, September 28. London.—Thinks joint letter of Lord Lieutenant and Irish Council re objections to Bill of Additional duties is rather a history of the origin and progress of that Bill than an answer to those objections. Sir James Shaen is very confident, asserting that they cannot be answered. Encloses a communication from Lord Chamberlain containing His Majesty's opinion that Ranelagh has routed Sir J. Shaen in the argument in the Treasury Chamber, but still, in the writer's judgment, Sir James Shaen appears certain of carrying his point. Explains the intent of his previous letter, which was written not to advocate any mean condescension, but to checkmate the enemy's design against the monarchy by not showing too violent an opposition to the new proposals. Secretary Jenkins moved the Council that Sir James Shaen should be called on to fill up his blanks without further delay. One of the clerks said he was outside the door. Being called in and queried as to the cause of the delay, he answered that some of the blanks couldn't be filled up without further information, and the time for the beginning and ending of his scheme would be as the King's advantage—his own likewise—demanded. He further produced a letter just received from his partners in the Farm, and pointed out contradictions between it and the joint letter already referred to.

Bourke has represented the necessitous condition of himself and the other discoverers to Shaftesbury, who recommends them to the Lord President, failing aid from whom he will succour them himself. Particulars of the straits they are reduced to mentioned together with an account of the help they have received. They allege that of the Irish Council only two—the Bishop of Meath and Col. Robert Fitzgerald—gave them any encouragement. [*Abstract.*]

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1680, October 1. Kilkenny.—In the making up of my letters the paper I intended to send you with my last was left behind, but possibly this will overtake it and perform what that promised. I have this morning received letters of the 25th of the last month, which coming from several hands that have various conversations and as differing conceptions, it is not possible to figure more discord of thoughts and expectations than possess men at this time. Discoverers of plots multiply upon us here as well as in England. Two or three I have upon my hands at this time which, whatever they prove, shall be transmitted to the Council of England as soon as they shall be fit for them. No

man next the King can be more concerned to find them out than myself, nor is any man more persuaded of the propension of many of the Irish to rebel. I know how easily they are seduced by the Popish clergy, and how ready they have been and will be on all occasions to seduce them, not well understanding when an opportunity is proper nor much caring how they venture their flocks upon bad terms for the Catholic cause and their particular interest, and therefore I dare not slight any information upon the incompetency of the informer or the improbabilities of the information having to do with people that seldom act by the rules of prudence or their own true interest. This addition of trouble comes upon you by my negligence, but it shall end here.

SIR JOHN TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1680, October 2.—I have received the honour of your Grace's letter of the 29th of September with my brother's enclosed, as also your Grace's warrant for my Lord Sunderland's pension, whereupon I have drawn the fiant, and send it by this post to Mr. Ellis.

I think the best way for your Grace to be rid of the trouble that is given you by this new fellow that accuses so many Popish priests would be to send him to my Lord Chief Justice or some other of the Judges of the King's Bench to take his examination and issue out such warrants thereupon as they shall see cause, for that being the legal way cannot reasonably be found fault with, and it being their proper work, I see no reason why your Grace should take it upon yourself out of their hands unless the matter were very extraordinary.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, October 5. London.—Ormond is to be accused in Parliament of keeping back his knowledge of the Plot, and then of faintly prosecuting those accused by the discoverers. These latter are to be produced at the sitting of Parliament. The aim of Shaftesbury's party is to drive him from the Irish Government, and still further, to blacken his reputation, so depriving him of any chance of serving the Crown in any capacity. Longford beseeches him to send his son Arran to London to work up his interest among his friends, which he himself will endeavour as much as in him lies for the remainder of his stay there. Colonel Fitzpatrick is in town and has been very civilly received by Sunderland. It is deemed reasonable and politic to give him every fair encouragement in view of his change to the Protestant religion.

The writer has seen Sir James Shaen, who is very confident and bids defiance now to Lord Ranelagh, seeing that he has the blanks in his proposal filled up. Particulars are enclosed relative to this proposal—36,000*l.* appropriated annually for arms, repair of forts, building of ships, etc. Longford

does not understand item of 85,000*l.* running cash, but thinks the King will be the loser to that extent on the whole transaction. [*Abstract.*]

LAURENCE POWER to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680, October 6. Tanderagee.—There was lately a man who of his own accord came to me and told me if I could propose any way to secure him of a reward he would undertake to do very good service in betraying the Tories, and I told him the country made very good provision already for any that would either kill or betray any of them, especially Redmond or Loughlin; but he replied that what the country promised was very uncertain and long a-getting, and if I could but assure him of anything he would undertake to betray all the Tories in the North. I told him if he would I'd give him ten pound of my own, and withal that your Grace would see him well rewarded, upon which promise and encouragement he told that Redmond and Loughlin were to go towards Longford, and that sixteen Tories out of the counties of Derry and Tyrone were to meet them, and that they were to rob a gentleman's house upon the borders of Connaught, and before they were to attack the house they were to lodge the night before in two troopers' houses that belong to my Lord Granard and live near Longford, which (to his certain knowledge) he said did assist Redmond in several robberies and received several stolen goods from him and was very certain they had a considerable sum of money in keeping for Redmond. He could neither tell me their names nor what countrymen they were. And, my Lord, last night this man and nine lusty fellows from this town are gone towards Longford. On Monday morning Redmond and Loughlin and four more (as the fellow told me) are gone upon this expedition, and he was very confident he and the nine that went with him should meet with them in these troopers' houses. I encouraged the fellow as well as I could and told him the ten pound I'd give him should not be reckoned upon the country's account and gave him some money in hand, and he told me further that if he missed of this design the Tories were resolved as soon as they came from Longford to attempt the robbing of the Widow Cope's house in this county and near the town of Armagh. It is a strong house and he said all the Tories appointed to meet there. They are to come in the evening in red coats and to surprise the gate leading into the house. He says they be a strong party and that Redmond has engaged several young fellows in this county to join with them, among whom this my informer is one. He promised to come to me the night before. Now, may it please your Grace, I do not know who to impart this affair unto, Sir Hans Hamilton being not in the country. Sir George Acheson is the most active and fittest for such an undertaking, and I am certain if your Grace will write to him he'll be very

diligent in it. He took a great deal of pains to find out the horses that where stolen from Blessington and desired me to acquaint your Grace that Mr. Harrison of Lisburn seized two geldings. I writ to Mr. Harrison and sent two men to view the geldings—one of them is an iron grey, and the other sandy, which paces, but is very lame. Sir George met others in the mountains that are of little value, and therefore believes cannot belong to your grace. This account I thought fit to give your Grace. The Tories that are gone to Longford are all in gray coats lined with red, and they are to turn the red side out when they come to the gentleman's house.

ROBERT GORGES to LORD LANESBOROUGH.

1680, October 7. Kilbrew.—The Lord Ranelagh owing the Earl of Longford about fifteen hundred pounds gave him a list of pretended arrears due to His Majesty in the county of Meath to satisfy that debt. The Earl of Longford knowing my residence to be in that county communicated to me his list; *primâ facie* I made objections against several articles of it, well knowing that several sums charged to be in arrear by that list were already paid and as well knowing that other articles were never due. His Lordship well knew how unjustly that county as well as others had been harassed by the Lord Ranelagh's vain pretensions, and being tender of giving any further unnecessary trouble to the subject, gave me his list to enquire on the place the true state of those pretended debts, and I, well knowing the then approaching assize, where would be a concourse of persons of quality from all parts of the county, would give me full opportunity to answer his Lordship's desires, accepted the service, and there producing and reading the list in the presence of such as I knew were most knowing in concerns of that nature had objections made me almost against every article, and was particularly told by Mr. Pratt (who is now a Justice of Peace of that county, and a man that was employed for more than seven years past to collect the King's whole revenue in it) that he would not give twenty shillings for what was justly due to my Lord Ranelagh in that list; others said that, however, if that list came to his Lordship's usual ministers and they armed as formerly with the levying process of the Exchequer, what by terrifying the country, what by driving their stock, wasting their lands, and bribes they would receive from the poor people, especially in harvest time, that they would soon do more mischief to the country than the money contained in the list would repay. Others then present said that the Lord Ranelagh had other claims of the same kind on the county, and that his Grace the Lord Lieutenant was so tender of the country and so distrustful of the reality, that the lists were to be sent into the country and examined on the place before any further vexations should be given the subject, which is a course both just

and generous and agreeable to the precedents of former times, and had it been pursued when the Lord Ranelagh entered on his unhappy undertaking had, I am sure, saved this country more than double the money that was ever *bonâ fide* due to his Lordship, and without charge or trouble procured what was justly due to him. I know one of his collectors is now reputed to be worth 5,000*l.*, who before his employ was not worth five groats. I as well know that the multitude of other vermin employed by him got much more, not only the commissioners, but their collectors, nay, every vagabond rogue employed by them appeared armed in the country with the great thunderbolt, I mean the levying process of the Exchequer, which, as your Lordship well knows, not only extends to body, goods and lands, but even to lands, tenements and hereditaments from the date of the pretended debt, a punishment by law calculated for sedate times, and to be executed only on incorrigible offenders and indisputable debtors, and not to be intrusted in any hand by the Sheriff's who were usually persons of the best quality and repute in the county, and they not entrusted with this process till they gave good security, and that only for one year, under severe penalties as appears by several laws, Edw. II, III, 28; Edw. III, VII, 42; Edw. III, IX, 1, etc., but when this authority thus cautiously guarded by the law was without security or consideration put into the hands of vile persons and that for many years, your Lordship may easily conjecture what direful effects the conjunction of this authority with these persons must have on the subject's property; which power being derived in its first original from obscure and impure hands, like a polluted fountain the farther it ran the more pollution it contracted, till at last it fell into the rascality of the common people, and they usually executing it with the greater rigour on their captives that Turk-like (Christian comparisons the matter will not well bear) they might quicken and heighten the price of redemption to their own advantage, and whereas by all laws persons are to be heard before judged, condemned or executed, these miscreants having once invaded the just and ancient methods of His Majesty's Exchequer, inverted the common method of natural justice, beginning where all other laws end, with execution, that we never knew ourselves debtors till we found our herds and flocks in their hands or pounds; and the more crafty of them knowing that the punishment which by law was, as I said, imposed on contumacious and undoubted debtors, they knowing that this was applicable as they pleased, usually they would make the pretended debt lower than the price of a legal discharge, and thereby necessitate the subject to pay their unjust demand or to seek for a legal cure, where the remedy was more expensive than the disease. And if this hath been the usage of the county of Meath, a county so near the fountain of the Government and a county so well planted with English,

who are usually observed not hastily to forget or forgive oppressions of this kind, what does your Lordship expect was the usage of the more remote and barbarous parts of this kingdom, where it is said that the name of Ranelagh is as much abhorred as the name of St. Patrick is adored. St. Patrick they tell us turned all venomous corruption out of the kingdom, and Ranelagh hath brought all in, and did these remarks be thus justly due (as upon further inquiry it would be found) to this list, which the Lord Ranelagh is said to call his best list of debts in this county, I beseech your Lordship to consider what character is fit to be given to his next demand. We in the country say that his Lordship, his partners and creatures have shared the King's real debts amongst themselves, and now hope to pay His Majesty with pretended debts of their own making. But well knowing who God and the King hath set over us and his great concern amongst us. and that that concern must more suffer by arbitrary proceedings than any of ours we are in hopes, upon your Lordship's interposal, mischiefs of that nature may for the future be prevented, and that upon the place my Lord Ranelagh's future pretensions may be examined, the country's objections heard, and till then the great thunderbolt of the Exchequer restrained, which I believe is the desire of the whole kingdom as well as of the county of Meath and of yours, etc.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, October 9. London.—His account of what passed at the meeting in the Treasury Chamber was correct, notwithstanding anything in Nash's letter. Urges Ormond to look to himself, as the storm is coming on, even though it be at the sacrifice of temporising, and regrets Lord Cavendish's not being returned from France, for he would be of assistance in the approaching crisis. Sir James Butler is anxious as to the fate of a letter he wrote about a successor to the Bailiff of Westminster. Ol. Plunket, it has been decided, is to stand his trial in London, but Lord Tyrone's case is to be further debated. He would lose his privilege of trial by his peers if his trial was to take place in London. Thinks that Ranelagh is not at the bottom of Sir James Shaen's strivings, for the two are either utter enemies or else "the arrantest jugglers in Christendom." Has inspected, the house which Coventry has proposed as a residence for Ormond, but thinks it unsuitable on several grounds. [*Abstract.*]

ORMOND to the GOVERNOR OF LIMERICK.

1680, October 9. Kilkenny.—Having received information of a certain quantity of powder, some muskets and pistols coming from Holland and being landed without our licence in the river of Limerick, we have sent you a copy of the

examination of Thomas Fleming, mariner, upon that subject, taken by the sovereign of Kinsale, the second instant, and do hereby will and require you to secure one William Kearny, inhabitant of Limerick, who is deposed to have come over in the ship that brought the said powder and arms, and strictly examine him as to what he knows of the shipping, landing, and disposing or other particulars concerning the premises, and such examinations to transmit speedily to us, with what other advices you may have or can receive towards the fuller discovery of the matters above mentioned, and so we bid you heartily farewell.

JOHN ODELL to GERALD FITZGERALD.

1680, October 11.—My dearest cousin,—At my return home on Saturday I found my wife perplexed at stories told her, some that I should tempt Lyne and offer him land of inheritance as a bribe to swear the Plot, some again on the other hand that I have discovered to the conspirators the informations against them; some that I have said that there was nothing in David Fitzgerald information but magnified Nash's; others that I have reflected on his Grace and said that his Grace should say that Nash his information was a vain idle thing and no credit to be given to it. How inconsistent these are I leave you judge, yet I am persuaded their inventions are at work and are designing malice, or at least like the letter to terrify my wife to persuade me from my duty; but believe me, cousin, nothing less than poniard, poison, or what may deprive me of life shall deter or take me off my duty to His Sacred Majesty and my country and an exact obedience to his Grace's commands, who I am obliged to honour, and so much I hope if in your way and one arise for it, you will vouch; I confess to you as I did to my Lord Lieutenant that I have personal kindnesses to several that are impeached and particular prejudice to none, but all kindness and respect are to be forgot in things of this nature; you are now on the stage and may expect a like malice, but so we discharge our duties and endeavour the public peace and safety of the kingdom I presume we have both our ends. What Lyne will do I know not. I have not yet seen nor heard from him nor Massey, though I wrote to both yesterday; if he should continue obstinate and denies what he told me and what aid I gave my Lord Lieutenant, I desire you satisfy his Grace that I can prove he has told another Justice of the Peace and half-a-dozen besides as much as he told me. John Massey that goes with him brought him to me and was witness to all he said. It's true I did not examine him on oath. I durst not trust a thing of so high a nature to the conduct of my own reason, but prayed his Grace's commands whether or by whom examined or whether he should attend his Grace, but I hope you will sweeten him, and by your reason work him to perform his duty.

John Massey, Sir, has been active and discharged well his duty. I question whether either Nash, Lyne, or Stokes had appeared were it not for him; he let it not die as soon as he heard anything, but carried them first before my Lord Orrery, and after to Limerick, and bore their charges and Stokes till he brought him before me, and having not spared his person nor purse, it's the least he be repaid what he laid out, being not so well beforehand with the world as to lose it. What charges I have been at with them at Limerick or elsewhere I value not, so His Majesty be served and the country secured I have my reward, though I know no reason why the public or this particular county should not as well bear what charge I and Massey has been at as what you will be now at as we since they will have equall benefit, me and mine to Reedy and fireside. Doctor Lyne promiseth me this morning he will discharge himself faithfully. Your reason and temper will, if possible, encourage him. John Nash goes. If when David and he meet he will not speak to purpose, I advise he be sent back. John Massey tells me of a great meeting of about 5,000 foot and about 500 horse about Glanneragh. If so, the apprehension I told you of the several parties marching by night through the country was not vain. I advise you to my quarters at Mr. Long's at Kilkenny, because near the castle.

[*Endorsed*: "To my honoured friend and kinsman, Gerald Fitzgerald, High Sheriff, of the co. Limerick"].

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, October 12. London.—Since I waited upon your Grace I have been in a constant motion, but being now come to a place where I shall, I believe, fix for this winter, I think myself obliged to acknowledge the favours I received from your Grace when I waited upon you at Kilkenny and to assure your Grace that I shall be very happy if your commands will give me an occasion to show with how much readiness I should obey them.

The members of Parliament do in great numbers flock up and more are daily coming, so as 'tis believed it will be the fullest House of Commons that has been these many years. The Court is not without jealousies, and the private meeting that ('tis said) has been lately between the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Duke of Monmouth does not perhaps lessen it in some persons. They report great numbers of Irish to be lately come out of Ireland to this place, but I believe they are much multiplied by the fears of some and designs of others. My Lord of Castlehaven has lately printed memoirs of his own actings, which gives such offence to some that it will, I hear, occasion an answer. I have desired my nephew, Robert Fitzgerald, to wait upon your Grace about the commission you were pleased to promise me of the county of Cork, and since he had one for the county of Kildare, he may see mine (if your Grace approve of it) drawn accordingly

When the Parliament meets, if anything of importance shall happen (as I doubt many things will) your Grace shall receive notice thereof.

PRIMATE BOYLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1680, October 12. Blessington.—The Lord Bishop of Down by a letter from London hath given me intimation (and, I understand, by your Grace's favour and directions) that there is a petition prepared to be presented to the Parliament in England complaining that several of the Bishops of Ireland have more than one bishopric, by reason whereof the people are much neglected and the new plantations much discouraged, and that this petition is managed by a Dean of Ireland and two other gentlemen besides, and that this petition is at present in your Grace's hands. I must in the first place acknowledge your Grace's great favour and concern in the behalf of this poor Church, that you have been pleased to make some stop of that petition until you should first receive from hence account of the matter of fact, which, in short, I apprehend to be this as well as I can recollect at present :—

There are two sorts of unions of bishoprics in this kingdom ; some are perpetual and have been made so of a very long date, as Cork and Ross, Dublin and Glendelough, Kilkenny and Ossory, and, as I suppose, Down and Connor, with some few others. These have been so long and legally united that they are esteemed but as one bishopric. Other unions there are which are only temporary, and were united by the King's Letters Patents after His Majesty's Restoration, which, I suppose, was done principally upon these two considerations.

1. The small value of those bishoprics which were then united, which at that time (the country having been harassed by the late wars and rebellions) were incompetent if single and alone to support a bishop according to that condition which was requisite. A second reason might have been that the lands of the bishoprics were all in the possession of other persons who had seized them or farmed them from the usurper. And it was thought difficult to retrieve these and to bring them home again without some abilities in the new bishops to recover them who were then generally great sufferers, very poor and reduced to a low condition.

As to those of the former sort which had been perpetually united, His Majesty took no notice of them to interpose or alter them ; as to the latter, which are only temporary unions, the Lord Lieutenant hath upon the vacancy of the see represented to His Majesty the fitness of disuniting them if he found them improved to a sufficiency for a single person. And upon this account of our Lord Lieutenant's representation to His Majesty, the bishopric of Cloyne, which was united unto Cork, was upon the death of the last Bishop of Cork disunited, and is now made a bishopric of itself ; so likewise

the bishopric of Dromore, which was united unto that of Down, is now made a bishopric of itself. And I may reasonably suppose that the like course is intended in the future when they shall become void, if they shall be found a competency to maintain a bishop, for I partly know our Lord Lieutenant's intentions in that particular. But really, my Lord, some of those united bishoprics are so miserably poor that they will not well maintain a good curate. This, as I conceive, is the true state of that affair or very near it, but I dare not be positive as to particulars, being absent from my papers, which are now at Dublin; and my Lord Lieutenant (who seems most to be reflected on as Chief Governor of this kingdom) being now at Kilkenny at such a distance that I cannot wait upon his Grace to receive his commands therein within the time that I thought myself obliged by good manners to attend your Grace with this account.

What the persons are that present and prosecute this petition I am not otherwise advertised, but that one of them is a dean and the other two esquires and all of this kingdom. I am somewhat inclinable to believe that if the dean could have procured for himself a good bishopric here he had never complained of the Government, but this is not the first time that particular disappointments of that kind have raised up enemies to the Church and State also under the pretence of reformation.

It might admit of many conjectures why those gentlemen that pursue that petition being all of this kingdom did not first according to their duties apply themselves to the Lord Lieutenant and Government before they would carry over such a complaint into England, where they might have been sure to have obtained right in the behalf of the Church in general against any particular person whatsoever; they could not but know that the remedy was proper to be sought for here, and near at hand; they could not but believe that the Parliament of England, unto whom they designed to address themselves: would at the most but represent this complaint unto the King, that His Majesty might have the true state thereof examined in this kingdom. But some love to make a noise, though it be for nothing, and, when other attempts fail them, to endeavour to make themselves considerable by clamours. But it is not my business to reflect. All that I shall presume to trouble your Grace with upon this occasion is with my humble petition in the behalf of this poor Church, that your Grace will be pleased to favour and protect the bishops and clergy of this kingdom as far as you shall find us not altogether unworthy your countenance and defence.

Copy.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, October 12th. Blessington.—I gave your Grace the trouble of some letters and prints about the beginning of this

month, but I cannot tell whether they came to your Grace's hands, for I have received none from your Grace since yours of the second instant. The enclosed from my cousin Fitzpatrick came lately to my hands. I suppose your Grace will not be unconcerned to do him all the kindnesses you can, notwithstanding the reflections which my Lord of Essex makes upon his conversion. If your Grace would be pleased to direct me how I should serve him by writing unto any friends in England or any other way, I shall do it with all my heart and shall run the hazard of any misinterpretation that can be put upon it.

I am not satisfied that the Sheriff of the Queen's County hath done any wrong in possessing Hoveden of part of his estate, if the case be as it is represented unto me; but I believe it may be judged a hard proceeding, and upon that account your Grace's refusal to continue him another year is certainly very prudential.

I herewith send your Grace a letter which I received by the last packet from the Bishop of Down, which is all that I ever heard upon that matter. I shall not trouble your Grace with any paraphrase upon the particulars of the letter, but leave it as it is to your Grace's letter judgment. I know not who those persons are who are the promoters of this petition, but I guess that the dean must be Dean Bladen, and one of the esquires Squire Coppinger, but I can make no guess at the third.

I would not willingly have returned any answer thereunto until I had received your Grace's sense upon it; but I considered that if I stayed to expect that my return would scarce reach London before the sitting of the Parliament, which perhaps would be thought too long a time for my Lord of Canterbury to keep the petition in his hands, and therefore I held it more convenient to write to his Grace by this night's packet, the copy whereof I herewith send your Grace. If your Grace will please to take so much notice of it yourself as to write your sense to my Lord of Canterbury upon it, it might not perhaps be an inconvenient or an unseasonable opportunity to begin a correspondence, and your Grace may make good use thereof for other occasions, for your Grace may perceive by the Bishop's letter that my Lord of Canterbury doth already resent the petitioners passing by the Government of this kingdom without their application. If your Grace finds anything amiss in my letter (which was hastily put upon me), and that you would have me change or alter anything therein, I have left myself latitude enough to correct anything I wrote therein. I have written likewise to the Bishop of Down and have presumed to tell him that I doubted not but your Grace would have a great respect and value for his kindness.

I herewith send your Grace another letter which I received from Mr. Power. I have writ him a general answer of

encouragement to that person that shall perform any acceptable service upon the Tories. If your Grace have any particular commands for me therein, I shall direct them to him. If I could have told whither to have wrote to my Lord Granard, I should have given his lordship the advertisement of his troopers, which Mr. Power sent me. I humbly desire your Grace that Mr. Power's name may be concealed.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, October 15. Chislington.—I have been so severely handled of late with this new fever that I was not in a capacity of presenting my humble duty to your Grace. It seized me at Newmarket when I underwent four fits, the three last bereaving me of my senses, but before the 5th (for it took me every second day only) I by the help of coaches reach Ampthill and found motion agreeable enough to me, so that after a day's rest I came hither. I would fain (if it please God) be able to get to London that (as the only service I am capable of doing your Grace) I might be accountable to you for our constant proceedings there. The passages in these parts of late have filled it with discourse, some extravagant healths at the Duke of Monmouth's being at Oxford giving just exceptions; one was a health to that bold Britain that should at next sessions of Parliament accuse the Duke of York of high treason. Only one Mr. Berkenhead refused it, and had like to have been quarrelled for his pains, but he proved too resolute to be frightened. Another (if the letters to Newmarket from Sir Jo. Worden to his father were true, as I understand here they were) was to the confusion of all Popish Dukes, all bishops and all colleges (because the University refused to compliment the Duke of Monmouth, though the Corporation did). When that was read to the Duke of York, Col. Worden told me the Duke replied, "Oh! they join me with the Church of England, and when they take that away I desire to be no longer duke." Great extravagancies were committed, because great drinking. My Lord Lovelace, they say, rode all about the town shouting with his cap waved he was for a Protestant Duke, no Papist, and God damn him, he was for the Protestant religion. Few of the gentlemen appeared, because my Lord Norreys refused, and the rather because a letter came down from Secretary Jenkins to the bishop and others to signify the King's approbation of those who gave no countenance nor entertainment to the Duke of Monmouth, who, as he rode along the streets, was followed by the rabble with shouts and acclamations that they hoped to see the crown shortly on his head.

Having nothing more important I presume to treat your Grace with these stories (though as by my scribble your Grace may perceive I am ill able to write, this being the very best I can). I shall no further importune your Grace concerning my niece Poulet, not having received a second letter, and on second examination inferring little hopes from that I had

in answer to my first. The truth is (all things considered) it was too rank a partiality to my niece for me to be guilty of that motion, considering my uncancellable obligations to your Grace.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1680, October 16. Sheen.—I had lately the honour of two from your Grace of September 28, and October 1st, both which were too much for my satisfaction or information, unless you please to give me leave upon occasion to make use of them for your Grace's service and vindication, when I find it necessary. This I will presume upon, unless you forbid me, though (as I told you in my last) the thoughts of one or two persons being turned at present another way may possibly allay the dust that has been raised in this matter of late. For my own part wherever I meet it I shall deal with it just as I did last time it flew so much abroad, and am glad your Grace has furnished me in many particulars with better defences than I was before provided of.

'Tis most certain what your Grace observes that the darkness cannot be greater in our affairs here than it is at this time, and cannot be less with you there by so great a discord of thoughts as those transmitted you from hence by so many several hands. Those that know anything are concerned, I suppose, to keep it to themselves, and those that know most I doubt know very little, since they are yet certainly ignorant of what the last results of the Parliament will determine in. I know most are apt to guess at that, but for my part I will not till I see them together within those walls, which often gives another spirit to the house than was to be expected from that of the individuals before they went in, but day-break is now very nigh, and I shall with the utmost quiet I can attend it, and all it shall discover or produce when it comes. In the meantime I cannot omit taking notice of the commission your Grace is pleased to give me; whether I can acquit myself well of it or no, I should be extreme glad to obey you in a command where I find your Grace and your family so much concerned, and 'twere very easy for me to make you many offers of that kind, but hard to make one I am myself satisfied of, and any other is better let alone. After having run over all I have had in my head, I can yet think but of one so much as to name to you, and he is at present a great way off, and has given me some occasion of doubting whether he will engage in that charge or no. But his story is this. There is one Mr. Havers who has passed many years in Sir H. Capel's house as a companion, and seemed to ask nothing but an easy life, having something it seems of his own to support it. He is a man of virtue and of sense, but with great modesty. He is a scholar and has travelled, and has both Latin, French and Italian. I took so much notice of him as to have offered him being my secretary when I went ambassador into Holland in '74, and now again upon His Majesty's designing me for Spain, though he

be at present with Sir R. Southwell at Berlin, having gone with him as a companion in hopes only to make a summer's journey of it. He has excused himself to me upon this last offer, as he did upon the first, from his age (though I believe it is not fifty), and from his despair of acquitting himself well in such a new scene of business. I esteem him the more (though he fears I take it ill) and believe if he will undertake what your Grace proposes, he will be extreme fit for it and acquit himself to your satisfaction. That which makes me hope he may is that I know he was the greatest honourer in the world of your son; and of that and of the man, one Mr. Mulys, who, I think, served him, will be able to give you a better account than I. Besides, your Grace will make him a better condition than I should have been able, and he will not be so much a servant in it as he would have been with me. Sir R. Southwell is recalled and may be at home, probably in a month. If upon all this your Grace lay any further commands upon me, I shall obey them with great desires of succeeding.

MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF GALWAY to ORMOND.

1680, October 16.—Whereas there has been a difference betwixt Colonel Russell and the Corporation of Galway concerning the accounts relating to the money laid out by him for the use of the said Corporation, which of late has given your Grace some trouble, we being desirous fully to inform ourselves of the true state of that affair, that so your Grace may receive no further unnecessary trouble therein, we have in a very full Assembly of the Common Council of this Town met and carefully examined Colonel Russell's receipts and disbursements and the due interest arising thereupon, together with such allowances as are provided by the Charter, and consideration being had of his necessary expenses for the service of the town, we find that upon the balance of the account to the 25th of March last inclusive, there is due to Colonel Russell from the town, seventeen hundred one pounds fifteen shillings eight pence, towards the discharge of which there is the produce of the Revenue since that time yet unaccounted for. So that now there is a prospect that he may in a short time on his present security receive full satisfaction. The proceedings in this affair have received the approbation of a full Common Council and Tholsell of the town. All which we judge our duty to represent to your Grace and humbly remain your Grace's most obedient servants. [*Signed.*]

SOLL. CAMBIE, THO. SIMCOCKS, JOHN AMORY VIC' 1643,
JO. BULLINBROOKE, JOHN GERRY, RICH BROWNE, ROO.
WARNER, WILL. HOSKINS, PAT. MEIRS, RI. PLUMMER,
THO. REVETT, THO. ANDREWES, MART. KING, THEODORE,
RUSSELL, Mayor, RICH. COOTE, OL. ST. GEORGE, JA.
VAUGHAN, Warden, T. CRAWLEY, THO. CARTRIGHT,
WM. FLEMING, ROBT. SHAW, Cl. Theol.

EXAMINATION OF DAVID NASH BEFORE LORD LIEUTENANT
AND PRIVY COUNCIL.

1680, October 16.—All that could be gotten out of David Nash and William Stokes and by the examination of John Massie concerning the discovery of a plot being concluded, there remained nothing for us to do, as we thought, but to see Donogh Lyne subscribe to his relation, who being brought by the Sheriff of the county of Limerick to that end, he, the said sheriff, privately told the Lord Lieutenant that if he thought fit once more to press Lyne to declare his knowledge of the plot, he believed he might be brought to do it, which he collected, as he said, from some words Lyne let fall to him this morning. Hereupon the Lord Lieutenant told Lyne in the presence of the Sheriff and those of the Council that are here, that before he signed the paper he would let him know the state he was in, as he, the Lord Lieutenant, understood it, which was that in the said paper he positively and directly contradicted what he had said and owned in the presence of two Justices of the Peace, and of several other persons of good credit, as all of them would depose, and what trouble such a way of proceeding might bring upon him he desired him to consider. To this effect the Lord Lieutenant spoke to him, and it seemed to work so upon him that, being before so much indisposed that he was twice let blood since he came to this town, and was allowed to sit whilst he was under examination, and that he fainted and groaned pitifully and desired some sack to refresh him, he seemed to recollect himself and intend to speak something plain and positive, but after all this he fell into large uncertain, incoherent speeches, out of which all that could be gathered was that he knew nothing of the plot but what he had from Nash, that he believed Nash intended when he came hither to justify his first information, and desired that Nash might be brought in that he might speak to him in the presence of us all. Nash was accordingly brought in, and Lyne in a confused discourse seemed to persuade him to make good his first information upon oath, and among other arguments to induce him to it, said he, Nash, is damned already for what he has done, and having but one soul to lose, he had as good go on, or words to that effect, and that if he, the said Lyne, had sworn as Nash had done he would never retract, tho' he should hang half the men in Ireland thereby. Notwithstanding all Lyne's persuasions and his last argument, Nash was obstinate and would stick to his last information. Much heat and passion and much nonsense passed betwixt them; at length Lyne being very faint through his indisposition and vehement agitation, both which were very visible, desired he might retire, and that he and Nash might be permitted to discourse together in private. This was allowed, and the Sheriff having conducted them to their quarter, and, as he said, left them alone, after some

time of private conference betwixt them, the Sheriff was called in and told by Lyne that Nash was now ready to declare great matters, and desired he, the said Nash, might be brought before the Lord Lieutenant. The Sheriff (as he had reason) believed that what he, the said Nash, was ready to declare would be something in confirmation of his first information, as also who it was that had prevailed upon him to retract it in his last narrative, but when he came to speak all he said was that both the information formerly given by him upon oath and his last narrative subscribed by him were true. Being told how impossible it was that such direct and palpable contradictions could be true, all he said was that many circumstances in his first information were true, but whatever he had said and sworn in his information taken upon oath of a plot was totally false. That it was true there was a meeting of the gentlemen mentioned in his first information, but it was a meeting only of merriment, and not to lay any plot, but what he said of the frequent dispatches sent by him to Captain O'Sullivan to Bere Haven about the plot was utterly false, and he said in manifestation thereof that he would be content to be hanged and quartered if it could be proved that ever he, the said Nash, was at Bere Haven in his life. When he was told how infamous and perjured a part he had acted either in accusing innocent persons or retracting the truth of his sworn information to save the guilty, he answered that fear of his life and promise of reward had made him first accuse them, and he had been so threatened that he was induced to say anything that might save his life. Being asked by the Sheriff who had threatened him, he answered that he, the Sheriff, had himself that morning threatened him if he did not confirm his first information given upon oath. Whereupon the Sheriff, who is a gentleman of good quality and fortune, falling upon his knees, did with bitter execrations of himself deny that ever he had threatened him, the said Nash, but that on the contrary he had always advised him not to wound his conscience either by accusing the innocent or sparing the guilty. True it was, as the said Sheriff acknowledged, that Nash asking him this morning when they should return home, he, the Sheriff, answered "You have brought great trouble and charge upon the State here, and upon many of your neighbours, and for aught I know in England, and you have two small peccadillos crimes to answer for, namely, treason and perjury, so that you are not like to return with me, and how the Lord Lieutenant will dispose of you or proceed against you I know not," and this Nash owned was all the Sheriff had said to him, and that he understood it to be a threat.

Endorsed :—Substance of what passed at Kilkenny, the 16 of October, concerning the discovery of a plot by David Nash, in the presence of

The LORD LIEUTENANT, the EARL OF ARRAN, SIR CHARLES MEREDITH, Chancellor of the Exchequer, SIR

JOHN. DAVYS, Secretary of State, SIR WM. FLOWER, Lieutenant Colonel of His Majesty's Regiment of Guards, and MR. GER. FITZGERALD, High Sheriff of the County of Limerick.

EARL OF LONGFORD to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, October 16. London.—The great affair deba t
 ed in co u n ce e l ing D York resolved
 240 377 162 767 506 161 33 57 concerne 377 311 839 655 204
 in this that he a h o u l d not go away Essex Halyfax
 377 735 736 338 678 336 543 767 431 50 519 315 128 267 349
 Sunderland Godolphin well and his goe ing Radnor Bp
 1063 332 801 636 281 39 339 64 315 377 311 1054 and 146
 off London were partly per pal the re s l
 547 462 799 237 634 237 598 838 590 581 433 734 636 40 65
 go r s r a s whc he resolves to do
 281 634 678 721 76 838 836 338 655 64 725 208 and it is
 he will be im pe c h ed he ta ke
 certain 338 808 135 376 582 158 336 240 unless 338 722 414
 out a pa r d on before the pm me e t s which h is
 568 76 581 39 50 551 157 734 586 466 72 41 678 836 336 379
 be s t friends ad vi se h im to M Duke Portsmouth
 135 678 721 301 64 79 770 680 336 376 725 489 and 1039 86
 are friends His Majesty hath of ten met t Monmouth D at the lodging
 237 301 40 and 373 361 547 878 466 41 65 489 88 734 435
 of De Port & Sunderland his party believe when his
 50 29 377 678 547 1039 1063 and 339 40 598 45 143 830 373
 Majesty is pressed hard by the Palmt yt he will part
 379 588 40 64 240 337 634 26 48 45 734 786 736 338 808 598
 with Duke but ye D is assured his Majesty will pasa no bill
 827 839 138 721 734 229 379 127 204 373 808 599 510 133
 of at ta in de r agt him Dor mu s l
 382 547 88 722 377 206 634 113 336 376 566 469 678 721
 to be fallen upon happy he will
 reckon 725 135 278 33 57 245 791 377 586 and 338 808
 have more friends than hi s enemies believe
 366 501 301 40 734 59 339 678 265 40 143 and if my industry
 his Majty is firm to him
 can procure it, it shall be so 373 379 280 39 466 725 339 58.
 Pray persuade my Lord Lieutenant to write a letter of
 acknowledgment to 305, for he is a constant and zealous
 friend to him and almost every day does him the kindest
 offices imaginable. And tell him that I beg of him to write
 will i am Jones
 an obliging letter to Sir 808 374 83 381 248, who is his firm
 power with (l) p me men
 friend and has 330 622 827 434 586 466 506 and will be of it
 soon. The Parliament men flock to town apace and with
 great trains of servants. My Lord Chancellor came off yester-
 day at Council with flying colours against Coppinger, and
 the King shewed great kindness to him. Adieu.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, October 17. Kilkenny.—In obedience to the direc-
 tions from the Lords of the Council in their letter of the 6th of
 this month, I have sent over Oliver Plunket, the pretended
 Popish Primate of Ireland, in the custody of George Wakefield,
 the messenger, with orders to attend your lordship with

him to be disposed of as His Majesty and the Lords of the Council shall direct. By letters of the 16th of this month subscribed by me and as many of the Council as were then here, we gave an account of what was done here in the discovery pretended to be made of by David Nash, to which I have nothing yet more to add, but that Donogh Lyne being brought to sign his information, yet by the interposition of a long and hot dispute betwixt him and Nash, his signing was forgotten, but that I have sent to the Sheriff, in whose custody he went hence, and is to remain, till he give good security for his forthcoming to get his hand to his narrative.

GEORGE STAMER to ORMOND.

1680, October 18. Clare Castle.—In obedience to your Grace's commands laid on me when I waited last on your Grace at Kilkenny I do send this account that there are now some rogues in this county who daily commit robberies, stealths and several other outrageous actions, whose names are fflann Naylan. Roger Slattery and Teige Donoghoe with their associates and accomplices, who have on Saturday last at a place called Dromcarrin within this county seized upon three servants belonging to one Mr. Mark Blood, an English gentleman, and no farther distance from this place than three miles, and then dismissed those servants after they had kept them a pretty while, to whom they gave commands on pain of their lives for to carry a message to their master, which was that he should immediately send them a contribution or else they would burn his house and kill a dozen of his cows, and for confirmation of that message sent a skeane as an infallible token, and soon after having no answer from Mr. Blood, did kill four head of his cattle. Those persons have several indictments against them before the Judges of Assizes and are notorious rogues. I therefore humbly pray your Grace for to issue your Grace's Proclamation of Rebellion against them, in hopes they may be brought under the law. I do further pray your Grace for to command six file of foot, a serjeant, and a drum, to be sent to Clare town, and likewise a squadron of horse to the town of Ennis with their proportion of powder, ball and match, where they shall find good quarters, and thereafter I doubt not with God's assistance and your Grace's help for to keep the country in better order than now it stands in, it being my duty in regard the Earl of Thomond hath appointed me his representative as to the Governorship, which may happen in your Grace's memory, my Lord having at Kilkenny there certified so much to your Grace and gave me the honour of kissing your Grace's hands and in hopes of your Grace's further commands concludeth.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, October 23. Dublin.—I send your Grace all the news I had this last packet, and you will find my Lord

Longford has taken a great deal of pains to write that in cipher, which is in almost every newsletter. I had just now, it being of 9 at night, your letters to the King and Duke. I shall punctually observe your commands when I get to London. My sister will be ready to go to sea on Monday, and I intend to go with her, for the dogger carries over the titular Primate, and have no desire to be in the same bottom with him. I send you Mr. Keightly's letter, and one from His Majesty in his favour. I hope you will oblige his lady in it. I was desired by Mr. Whitfield to let you know that Sir John Poyntz is dead, he had his information from Doctor Dainton, who thinks the estate, if any is left, will fall to you.

————— to LORD LANESBOROUGH.

1680, October 23.—This town was never fuller of company, nor those of expectations, how matters will go this sessions. The House of Commons have yet only got their Speaker Williams, of Chester, approved of by His Majesty, these three days taken up in swearing the members of every county, as its first letter lies in the alphabet, and have despatched that prelude to their sitting no farther yet than the letter Duke. But the Lords, who make quicker work with swearing, had a Bill brought in by my Lord Halifax against Popery this day, the severest imaginable, which consists, as I am told, in that none being a Papist shall be capable to inherit any lands as heir to anybody, but the next of blood that's a Protestant shall have it, and in case such Protestant be found to take any composition for such estate, then the informer against him shall have the whole estate. No Papist widow can have a jointure, no Papist practice the law, physic, or any trade, if he's not a stranger, and many more things of this nature, as I am informed. 'Tis thought this will pass, for nobody said a word against it but my Lord Privy Seal, who was laughed at and sat down again.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, October 23. London.—On Thursday the Parliament met, and the Commons being sent for up to the Lords, His Majesty there entertained them with the enclosed gracious speech, which as gracious as it is does not please, because there is a limitation that restrains them from meddling with the succession. I have had this morning discourse with several of the members of different passions, and they unanimously tell me that as soon as they are qualified for business by taking the oaths and test (about which work they will spend at least this whole day), the Duke will be impeached. On Thursday as soon as they returned from the House of Lords, my Lord Russell proposed Mr. Williams, (the Recorder of Chester), for their Speaker, to which the House unanimously agreed without the naming of anyone

else, though Mr. Powell and others were candidates. The Duke by reason of contrary winds could not set sail before yesterday, whence it is conjectured that he cannot possibly be at the end of his voyage before Tuesday night, and I fear that night's packet will carry him ill news. I had this day again some discourse with the Bishop of Rochester about the Bailiff of Westminster's place; in the disposition of which his lordship finds now new difficulty, for it being a judicial as well as ministerial office, he is informed that the Statute passed in Edward the Sixth's time will forfeit any right your Grace can pretend to in the disposition of it, and he fears it may also endanger his and the Chapter's power of disposition too, in regard your Grace had reserved any annuity to yourself of 100*l.* out of the profits of it, for which your Grace has sued Mr. Stroud and obtained a judgment which is now suspended by the writ of error he has brought, so that there will need no other proof of your Grace's making profit of that employment. And though Mr. Stroud's consenting to pay your Grace the hundred pound per annum will also incapacitate him also from ever executing it again, yet his lordship having taken advice of counsel, he is not without hope that the acts of others will not forfeit the right of the Dean and Chapter, but his counsel tell him that this statute does absolutely make void your Grace's grant to Mr. Ellis or anyone else by reason of the former contract your Grace made with Stroud. I am not a proper judge whether this be law or no, but by his lordship's proceedings I perceive all the advantages the law can give him he is resolved to take in affair. For his lordship told me that upon Mr. Ellis's application to him he called a Chapter, and there it was resolved that two of their number should attend their council and advise what was fit for them to do in the case. His lordship further told me that he found Stroud was resolved to bring his case before the Parliament, and avers that when he objected to the clause in his grant, of which now advantage is taken against him, and represented to your Grace the hardship upon him by that clause, he giving Mr. Montague 1,500*l.* for it, besides the 100*l.* per annum to your Grace, your Grace was then pleased to assure him upon your honour that there should never be any advantage taken of it against him, so that he is resolved to be very clamorous in his reflections upon your Grace's breach of promise. For the rest I must refer your Grace to my Lord Arran.

COL. E VERNON to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, October 23. London.—I have your lordship's of the 13th instant; I assure your lordship I have considered my notes and find I wrote four leaves to your lordship more than you received, and being as others were sent out of the country by the By Bag that post the remiscarried, I suppose for the profit of the postage. Your lordship is certainly in

the right that things are in an ill posture, when such considerable persons as myself may be thought useful. I am very well pleased in serving any of quality that will accept of it, and by that condemn themselves for their former acting.

Yesternight the Speaker surprised me and used me with great kindnesses as my old acquaintance once under my charge in the King's service, and constantly my counsel in the Statute and his Grace's upon all occasions at Stafford against the offenders of the forest, and when offered to be retained hath denied it and valued himself as the Duke's counsel. I know him very well, and yet believe nothing can come to his knowledge in relation to his Grace or family but I shall know it; and if he be managed the right may be made serviceable to the Crown. I know he was faithful. Some of his factious friends think my Lord Russell and the rest mistaken in naming him Speaker, fearing he may be shaken. And he was their bold Speaker in their most factious engagements. I believe they will attack the Duke, but I am pretty certain they are not resolved of the way or time, most of the country gentlemen being yet of an opinion to try the Lords first to know what really there is against the Duke, who left this place against their opinion (had he not been commanded), though they believed he would have been committed to the Tower, and his enemies would have endeavoured to have kept him there by differences between the Houses that would have forced a prorogation or dissolution. I think your lordship would be very useful here to your family, but will not advise it, though I believe there is no present danger of any attempt upon your father, though his enemies are bringing the sham plot (as they call it) of Ireland to be interwoven from the beginning with that of England in order to reflect upon the Government.

The Duke of Monmouth and the Duchess of Portsmouth hath had several meetings, and it's said her Grace stated upon terms to have the Duke's agents removed. Our grandees aver they have the Lord D. Lord Treasurer resolutions to tell what he knows, and by that his agents prevail with many to think of a banishment for him, and laws to protect the like pardons. Lord Shaftesbury observed that since the trial of Sir George Wakeman the Plot was looked upon as a predicted plot, but that sham was believed, and moved for a committee to prosecute, which was ordered.

As to my farm in Kilkenny I have ever had and still have a resolution to build me a retirement there. And I was first disappointed by not having money to do it, and since by my not coming over. My desires are to wait upon Lord Arran as much as may be, if Lord Arran have any thoughts of it himself, I know my inclinations are to serve him, and will, and I doubt not but he will receive me if I want a lodging.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, October 23. London.—I question not but your Grace will by this post receive many of these tokens, yet my duty obliges me not to trust to others' diligence. When the King came to that endearing expression of his tenderness of the Protestant religion, the echo was a unanimous hum of applause. Since which the Lords have only read many Bills and named their committees. The Commons have chose Mr. Williams, Recorder of Chester, for their Speaker and presented him, and the King by the Chancellor approved of him, which part he acted with great eloquence. Since which they have only sworn their members, and not yet quite done that. It is thought they will begin where they left. The great Q. is whether the first debate shall affect the Duke of York (who was overruled by the Earls of Essex and Halifax to retire (with his sick Duchess) to Scotland by sea the day before the Parliament met, or the Earl of Danby; tho' many are for the trial of the five Tower Lords, that the bottom of the Plot may be discovered. Resolutions are too uncertain for any man to infer from yesterday what will be done to-morrow. This morning, notwithstanding the King's proclamation to separate all Papists from this city, Mr. Dangerfield seized a priest in the Court of Request, who Dr. Oates knew and called by his name at first sight.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, October 14. London.—My coming lately to town hath made me not so capable of giving your Grace so good an account of our affairs here as otherwise I might have done in these times of news and expectation, but notwithstanding I cannot let slip any occasion of paying my most humble thanks to your Grace for your many favours and particularly that intended me by your Grace upon the last order of suspension designed in Ireland. We have at present very little to do in the Council Chamber, all men's eyes and care being upon the progress of the Parliament, and by this day se'nnight I suppose it will more visibly appear what way they intend to steer. I know your Grace will hear from other hands that his Highness began his voyage towards Scotland on Wednesday morning, but the wind sits so against him that he is still in the river, not being able to make any farther progress. On the Saturday before there was a great debate at the Council Board concerning his going, and the Clerks ordered to withdraw, but it is reported that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Sunderland and eight more were for the Duke's withdrawing, but the Lord Worcester, Lord Clarendon, B. London, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Sec. Jenkins, Lord Chief Justice North, Mr. Seymour were against it. His Majesty then determined the matter, and the Duke prepared for his voyage.

I have herewith enclosed His Majesty's speech at the opening of the Parliament; all that hath hitherto been done

being only the choosing Mr. Williams, of Chester, Speaker, who was proposed by the Lord Russell and chosen *nemine contradicente* and yesterday approved by His Majesty, besides the particular Members of both Houses taking the oaths at Whitehall. There seems a general intention of complying with the Parliament, so that from thence all things are expected.

ORMOND to THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1680, October 25. Kilkenny.—I have seen a letter from the Bishop of Down to my Lord Primate giving notice of a petition intended by a dean of this kingdom and two gentlemen to be presented to the Parliament complaining of the prejudicial conjunction of more bishoprics than one in one person. I have also seen a copy of my Lord Primate's letter to your Grace upon that subject, to which for the present I can add nothing but my humble thanks to your Grace for your favourable opinion of us that serve His Majesty in this kingdom, which I am sure you will continue till you find us unworthy of it. When I find so much liberty taken in England to censure or rather calumniate the Government, I should wonder if we that derive our authority from it here should scape, and therefore I shall bear my share with patience and not without some satisfaction in the clearness of my conscience and in the reality of my intention to serve the Crown and Church, how weakly soever I shall be able to perform those duties. All that I shall add is to beseech your Grace to be a little watchful that the dean who promotes the petition may not thereby or by any other means (for if I be not mistaken in the man he will stick at none) get into a bishopric or obtain the promise of one.

VISCOUNT LANESBOROUGH to ORMOND.

1680, October 25. Dublin.—I send your Grace the copy of an address said to be made by the Lord Chancellor of England in the name of several Lords of the Council to His Majesty concerning His Royal Highness, whereat I confess I was surprised. It came by the last Friday's packet to some person here whose name the party who gave it me but this morning could not tell me. The packet which came in last night brought me this other paper, which I think it my duty to send your Grace, whose indisposition the news whereof came in this morning, troubles me very much. I beseech God to send you your health and to preserve you in it. The titular Primate went off last night with the Dogger, and Mr. Turner tells me Peter Talbot is past recovery. My Lady Ossory goes on board the yacht at Dunleary this afternoon. If I thought your Grace would make any stay at Grangebeg I would attend you there.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, October 26. London.—Though we have had no Council since my last, yet the proceedings of both Houses

gives me occasion of giving your Grace this account of our proceedings here. This day appeared in the House of Lords one who was formerly Secretary to the late Ambassador of Portugal, by religion a Jew, who gave an account of a discovery he had made in May last to the Earl of Clarendon of a considerable sum of money proffered to him by his master to kill the Earl of Shaftesbury, Oates, Bedloe, and Mr. Arnold. My Lord Clarendon denies that he named any person to him, but owns that there was some general discourse about that time which he had with him; there being likewise something said about the affairs of Ireland, their Lordships ordered that there should be a power given to Mr. Hethrington, Murphy and Mr. FitzGerald to bring over what witnesses they think necessary to lay open the plot of the Papists in Ireland, and likewise that orders should be sent to your Grace for the speedy sending over Oliver Plunket under a safe custody and with great care. In the House of Commons this day, Mr. Dangerfield gave an account of the affair between himself, Mrs. Cellier and Sir Rob. Peyton, in which he mentions some particulars which more immediately reflect upon my Lord Peterborough and my Lord Privy Seal than he before spoke of, and particularly that the last was consenting and advising in the whole carrying on of the business; upon which Sir Rob. Peyton was ordered to withdraw and the House made a vote *nemine contradicente* that all care should be used to hinder the growth of Popery and to prevent a Popish successor to the Crown, and the farther consideration of the two Lords is put off till to-morrow. This, may it please your Grace, is the beginning of our affairs, but the end of them is not easily to be foretold.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, October 26. London.—I have not these three last packets received any letters from your Grace, nor the two last from my Lord Arran, who I understand by Mr. Ellis and Colonel Vernon in probability is upon his way hither. What I foretold your Grace in my last has this day proved true, the storm rising now very high against the Duke. For Mr. Dangerfield being this day before the Commons has not only accused him (as I am told), not only of the plot in general, but also of employing him to kill the King, telling that it was a work proper for his hand and bidding him to be of courage in the execution of it, assuring him that when the work was done he should be well rewarded for it, giving him in the meantime twenty guineas. He said he was brought to the Duke thrice by my Lord Peterborough. That the first time was to make discovery of the Presbyterian Plot, and that afterwards the Duke proposed to him the killing of the King, and that after my Lord Peterborough should encourage him to go on with it courageously, saying the Duke would be King within a

little time, and would reward him far above what he could possibly suffer by it. As to the Sham Plot (as some call it), he accused my Lord Privy Seal of being privy to it, and of having intercourse with my Lady Powys about it. After he had made his narrative, the House of Commons voted that they would take into their consideration the suppression of Popery and the prevention of a Popish successor.

In the House of Lords one Berry, a Portuguese Jew, gave information that he had money given him by the last Portugal Ambassador (whose servant he was) to kill my Lord Shaftesbury, Dr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe, and said he had formerly confessed so much upon oath to my Lord Clarendon, while his lordship was chairman of the committee, which it seems his lordship did not impart to the committee. I am told there was this day some mention made of the Irish Plot in the House of Commons, but no day appointed for calling the witnesses before them. I had almost forgotten to acquaint your Grace that Mr. Dangerfield accused Sir Robert Peyton for having an hand in the Sham Plot, and instanced in so many circumstances that notwithstanding all that Sir Robert could say for himself he was ordered to withdraw, and it is believed that he will be expelled the House. The enclosed is for my Lady Duchess from our new convert. I suppose your Grace will receive from Mr. Ellis an account of what discourse he had this morning with Mr. David Fitzgerald. Sir James Butler was this day with me and tells me that that statute of Edward the Sixth which the Bishop of Rochester insisted upon the other day to me will not affect your Grace, but it is evident your Grace will have as much hardship put upon you in that affair as can be contrived.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, October 27. Nantwich.—We landed this morning about eleven at Dapool, and there I left my sister Ossory, after I had borrowed a coach for her to go to Liverpool ferry. We had yesterday for about six hours so violent a storm, the wind at S.E., that it split both main sail and fore sail, and all we hoped for was to make the Isle of Man, but it pleased God the wind grew both calmer and fairer for us, so that all the company got well and safe on shore. I have got no more news at Chester than what I found in the newsletter, only a gentleman that left London on Monday last told me that my Lord Ranelagh is in a very desperate condition, for the doctor had given him three preparations of mercury one after the other, and none of them wrought with him. I am afraid I shall not get to London before Saturday night, for the pursuivant is gone but three or four hours before me post (with his prisoner) eight horses in company. Tho' I was not sick at sea, yet I am very giddy now, therefore I hope you will pardon the blots of this letter.

DONOUGH LEYNE to CAPT. DRURY WRAY.

1680, October 29.—I send you my narrative touching the proceedings in relation to the late discoveries. I send you also a copy of my letter to Sir John Davies. I shall desire you not to publish either for fear it might prevent the commission desired, which will make out the irregularities of Odell. There are other witnesses to prove every particular of this accusation, so far as you are concerned, to the full of very credible persons. [Encloses the following letter] and narrative.

DONOUGH LEYNE to SIR JOHN DAVYS.

I have since my coming home from Kilkenny (according to order) subscribed to my examination delivered before His Grace the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and have also been examined before the High Sheriff of the county of Limerick, John Mansfield, and John Croker, esquires, wherein I have not for some reasons so fully explained myself as I ought to have done. The reason I have not so fully done it before the Justices was the apprehension of fear that possessed and still do possess my thoughts, occasioned by the threats of particular persons to do me great mischiefs, but these fears being now somewhat removed, and having withal fully recollected myself, I humbly desire the honour to sue to his Grace and the Council for a commission to just and indifferent persons to take my further examination, and the examinations of such other persons as I shall name unto them, with full power by their warrant to compel them to appear before them to give in their evidence touching such matters as may relate to my examination for proof thereof, wherein I shall declare the truth more at large in every particular and more fully unravel the matter, not differing from what I have before delivered. This I most humbly crave in regard of my weakness and inability to travel far to deliver before that high and honourable presence what I have further to say in discharge of my conscience before God and my allegiance to His Majesty. I most humbly beg your honour's favour and pardon herein.

(Copia vera.)

“NARRATIVE” of DONOUGH LEYNE.

That I was present when David Nash's information was taken, that he was therein surprised in many circumstances by John Odell and John Massie, directing him by leading questions, particularly in the mentioning of persons' names they would have included therein to make it agree in some sort with David FitzGerald's information, and that in relation specially to the Lord of Brittas, Sir John FitzGerald and others, they would also have the Lord of Clare together with the Knight of the Glin and Thomas Browne of the Hospital therein named.

That the said Odell tempted me with the offer of 300*l*. and also with the promise of procuring me an annual

pension, giving many good treats in his own house to draw me in to witness and swear to the said information, and at other times, when he found me unwilling, threatening me with imprisonment and other corporal punishment if I did not.

That for my further encouragement the said John Massie, being one of the said Odell's chief instruments to promote this design, assured me that John Bourke of Cahirmoyle's Estate, and Eustace White's should be equally divided between the said D. Nash, John Massie and myself as our rewards for this service, and that he was moreover to have a troop of horse himself.

That when William Stokes was drawn in to be a discoverer he had large promises made unto him, and first coming in brogues, he had a pair of shoes bought for him and was promised to be furnished with a horse and boots soon after, and being arrested for debt after his coming to Limerick, he was released, and being afterwards brought upon his examination, I myself with others were employed to prepare him with plenty of wine, and being then somewhat intoxicated was then called upon his examination, and Nash's information being read unto him, he was urged to specify three or four of the persons (therein mentioned to have been parties in the plot) or that his intelligence had been insignificant, which he could not be persuaded to; nevertheless what was writ down as to other matters he was prevailed with to swear and subscribe to, being drunk, as aforesaid.

That John Massie carried me along with him to one John Nash, living upon Tirenuhillie, and there was then a proffer of 5*l.* and a cow made unto him to witness the said D Nash's information, and that the said John Nash made answer that for 5*l.* he would swear anything.

That John Odell went to the prison where D. Nash was, and (in my own presence) pressed very earnestly to impeach or concern the Earl of Orrery in his information, and that he would undertake he should have back his cows or cow for cow in their room.

That John Odell disgusting that his Grace had not answered some letters of his concerning the plot, said since thereby he perceived his Grace had slighted the business, he wished he had ne'er meddled in it, but within three hours after he told me that had seven of the best in Limerick to back him.

That being by order of the Lord Lieutenant since my coming from Kilkenny bound over to appear before his Grace and Council at four days' notice, Odell notwithstanding sent a warrant for me signed by himself and another justice, and when I came before him he would compel me to disown the allegations against him, otherwise he would send me to prison, and when I told him he could not lawfully so do, being the King's evidence, he then said he had as much power there as his Grace had in Kilkenny.

[Signed] Don. Legus.

That John Odell sent a warrant for me, and being before him, he told me that he heard that I had been tampering with some of the impeached persons, whereupon he threatened to send me to jail if I did not swear to employ my utmost endeavours to promote the discovery of the plot, and thereafter to reveal unto them whatever should be spoken unto me by any of the said persons impeached, until I were called upon to give my evidence before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, which I confess I did and performed, except what was contained in my testament left behind me with my confessor.

That the said John Odell did not only publish Nash's information, but also shewed the said information to such witnesses as he would have sworn, to direct them what they should swear to, and did also shew and read the examination of one to the other, and did accuse his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of saying that these discoveries of Nash seemed probable, but that those of FitzGerald he never gave credit to, taking him to be a sort of a wild hare-brained fellow; the examination of William Stokes he delivered to John Massie, who gave a copy thereof to one of the supposed conspirators. As to what related to Wm. Stokes in my examination, it was no more but that he told me he had been riding about to discover how the subjects stood affected to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and how to the Duke of Monmouth, upon the dangerous sickness that seized His Majesty some years since. These violent proceedings so much terrified me that I did at the beginning and since seem somewhat to countenance and feed them with some expectations of giving testimony to what they would be at, when I should be brought before his Grace, to the end that in due season a full discovery might be made of the sinister practices that were in hand for taking away the lives of His Majesty's loyal subjects.

[EARL OF ARLINGTON] to ORMOND.

1680, October 30. Whitehall.—At my arrival here from the country I wrote to your Grace which was my last, and shall continue doing so as any occasion offers, but dare not charge myself with the burthen of sending you the common news, presuming you have it from hands which transmit it exactly and regularly to you. I had from Mr. Ellis his directions how to negociate the Marquis de Grana's money, which together with the original bill of exchange I have put into Sir Stephen Fox's hands, who will be best able to bring that matter to pass.

Since I have received one of your Grace's of the 14th by Sir Richard Stephens, who shewing me at the same time some of yours to himself, I knew what value I ought to put upon the gentleman as there is occasion of using him in your

concerns and under that notion have presented him to kiss the King's hand, and for my first entrance with him have directed him to find out what and where the grounds lie of the great exceptions against your Grace amongst Parliament men, of which he hath given me already some account, and I presume by this post will do it to yourself; the same diligence I use amongst other of your friends and as occasion shall serve will give my Lord of Arran notice of all that comes to my knowledge, who, I hear, is arrived and hath been to seek me, but yet I have not seen him at three this afternoon. I likewise hear my Lady of Ossory is come as far as Knowsley.

Since my arrival here my Lady Mary Cavendish hath handed to my acquaintance one Mr. Charlton, with a lame leg, known, as he says, to your Grace, and professing to be much your servant. He is very conversant with the most shining and eminent Parliament men, so I have likewise recommended your public concerns there to him, wherein he promises to do you the best service he can. His business to me was that having been conversant this summer with my cousin, Simon Bennet, the rich man of Buckinghamshire, and particularly in transacting the marriage betwixt a kinsman likewise of mine and Simon Bennet's eldest daughter, in which I have likewise concerned myself some years past, this Mr. Charlton hath become acquainted with my proposition the last year for my young lord of Ossory, to which I suppose your Grace is not a stranger, in which he offers me his service and tells me the mother who rules the roost in the house likes it very well, as likewise now at last, after many years difficulty, the marrying of the eldest daughter to my cousin Bennet, who is in remainder the heir to the estate, which is above 6,000*l.* per annum, with at least 100,000*l.* pounds in ready money. The land she seems to wish may go with the eldest daughter, and the money with the youngest, who is much the handsomer. Now if your Grace approve of my entertaining further this matter, you must be pleased to own so much to me in a letter I may produce to authorise me to treat it, and a little kind mention of Mr. Charlton therein may be of good use for that and other matters. After I had written thus far I met with my Lord of Arran, to whom I shewed what I have here written and told him all I know of matters here.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, October 30.—I can add little to the enclosed votes, only that hourly come in new discoverers and new discoveries, so that now it is determined the prosecution of the Plot and trial of the Five Lords shall be next undertaken. Dangerfield hath been severe against the Duke of York before the Committee, affirming that he gave him great encouragement to go on vigorously to kill the King, and gave him out of his own pocket twenty guineas, and that my Lord Peterboro told him the

Duke loved a brisk man and would reward him, and that Mrs. Cellier had sent him to my Lord Anglesey to know when it would be seasonable to broach the Presbyterian sham plot. They of the Committee give us expectation of strange things to come forth and of strange actors in them. Here also all votes will be printed, and then with less difficulty we shall be able to treat our friends with them. My own distemper so continues that it forfeits me also to a lappassit of writing legible. Whilst I am able I will put my best leg foremost, but I am told I must hasten into the country for air and exercise as the most natural physic for me. In the meantime I will continue my inquisitiveness, that I may be the better able to render myself the more useful to your Grace.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, October 30. London.—Last night my Lord Arran arrived here very seasonably for your Grace's service, for it has surprised your Grace's enemies, and I am confident given a check to some of their designs against you. But Mathew Barry's slowness in not preparing the narrative of the proceedings upon the plot there has for the present in some measure disarmed him. Therefore I beseech your Grace to send it away with all expedition attested by my Lord Bishop of Meath and Sir John Davys, for that will be an evident vindication of the Government there in their proceedings upon the discovery of the plot, and will be a conviction of the witnesses' falsehood, if they should vary from the truth of what they affirmed there. I had the good fortune to be present in the King's Bedchamber when my Lord Arran kissed His Majesty's hand. His reception of my lord was as obliging and kind as ever I saw him give to any. And after he had read your Grace's letter he retired with my Lord Arran into an inner room and there discoursed with him (after he had shut and locked the door himself) near half an hour, an account whereof I doubt not but my Lord gives your Grace himself by this night's packet. Now his lordship is come my heart is at some ease, and I shall now be soon at liberty to apply myself to my journey towards Ireland, and shall by Tuesday's packet give your Grace an account of the certain day I intend to be at Holyhead. Mr. Mulys tells me he sends your Grace every post the journals of both Houses, which saves me the labour of giving your Grace the daily proceedings of each House. All the new members herd together, insomuch that very few of the old, except my Lord Russell, Colonel Titus, Sir Francis Winnington, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Harbord, and Mr. Colt, will be listened unto. Colonel Vernon at my instigation, instead of going for Ireland, came up hither to serve your Grace (for in this conjuncture I thought it necessary to muster up all our forces), and therefore while he is engaged in your Grace's service here it will be very severe in your Grace to permit

him to be a sufferer upon your Grace's account in Butler of Ruskoe's suit, about which Mr. Solicitor has his direction to apply to your Grace. Mr. Sampson in his information to the Committee of the Lords has loaded my Lord Chancellor, having told their Lordships that when he was first in your Grace's closet to give your Grace information against my Lord Tyrone, my Lord Chancellor being the only man then attending your Grace, he in his information mentioned the Duke as head of the Plot in Ireland, upon which he says my Lord Primate took him by the hand, led him to the window, and advised him not to mention the Duke, saying it would be his ruin if he did it. This information amongst other things was given by way of discourse, which the Lords directed him to put into a narrative in writing and sign to it, and I suppose he has this day given it in to their Lordships.

Some of your Grace's friends here wish that since Sir Francis Wythens has fallen under the severe displeasure of the House of Commons he might be prevailed upon to quit his Deputy Steward's place of Westminster and resign it to some friend of his, because they apprehend the Commons will take it ill of your Grace to continue him in that employment after so severe a mark of their displeasure against him. But if this can be fairly effected it must be done at his suit to your Grace, concerning which I will discourse with Sir James Butler. Sir Hen. Ingoldsby has a great mind to be called upon by the Lords to give an account of his observations in Ireland since the discovery of the Plot, in which I presume my Lord Arran's arrival has somewhat abated his mettle, though he said he was glad my Lord Arran was come over to be a witness of what he had to say. Sir James Butler the other day was desired by Justice Warcup to set his hand to a warrant pursuant to the order of the Lords for the searching for Irishmen, at which he seemed to hesitate, saying there were hands enough to the warrant, and it would be an hard thing to put it upon him, because he being of that country himself had many relations there, and it would expose him much to the censure of his countrymen to have an hand in the seizing of them and committing them to prison. Upon which Mr. Warcup told him, "Well, say you nothing of it, and I will not," which Sir James looked upon as a friendly and very civil act. But within an hour after Sir James heard that complaint was made to the Lords that he had refused to sign the warrant in obedience to their order. Mr. Plunkett with his six attendants came to town last night. There is no account yet come of the Duke's arrival in Scotland, but it is concluded he got safe there, because the weather and wind has been fair these ten days past.

SIR JAMES BUTLER to ORMOND.

1680, October 30. Lincoln's Inn.—I did not think fit to acquaint your Grace with the death of Sir John Poyntz

(which happened lately in the Temple, where he lodged) till I had informed myself how he had disposed of his estate, conceiving your Grace to be his heir at law. I find in April last he made his will, by which he left his seat and estate in the county of Gloucester to one Mr. Poyntz Porter, of Warwickshire, his brother by the mother's side, in fee paying his debts. And in case he should refuse it upon those terms, then he devised it to your Grace upon the same condition. But about ten hours before his death, being in a very weak and senseless condition, he was persuaded by one Hawkins, a farmer that lives in the Old Bayly, and others that came along with him, to seal a deed which they brought engrossed and prepared for that purpose, whereby he sold his estate to the said Hawkins and another for the consideration of 5s., upon trust to pay all his debts and 2,000*l.* to his lady in lieu of her jointure by the sale thereof. The debts are computed to amount to about 16,000*l.*, and I am informed the estate is worth more. This account I conceived was my duty to give your Grace, not knowing but that you might have a desire to purchase it, in regard it has been an ancient seat long in that family, so near related to your Grace. If your Grace be so inclinable I think the best way is to take in the first mortgage of Sir James Smith, an Alderman of London, which is near 7,000*l.*, and to pay off the rest at leisure. When your Grace shall please to signify your pleasure herein, it shall be obeyed.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, October 30. London.—Meeting with the votes of the House as I travelled on the road, I thought it necessary to make what haste I could, and I lost no time, for I got here yesternight, and this morning I waited upon His Majesty, who received me with great kindness, and gave me leave to have a pretty long discourse with him in private, the whole will be too long for me to put in cipher, besides you have heard much to that purpose before from Lord Chamberlain, Lord Longford, and Lord Granard, what is new and what I shall communicate to none here is 373: 679: 31: 206: 207: 800; 678: the 330: 40: 65: 425: 84: 770: 33: 57: 84: 26: 770: 33: 57: 84: 377: 734: 810: and that 508: 734: 39: 279: 718: 734: 796: should be able 725: 636: 468: 769: 566: 734: 45: 40: 54: 36: 42: 431: 204: 585: 33: 841: and his 49: 39: 36: 42: 59: 118: 735: 312: 734: 63. This and much more of this kind I had in charge to say to you, which I have not time to put in cipher, having been late at Court. From Whitehall, after I had paid my respects to my Lord Sunderland, I went to the House, and being told by the Clerk of the Parliament that I might sit without a

writ after taking the test, I sat in my place ; but somebody informing that I had not brought a writ, I was forced to withdraw, and a writ is ordered to be given me when they sit again, which will not be before Wednesday next. All the Lords of your acquaintance inquired very kindly after you, and are very glad that I am here to inform them better than they find they have been hitherto of the state of affairs in that kingdom, amongst them my Lord Faulkenbridge and Lord Carlisle : they both took me aside to discourse with them. I am very sorry that I brought not some narrative along with me, for it would have been of great use to us, and my Lord Chamberlain is of that opinion, too, and that I should have delivered an account first and not let your adversaries begin, for my Lord Lovelace told the Committee for Examinations that he knew a person of great quality and estate in the kingdom of Ireland who would inform them, he being lately come over, of the miscarriages of the Government since the discovery of the Plot. Who this person should be I cannot guess, but some think it is Cap. Nicholls. Sampson has lately informed against my Lord Chancellor that when your Grace and he were together examining him about the plot, he was going to swear something against the Duke, but my Lord Chancellor held him by the hand and told him if he said anything of that he would be undone. This he would have sworn before the Committee, but he is ordered to put it in writing against Wednesday, and then I believe I shall be added to that Committee, but I find he has a great many of your friends that are his enemies and will not stick to him, but I will do him all the right I am able when any opportunity offers. Mr. Hyde and I are to come to an *eclaircissement* at his desire. What he says shall be imparted to you.

My sister Cavendish tells me, and I suppose she informs you likewise, that the report about my nephew is very warm now here. When the Bishop of Oxford comes to town, I will appear more if necessary in the matter.

ORMOND to EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1680, October 31. Dublin.—Tho' I received your lordship's of the 12th at Kilkenny, yet it was just upon my remove to the station I am fixt to, so long as it shall please God and the King. My cousin Fitzgerald met me in my way hither, and says he will pursue your lordship's affair as soon as he comes to town, it shall meet with no delay on my part nor any other of your affairs proper to my province. Overtures of discovery of the Plot in this kingdom have of late multiplied upon us ; they are chargeable to us ; how profitable they will prove to the public in the work they have undertaken I cannot judge. It is most rationally to be believed that there was and is a concurrence betwixt the disaffected of both kingdoms to subvert Government and religion, and I would as gladly find it out and prevent it as

any man ; my freehold, and that a better than the King of France or the Papists would allow me if either of them were masters, being at stake. The information against the Earl of Tyrone taken by the good Bishop of Dromore and other Justices of Peace, will prove nothing, nor will he have much cause to brag of his convert, for I suspect he is not the man he calls himself, but takes a name or function that belongs not to him. I am just now told by a gentleman newly landed that at his leaving Whitehall the 24th of this month, the report was warm that my Lord Primate and I are to be impeached ; his particular informer averring that he had heard the articles read, but was sworn to secrecy, but in general they consisted of concealing or faint prosecution of the discovery of the Plot in Ireland, and another says for corresponding with France. If they had gone further and charged me with conspiring with the Great Turk or Mogul I doubt not but witnesses might be found to prove it, but I can never suspect either the justice or prudence of four or five hundred English gentlemen so much as to be greatly alarmed at it.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680, November 1.—The Dean of Limerick returns hence with his degree, according to your Excellency's recommendation. He will be able to give so full an account of all the concernments of this place that I shall not need to give you the trouble of a narrative. The best relation which your Excellency can have from hence will be from my Lord Ossory, who, I hope, is so tractable and obedient as may speak him to have resided some time in a place of rule and order. He is now in an age whereof every moment should be well husbanded, his future sufficiency depending in a great degree on the foundations which are now laid. The times look black enough and it will be necessary for him by courage and counsel to be able to defend himself and the public and tread the steps which your Excellency has led thro' a false and tumultuous world. Your little kinsman, my Lord Clancarty, is very persuasible and good natured, so that I hope by God's blessing I may give a desirable account of him. The like expectation I have of Mr. Burch. My Lord Courcy is almost a grown man, and will speedily be ready for the advantages of travel, but he entirely refers himself to your Excellency's disposal, and will, I hope, render himself capable of your Excellency's favour. I beseech Almighty God to give health and blessing to your Excellency.

ORMOND to EARL OF CONWAY.

1680, November 1. Dublin.—I am humbly to thank you for the intimation you gave my Lord Primate, wherein I am concerned with his Grace. I have very ill fortune if I come.

to be suspected for correspondence or kindness towards France. I have heretofore suffered for want of that complacency I am now charged with, as is very well known, and to none better than to my Lord of Shaftesbury. By the Irish Papists I have suffered more than any man could do that 'scaped with life and is restored to a fortune, having been scandalized, persecuted and betrayed by them at home and abroad, and that now I should grow fond or become reconciled to either of those interests is so incredible (if I am allowed to be a rational creature) that I should think fifty witnesses ought not to be believed in the case unless they bring other proofs than oaths, which are so cheap a commodity in this climate.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, November 2. London.—The bearer, Sir Robert Hamilton, who goes post from hence to-morrow, carries with him a reference to your Grace from His Majesty, who is so much concerned for him that he spoke to me last night to recommend it particularly to you to show him favour in it. I am informed from many good hands that he has been very just and serviceable to you upon all occasions in this conjuncture, therefore if the matter is feasible he deserves your favour. Mr. Hyde has been to see me since my last to you on purpose to discourse with me upon the matter I formerly hinted to you, and I spoke my mind very freely to him and set off Sir James in his colours, and told him that you wondered how so understanding a man as he is should be governed as you were informed he was by such a mountebank as Shaen, and that if his desire was to put by the sitting of our Parliament he might have found out a better way than putting him upon it, that he might have writ his mind to you, and it is likely if his reasons were good you might agree with him. He made the greatest professions of kindness to you and your family imaginable, and protested that he was not at all governed by Shaen in that or any other matter, nor would by him or anybody else ever be persuaded to do you an unkindness, saying these very words that he should be a very ungrateful rascal if he did, but that he then thought Sir James's proposal was a good one, and that it was not convenient to have a Parliament sitting there and here at the same time, but upon the whole that it was always intended the matter should be left entirely to you, but owned he was much to blame that he did not write to you, but he depended upon your thinking him so entirely yours that he thought you would dispense with that formality. I seemed to be very well pleased with his answer, and assured him I believed you would be so too, but I am afraid that before this session is over I shall be forced for your vindication to insist upon that of putting off our Parliament, for I find the main business if not the only one

they will lay to your charge will be the ill posture you are in to make a defence against an invasion, for which the supply expected from a Parliament was propounded by you as a remedy.

Monsieur de Lorche, who was General of the Horse to my brother, I am afraid does not go away well satisfied, and really in the opinion of all people that know him he is a very honest and useful man in such an employment. My Lord Chamberlain, as well as I, are of opinion that he should have had many of the things belonging to the stables that are taken from him. They may be valued, and I believe a hundred pound will be the most they will be esteemed at. It is much wondered at by many people in town that my brother's body has not yet received the ceremony of Christian burial, it may be done so privately as nobody may know it, and that will not hinder your intentions of removing him when you think fit. I am sure till that is done my sister ought not to come hither.

Mrs. Hublethorne has got a reference to you about her pension; she is very poor. Fitzpatrick, who is an ensign in the army, has a colours at Tangier, so that his in Ireland you may be pleased to dispose of to Beverly if you think fit. Sir Robert will be with you very near as soon as the post, so that I may be excused from writing this night by the post. I suppose you will hear of the death of my Lord Ogle, and the birth of a son to my Lord Russell, who is now the governing man in the House of Commons; he professeth great kindness to you.

HENRY JONES, BISHOP OF MEATH, to [FRANCIS AND DEBORAH] ANNESLEY.

1680, November 2. Dublin.—Dear son and daughter Annesley, I received your last and rejoice thereby to find all your welfares. My former to you was directed as from Dublin, being then at Osbaston, and that day setting forth hitherward, so as I could not write so positive concerning things here at that time. Coming hither I find it not convenient to take my measures alone without the advice of one or both of you being here on the place, which I suppose may be this term, to which I refer the consideration when and how to be ordered with best advantage.

Hanlon's paper I received in yours which was read in Council this day, my orders are to assure him of pardon on the terms formerly proposed, his declaring himself and assuring the Government of his reality in first bringing in or cutting off some of the principal Tories such as are proclaimed or notoriously known to be such, after which the pardon shall be for him and his friends, they undertaking what they promise of freeing the country of Tories, etc. They speak of a petition to the Lord Lieutenant to that purpose, which I desire may be prepared and signed by them. All

this must be carried on with secrecy, otherwise they may not be in condition to act against the Tories, who are not yet suspicious of them. I observed that Hanlon's paper which you last sent and is before mentioned was dated the last of September, which yet came not to my hand until yesterday. The reason of the delay I would understand, and the reason of my inquiry in it is that I doubted Hanlon's interpreting his having sent that his paper so long since and nothing answered by me to his satisfaction to have been neglect in me, and that therefore he had changed the hand from me to the Bishop of Clogher to appear for him, concerning which there was a like paper as that from you sent from him to the Bishop of Clogher, and yesterday shewed to my Lord Lieutenant by the Lord Primate. In other things I refer to the enclosed, and desiring God's blessing on you and yours, rest, etc.

EARL OF LONGFORD TO ORMOND.

1680, November 2. London.—There is an account come from Scotland of the Duke's safe arrival on Tuesday last, and it is believed his reception was very great because His Majesty's letter directed it should be so. But while he is there entertained as a Prince of his birth, your Grace will find by the votes this day of the House of Commons (which Mr. Mulys tells me he constantly sends your Grace) how he is otherwise treated here. Matters are now brought to a crisis, and from the resolutions taken upon this day's proceedings it may easily be concluded whether the Parliament be long lived.

Yesterday there was held at my Lord Burlington's house a Committee for the Irish Affairs, where were present besides my Lord Burlington, my Lord Shaftesbury, my Lord Essex and my Lord Faulconberg, and (as I am told) Mr. Fitzgerald, Sampson and Bourke were with them, but what was done there I cannot learn. My Lord Arran wants very much the narrative which Mr. Barry's laziness disappointed him of at his embarking, for the Committee of the Lords drive on the examination of the Plot in Ireland in which your Grace's enemies hope to pinch you. And that narrative would prevent that mischief by giving the true state of proceedings there, therefore I beseech your Grace if it be not already sent to hasten it to my Lord Arran. My Lord has in hands the abstract of your Grace's letters to Mr. Secretary Coventry, my Lord Danby, and my Lord Essex about the meeting of the Parliament there, to justify your Grace in the constant representations you have made of the necessity of putting that kingdom in a posture of defence to oppose foreign invaders and intestine rebellion, which will answer the clamour is made against your Grace for the defenceless condition the kingdom is now in. I intend on Monday next at furthest to begin my journey towards Ireland and resolve to be at Beaumaris by this day fortnight. And therefore

beg the favour of your Grace that the yacht may meet me there at that time. I am told your Grace may peruse the enclosed to Mrs. Preston. The person whom my Lord Lovelace moved should be brought to their Lordships to give them an account of the extravagant proceedings in Ireland since the discovery of the plot is Sir Henry Ingoldsby, who is to be introduced to-morrow morning. And upon this occasion your Grace will judge how necessary the narrative would have been to have satisfied their Lordships of your proceedings there and to have contradicted any unjust reflections Sir Henry Ingoldsby may make. Sir Robert Hamilton has expressed so much zeal and duty for your Grace since his being here that in justice to him I cannot but recommend to your Grace a concern of his, which is now referred to your Grace. But His Majesty's pleasure in it would have been more absolutely signified to your Grace had not his respect to your Grace chose this more dutiful method of bringing his affair before your Grace, from whose favour he will never appeal in any concern of his.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, November 2. London.—Yesterday was a day of as great exaltation to the Bedford as dejection to the New-Castle family, my Lord Russell having a son born, and the Duke his only son, my Lord Ogle, died: his death assigned to this new disease, one greatly lamented by all people, being a marvellous brisk forwardly young man. Daily dining with him at his brother Albemarle's at Newmarket made me known to him. His widow adds to her own vast estate 5,000*l.* per annum jointure out of his father's. It is not too early to wish, tho' it be to propose, my Lord Ossory his successor. I am sure my small endeavours should be racked to the utmost to contribute to it. These two days votes I enclose. This day' my Lord Russell started the Q[uestion] about the Bill of excluding the Duke personally from the succession. Tom Thinne seconded. It met with more opposition than the proposers expected, first Mr. Hyde, then Mr. Garroway, then Mr. Seymour, Sir Richard Grimes, Mr. Finch, etc., but neither art nor eloquence could serve to stem the tide, but when the Q[uestion] came to be put it had but only Harry Goring's single No. The Lords have not sat of late, but do to-morrow. The other House have renewed an old resolution of Queen Elizabeth's time; that in defence of the King's person, the Government, and Protestant religion they will stand by him, and that if any mischief shall befall His Majesty's person, they will revenge it on the Papists. I see there is such an antipathy against Popery that every one strives to appear with the greatest indignation against. Those who opposed the Duke's Bill would have compounded and willingly have consented to a Bill against a Popish successor, provided the Duke might not be named, but all expedients were poison not antidotes.

If my child (Gustavus Fleetwood), for so I account him, should misbehave himself, I beg your Grace's mercy for him for his father's sake and his who intercedes for him.

Postscript.—London, Nov. 2, '80.—I bless God I am much recovered from my distemper, yet it hath not wholly left me, so that I am in a condition of obeying your Grace's commands had I the honour to receive them.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, November 3. London.—The affairs of the Parliament so take up the time at present that there is very little done in the Council Chamber, but the great question concerning the succession was this day debated in the House of Commons, and in conclusion a vote passed for the bringing a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession of the Crown, and it is expected that to-morrow morning the Bill will be brought into that House. In the House of Lords there is great expectation of one who is represented to be a person that hath borne considerable employments in the kingdom of Ireland, who is to-morrow to appear before the Committee of Examinations, and there give evidence of the Plot in Ireland, with some pretended discouragements that the witnesses have met with upon revealing the same. I should be sorry to prejudice any man with a false judgment, but it is believed that the person is Sir Harry Ingoldsby. This day their Lordships sent for the copies of the examinations in the Clerk of the Council's hand relating to Oliver Plunket, which were accordingly sent them, the originals being formerly with your Grace. I had yesterday the honour first to kiss my Lord of Arran's hands upon his coming to town, and humbly beg the continuance of your Grace's good opinion, which I shall always with greatest industry and sincerity endeavour to deserve.

SAME to SAME.

1680, November 6. London.—I know your Grace will have an account of what passes in the House of Lords from better hands and a particular of the examinations that have been concerning the plot in Ireland, which hath lately taken up most of their Lordship's time, and this day in Council upon an address from their Lordships, there is ordered a letter to your Grace for the sending hither in custody the Lord Brittas, Colonel Lacy, St. John Fitzgerald and Lt. Bradley, and that Sir Tho. Southwell be summoned to attend their Lordships. Mr. Attorney General was also ordered to have money in his hands from the Treasury to defray the charges of the witnesses that shall come out of Ireland. After which His Majesty pricked the sheriffs, which was the chief business of this day at Council. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster have not yet removed Mr. Stroude from his place of bayliffe, or returned their answer concerning it to His Majesty, which the King taking notice of appointed my Lord Chamberlain

to speak with the Bishop of Rochester to-morrow about it. The House of Commons this day read the Bill against the Duke of York the second time, and on Monday morning next the House is to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider the Bill.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, November 6. London.—Thursday and this day were taken up by the House of Lords in examining the witnesses concerning the Irish Plot. Murphy was the first examined and was the only witness that reflected upon you. One part was that the titular Primate Plunkett told him he received money from you, which question being asked Plunkett he utterly denied and said he had less encouragement from you than the two former Chief Governors, Lord Berkeley and Essex, which I observed Lord Essex did not like. Another thing was that one Father Ronan Maginn would have made a discovery to you, as the said Maginn told him, but you, instead of hearkening of him, got him sent beyond sea, where he died. He brought the King into the Plot with you. He complained also of your usage in relation to Smith and Baker. David Fitzgerald gave great satisfaction to the House and was heard with more attention than anybody except Plunkett, who went beyond our expectation. Fitzgerald appealed to me for to give a character of him, that he might not pass in the world for the other David Fitzgerald, in which I satisfied him and gave him a fair character as I did the contrary of the other Fitzgerald, also Egan. He said something more than he did in his examination before you, which was that a cabal as the confederates told him, was held in relation to the Plot at Dublin, and was told that Col. Fitzpatrick, Sir Edward Scott, Col. Dempsey, Col. Talbot, Peter Talbot, Primate Plunkett and others that he has forgot were amongst them. Upon which we expected that Fitzpatrick would have been secured, and I expected that after all the witnesses were heard, my Lord Shaftesbury would have branched it against you upon that very deposition of Murphy, who, because the House could not understand what he said was allowed to swear a written examination, which he had got a school-master in Southwark to write for him, but it ended in a motion that a conference should be desired with the Commons upon the business of the Irish Plot on Monday next. I must observe to you, and will do it to the House before they send for to have that conference, that though the Committee appointed for these matters have all the papers, examinations and letters transmitted to you, and the Board either to the Secretaries or the Council, they have not read one of them, as their clerk told me this afternoon, but depend upon the witnesses' new examinations. Burke, Macnamara, and Sampson have sworn bloodily against my Lord Anglesey,

but especially Macnamara. By the next post you shall have copies of all their depositions. Sampson swears that my Lord Chancellor hindered him from making discoveries against the Duke by taking him aside, and telling him that he would be undone if he did. This I hinted in my last, but was not sure of it until I heard him swear it this day. Most of them took occasion to appeal to me in their examinations, when if they had thought of looking over the papers transmitted, they might have satisfied themselves. Murphy, Burke and Sampson have all complained against Sir John Davys, whom I advise should come over speedily. My Lord Chancellor nor he have not so great an enemy as my Lord Burlington. I hope you will send him with all things necessary. I will not trouble you farther in this, because I intend to write to himself. My Lord Brittas, Colonel Lacy and Sir John Fitzgerald are ordered to be sent for in custody, and Sir Thomas Southwell because he has a very good estate is only summoned to appear. I trouble not with the journals of either House, those I suppose you have from other hands.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, November 6. Dublin.—I have yours of the 30th of the last, written, as you say, in haste, for the material part I could not perfectly read, nor can I comprehend of whom it is that 373 gives so extraordinary a character. The rest, I think, I guess at with the help of what is out of cipher. If you make use any more of that way of writing, you must take more leisure and care that your figures be plain. I confess the cipher is the worst I ever saw to be written or read. Our narrative goes on but slowly; yesterday I quickened the committee, and they were as well instructed in the method as the Council could do it. What your brother gave in the last Parliament was so far very well done, and sure it may be found if well sought for by the clerk. Here we cannot find it. My Lord Chief Justice Keating says he sent soon after you something he judged might be of use. The two Lords you mention and many more can remember that whilst the foundation of all that is excepted against was laying and the designs brought to conclusions of war and peace, I had no share in the Councils, but had liberty to bowl and play at cards. I believe if you had been prepared for it you might with the King's leave have offered such an account as my Lord Chamberlain would have been glad had been brought in. But tho' proceedings are very quick at the first meeting of the Parliament, yet I cannot doubt but that where anything reflects on men of quality and some repute in the world they will have time to be heard, and tho' an affirmative on oath can hardly be disproved by negative testimony, yet in some cases it may and has been.

If Captain Nichols be my Lord Lovelace's person of great quality and estate tho' it should be sworn the contrary may

be easily proved, I cannot swear that there passed no such thing as Mr. Sampson avers betwixt my Lord Chancellor and him, but I can safely swear I never heard it or of it before, nor did I ever hear the Duke mentioned in all the examinations concerning my Lord Tyrone. I am sure if I had, it had been set down for all the respect I owe His R. H. I knew very well how many there were that envied the place I held that did not like my principles or love my person, and therefore I have carried myself with all the caution I could devise and especially in the matter of the Plot, from the time it was discovered in England and inquired into here. It was my interest as well as my duty to find it out, and if notwithstanding all my pains and industry I cannot make it so plain as I desired and others expected, it will be hard to blame me for it, my life being threatened and all my fortune concerned in the subsistence of the Government and peace of the kingdom under the laws in force. These for the present are only topics for discourse upon occasion, till particulars are brought in question. I long to know what can be said in the eclaireissement. Your mother and son are at Chappell Izard, the boy has a cold. Vernon's affair need not bring him over this term. The enclosed to the Queen is to let Her Majesty know what kind of man my Lord of Fingall is and how unreasonable his calumnies against his wife are. From the first three years of her marriage her father and friends were for a separation, but she always refused their advice, a circumstance I did not mention in my letter, but may be added by you, but before you deliver the letter you are to be directed by my niece Fingall.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, November 6. London.—I understand (for I have never been able to stir out of doors since I came hither) that my Lord Arran is arrived, if so had your Grace no other correspondent you would be sure to know more from both Court and Parliament than I can write from my confinement to my chamber. So that to spare your Grace's unprofitable pains (not my own, who really glory in any opportunity that may lay me at your Grace's feet) I shall desist giving your Grace any further trouble till either some account of importance occurs to me to provoke me or your Grace's commands enlarge me. If your Grace can invent any sort of service to employ me in as far as my small stock of strength will extend, all pains and care will be delightful to me that may convince your Grace, etc.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, November 6. London.—My Lord Arran has writ your Grace so full an account of his discourse with 418 by Sir Robert Hamilton, and he has also by the enclosed so exactly stated the proceedings in the House of Lords upon

our Irish Plot, that he has left very little for me to add upon either subject. The truth of it is he has in this little time of his being here so bestirred himself, and is believed by all so well to understand the affairs of Ireland, and so able to justify your Grace in your conduct there, that your enemies have been necessitated by their apprehension of it to take new measures and change the method they had designed to run you down by. For since he took his place in the House of Lords there has not been one public flirt at your Grace, whereas before it was every day's entertainment. And now that nothing appears (after all the strict scrutiny has been made) material against you, the matter of the whole examinations of our Irish discovery is at a free conference to be imparted on Monday to the House of Commons, and notwithstanding all this time has been spent in examinations, not one paper of those sent by your Grace and the Council has been perused by the committee, though they were by order of the King and Council lodged with their Lordships, I think, ever since the second day after the Parliament met. And lest the same method may be observed by the Committee of the House of Commons to whom of course this matter may be referred, by my Lord Arran's directions I have now copies writing out of all those papers which are necessary for your Grace's justification, which shall be dispersed amongst your Grace's friends in the House of Commons to be made use of as occasion serves. I have this day advanced so far towards my journey for Ireland as to send away all my things but my clothes upon my back. But it will be Thursday before I shall leave this place, because my Lady Donegal has for some reasons, which I shall acquaint your Grace when I have the honour to kiss your hands, desired me to stay till then, and if she proves as kind as I hope she will it will be worth my staying a few days. And besides I shall have the satisfaction of knowing in a great measure how our Irish matters will affect the House of Commons. David Fitzgerald, I doubt, has occasioned a new trouble to Col. Fitzpatrick, having informed the House of Lords that he was told at Limerick, when the Plot was in agitation there, there was a meeting in Dublin in order to it by Col. Talbot, Col. Fitzpatrick, Sir Edward Scott, Col. Dempsey, Peter Talbot and Plunkett. But he added that he did not say this of his own knowledge and could tell it only by hearsay. Plunkett has deceived all men living, for he told his tale with modesty and confidence enough and without any manner of hesitation or consternation, and when he was asked in the presence of Mr. Murphy whether he had not told him that your Grace had given him money, he denied it positively, and said he was so far from receiving money or any kindness from your Grace that he had received far less kindness and civility from your Grace than from the two precedent Governors, my Lord Berkeley and my Lord of Essex, who had both given him money and been very kind and civil to him, and

it was very unlikely he should tell Murphy your Grace had given him money if it had been so, because he knew him to be his professed enemy for depriving him of his parish, in which he lived scandalously and corresponded with the Tories. In fine he told his story with such plainness and simplicity that he left an impression with the Lords to his advantage. When Murphy told their Lordships that my Lord Lieutenant (meaning your Grace) had concealed the discovery of the plot Ronan Magin had made to your Grace from all but the King, by whose order your Grace sent him into France, where he since died, and consequently prevented his discovery; the King told some Lords who were near him he did believe your Grace would be in no plot but with him. Murphy, Burke, Sampson, and Macnamara have all laid load upon Sir Jo. Davys for browbeating and discountenancing them in their examinations. But the last has clawed of my Lord Privy Seal for writing two letters to my Lord Tyrone (which he saw), from the Duke, encouraging him to go on vigorously with the matter in hand, and he added that my Lord Anglesey had so great credit amongst the Papists that they prayed for him at Mass, and he heard his parish priest often pray for him. There is also some reflection upon my Lord Chief Justice Keating, Sir Richard Reynell, and Sir William Davys, but whether it will be so far improved against them as that they will be sent for I, who am now without doors, cannot tell. In my last I told your Grace what Sampson has said against my Lord Chancellor, but in one circumstance was misinformed, for the discourse which Sampson affirms upon his oath to have had with him concerning the Duke it seems was not in your Grace's closet. By the votes or journals which Mr. Mulys sends your Grace you will be informed how far the House of Commons have proceeded in the Bill against the Duke, and how likely Presbytery is to come in play again. This day Col. Legge told me that he shall soon surrender his government of Portsmouth to the Duke of Albemarle.

ORMOND to the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, November 7. Dublin Castle.—I have received the directions of the Lords of the Committee of the 27th October for the sending over the Earl of Tyrone and Plunkett, the pretended titular Primate of Ireland. The latter I find by letters of the 30th October was arrived there, and the Earl of Tyrone shall be sent as required as soon as the papers commanded at the same time to be transmitted shall be copied, tho' I believe there is nothing concerning the accusation against his Lordship and the proceedings thereupon but has been sent either to Mr. Coventry whilst he was Secretary of State or to your Lordship since, and it appears by your several letters to me not only that they were received by you, but that they were communicated to the Lords of the Council; nor hath

this method been observed in that case alone, but whatever else hath come to my knowledge by way of discovery ever since we had first notice of the Popish Plot, hath constantly been made known by me to the Privy Council here, and from thence sent to your Lordship or to Mr. Coventry, wherein we have not omitted to transmit the slightest informations given to us, because that, tho' they might appear to us frivolous and insignificant, yet we did not know how far they might give light to or receive strength from what was informed in England. So that whatever may in any degree concern the Plot and came to our knowledge I suppose is to be found among your Lordship's or Mr. Coventry's papers, and possibly in the office of the clerks of the Council, which I do not mention to save pains here (for we are upon collecting and putting together a methodical deduction of all that hath come to our knowledge and been done by us in relation to the Plot), but that in case there should be present use of any of those examinations or other papers sent from us it may be known where they may be found. The very last information given us, which took rise from one David Nash, hath been sent your Lordship with all that has or could yet be done by us upon it. How far further we may thereupon be led to more discoveries I cannot tell, till one called D. Leryne shall be brought hither or further examined in the country, if he be no ways able to travel as he pretends.

ORMOND to COL. JOHN FITZPATRICK.

1680, November 7. Dublin.—This is the first letter I have gone about to write to you since we parted, nor have I had any from you but one in behalf of Groninx, the Dutchman, who is now planted at Carrick, and has set up his looms, but is fallen into some trouble by attempting to transport wool under the notion of Caddowes, upon which nicety there will be a dispute betwixt the Farmers and him. The question will be whether raw or manufactured. I have long wished you of our Church and as long wondered you were not, being master of so much reason; but my business is not to flatter you or reproach all others that remain in the other communion. If you were a good witness in my concerns you could acquit me of being a Papist or Popishly affected, if there were any certain mark set upon Popishly affected, that is that I was not so when you left me, and since there has no great temptation appeared to change me. The account you have given of my coming into the Government is truer than in one particular I wish it were, for if my Lord of Danby would have permitted me to serve my master, as many would have appeared for the King as for my Lord Treasurer, which was not always the distribution. I am extremely prepared to improve the friendship you say I may have with my Lord Sunderland, wherein you cannot oblige me more than to be as instrumental as you can.

ORMOND to COL. EDWARD COOKE.

1680, November 7. Dublin.—I have received four or five of your letters and have made no return to them, which I confess to be a fault, and such as would discourage a less affectionate correspondent. To the letter that seemed to dismiss your first overture I have nothing to say but that I was in the disposition I told you to entertain it, and shall still have respect to the family. I have since been put upon another proposition of the like nature, but till we shall be further entered into it I forbear to explain myself. Then you are like to be of my council. Your last but that of the 2nd of this month gave me much apprehension of indisposition, neither your style or character being such as was usual ; I hope you will gather strength every day, but rather than you should not, I would be content to lose the satisfaction of your letters for a time. I am told of twenty crimes at least I am to be charged with, and that Sir Henry Ingoldsby is to make good many of them. I know not how pertinently he may swear, but I never heard him say anything to the purpose in my life. Your kinsman Gustavus is a very diligent good young man, and if I may have a little time and opportunity I mean to let him see I have that opinion of him. I wish you good health with all my heart. If you stay in town I am sure my son Arran will be glad to compare notes with you. I pray let me know what you have heard of my grandson's being engaged to a wench in the way of marriage at Oxford. The report has been raised without the least colour, by whom or for what end I cannot imagine.

ORMOND to the EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, November 7. Dublin.—The packet bringing letters of the 2nd instant is just now come, but in it I find no letter from you ; perhaps you had nothing to say but what you knew I should have from other hands. My Lord Longford regrets much the want of a narrative, as apprehending that Sir H. Ingoldsby's informations will be swallowed without examination ; for my part I know not what he can say, if nobody help his invention, that can reflect on anybody here. However, I hope this packet may carry an account of the most material things that have been informed of and proceeded upon in relation to the Plot, namely, all that concerns my Lord of Tyrone and the titular Primate, and their trials will, I suppose, be first gone upon, they being sent for. What remains shall soon follow. I send you the copy of my letter to my Lord Sunderland which I thought needful you should have by you. I have no more time or matter.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, November 9. London.—I had this afternoon yours of the 30th of the last and one of the 1st instant. I have

nothing more to say concerning the Plot, the business being now before the Commons, but I was informed that Sir Henry Ingoldsby desired to put in articles against you, but Sir Richard Stephens informs me to the contrary. With much ado I got the Lords to give all the papers relating to Ireland to the Commons yesterday at a conference, and those sent over by Sir John Davys, and tho' I could not get our House to read them your friends have promised to get them all read. At the House of Commons yesterday at the committee I gave an account of David Nash and Stokes and told my Lord Shaftesbury, who was in the chair, how they had disowned their deposition. He said he did not wonder at it when the Chancellor and Sir John Davys took the examinations. I answered that my Lord Chancellor was not there, but said that all the depositions taken in relation to the Plot were as impartially taken as ever his lordship took any, to which he made no reply, neither has he ventured to have a fling at you since my being in the House, and I thank God I have overcome the awe of speaking there. Others, I hope, will do me right in informing your Grace whether I have done my endeavours to serve you as I ought in this conjuncture.

As to the business of the bailiwick of Westminster, I am afraid you will scarce prove a title to it, and the King is resolved to turn out Stroud; and he is resolved to complain to the House, and though I have no authority from you, yet I am so much more concerned for your honour than your profit that I shall venture to make a composition to the satisfaction of all parties, and get you some money too, though not so much as you had bargained for, and this my Lord Chamberlain approves of. The man is to come to me to-morrow about it, and by the next you shall have a full account of my proceeding in it, which, I hope, you will justify me in.

I was commanded to attend His Majesty at the Council this afternoon with a list of the officers of the army, which I gave in, but no alteration was made. I have it in command to inform your Grace what alterations and reducements are resolved upon, and will be sent you next post, and I must be bold to say that I saved my Lord Chancellor's 1,000*l.* pension by what I said on his behalf, and therefore I hope he will not believe the reports here that to save you I would forsake him. The reducements are half the pensions, three of the Commissioners of Appeals (I would have saved George Wild, but it would not be granted.) The creation money, the 5,000*l.* you had, Sir Robert Hamilton's 200*l.* per annum. The King allows 8,000*l.* of the Windsor money, and I can remember no more. I moved the King that some powder should be sent over, which His Majesty has promised to give order in. The remaining part of the Scotch Regiment when recruited are to be sent to Tangier, and those of our army are to return. When they arrive there you are with what

speed you can to find out the best way to have men from hence to supply the place of those that are defective, and such orders will be sent you as you shall desire. I found everybody at the Board very friendly to you. The reductions I mentioned are to be but for a year.

When I came to look into my wife's accounts I found she had spent in four months 1,200*l.*, which is no small inconvenience to me; but she is so very sensible of her fault in it that I have not been so severe as perhaps another would have been in my place.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, November 9. London.—My Lord Arran gives your Grace so exact an account of his own endeavours and the success he has in your Grace's service, that he leaves nothing for me to write, and really he is so dexterous in everything he undertakes here that all the rest of your Grace's servants are become useless to you, for he leaves nothing for us to do. The Irish Plot is now before the Commissioners, where your Grace's friends are both instructed and resolved to defend you if any attack be made upon your Grace there. The journal of both Houses which Mr. Mulys sends your Grace will inform your Grace of the proceedings better than any man who is without doors can do. This afternoon the Committee, to whom the examination of the complaint against Sir George Jefferyes was referred, has voted that by his discountenancing of the petitions for the meeting of the Parliament he has betrayed the rights and privileges of the people of England, which, when it's reported to the House, your Grace may easily judge what will be his doom. I intend this shall be the last letter I shall write to your Grace from hence, resolving to leave this place this week. The Duke's reception in Scotland has been very great and splendid, and much beyond what it was formerly.

EARL OF CONWAY to ORMOND.

1680, November 9. London.—I have had the honour to receive your Grace's letter of the 1st inst., and I have constantly attended at the Committee of Examinations especially about the Irish affairs, but nothing hath occurred that can any way reflect upon your Grace. My Lord Anglesey is charged home by Sampson and Macnamara for two letters written to my Lord of Tyrone, and had the confidence yesterday to deliver them at a conference to the House of Commons with this raillery, that they would find his name mentioned in them, to which they replied that if they did they would not abate him an ace. The House of Commons hath had a new evidence before them this morning, one Turberville, as I take it, who hath convinced many; and my cousin Seymour, who hath always believed as little of the Plot as any man, told

me that this man had removed all his scruples and objections : he affirms positively that my Lord Powis and my Lord Stafford would have engaged him to kill the King.

The Bill against the Duke is not yet past the House of Commons, and 'tis certain it will not pass the House of Lords ; for by the largest computation they are but thirty of the temporals which will be for it, and my Lord of Sunderland and my Lord of Essex must be reckoned into the number to make them so many, and we shall be fifty now sitting against it, besides the bishops.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, November 13. Dublin.—Since my last to your Grace I am informed that the Irish witnesses have been all heard before the House of Commons, and that Mr. Hetherington, being asked what he had to say, could inform nothing of the Plot, but did inform them of the miscarriages of the Government, and that was what Sir Henry Ingoldsby discoursed in the coffee houses. I need not endeavour to take copies of what they all have informed, for they have leave from the House to print their informations ; all that I can guess at concerning you is that it will be pressed hard that an address should be made to His Majesty for your removal, and I cannot assure you but that they may compass it ; as for any impeachment I am morally assured it is not intended. I have reason to believe that 932 is willing you should be removed, for he yesterday advised your throwing up ; but matters are not gone so far yet, there being nothing yet resolved upon, and I hope before they come to the debate of the matter your narrative will come over. The main thing that sticks is the proclamation about disarming the Papists.

My Lord Clarendon desired me very earnestly to write to you about Dick Bealing, who he says has 700*l.* due to him from Mr. Warren upon the account of rent, and can get no remedy, tho' he has judgment against him by reason of his being sheriff last year, and he hears it to be so this. He desires you would not be prevailed with to do it ; I think I spoke on his behalf, but knew nothing of this. Since there are to be three Commissioners of Appeals left, and it is likely the naming all but Sir Charles Meredith will be left to you, I think myself bound to put you in mind of

Mr. Gwyn, who is very much your friend here. Burlington is 920 379

a knave to you and i suspect I ie L to
76 425 725 45 60 42 84 50 275 431 160 41 74 418.

I hear Sir Robert Southwell is come over, but I have not yet seen him.* I leave Sir James Butler to give you an account of Stroud, who has not been with me since I writ concerning this matter, but he is such a knave that we must be very wary how to deal with him, especially since I am satisfied the taking money for that employment cannot be justified.

* The equivalents of this cipher are in Ormond's hand, but scarcely legible.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, November 13. Whitehall.—I did not write to your Grace last post to give you an account of some matters the King had that day resolved upon concerning Ireland, because my Lord of Arran charged himself with doing it. The enclosed order will now particularly inform you of some part of the King's mind. His Majesty intends to send you some further directions relating to the army, which you may expect by the next post. I have your Grace's and the Council's letter of the 30th past, with several informations which are, by the King's order, sent to the House of Lords.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, November 13. London.—A cause upon which I was on Thursday last to have had a hearing in the Exchequer, being at the Barons' request to me then in Court put off till Monday next, I am by that means necessitated to break my word with your Grace in giving you the trouble of another letter from hence, for while I am here I esteem myself obliged to give your Grace an account of what occurs to me.

The Bill against the Duke passed in the House of Commons on Thursday last, but it is not yet carried up to the Lords, where it is believed it will never pass as it is now penned. Yeste day the Lord Mayor called a Common Council, where they agreed upon an address to His Majesty, which my Lord Mayor presented last night. The purport of it was to thank His Majesty for the meeting of the Parliament and by it His Majesty's care of the Protestant religion, and it ended in a request to His Majesty that he would be advised by his Parliament. His Majesty returned his thanks to them for their care of the Protestant religion, which he assured them he would support, and needed not to be put in mind of it by petitions and addresses (or words to this purpose). He told them they meddled in things that did not belong to them, and wished them to have a care of some incendiaries amongst them who were disaffected to the Government and endeavoured to make divisions between him and his people. This, I am told, was the substance of what His Majesty said, for I was not then in Court. The Bill for prohibition of the Irish cattle, butter, cheese, hides and tallow passed the Commons on Thursday and this day passed the Lords. On Thursday Hethrington was before the Commons, and though he did not own himself to be a discoverer of the Plot, of which he understood nothing but from others, yet he took upon him to discourse largely of the state of Ireland, and fell very foul upon your Grace, saying you were the centre of all the conspirators (as a very worthy member of the House told me). Mr. Murphy followed him, and repeated the same discourse he made before the Lords and mentioned your Grace as he had done formerly. But Mr. Fitzgerald has given a very good account of your Grace and the Government there in the story

he told. And except him the former persons, Mr. Sampson, Burke, and Macnamara have all laid load upon Sir Jo. Davys and the three last upon Sir William Davys and Sir Richard Reynell. My Lord Chancellor has had the good luck not to be named by any of them before the Commons. They are all ordered to print their narratives and to choose their printers. The House of Commons have not yet had any debate upon the Irish Plot, but it is thought that within a few days hence they will take Ireland into their consideration. This day the House of Commons with their Speaker attended His Majesty with their address in answer to the message sent them the other day by Sir Lyollin Jenkins, which His Majesty received, and, rising up from his chair, put it up into his pocket and walked away to the park without saying one word to them. This day the Commons have voted an address to His Majesty for the turning Sir George Jefferyes out of his place of Chief Justice of Chester. On Thursday one Turbivill confessed before the House of Commons that my Lord Stafford had offered him money to kill the King; and this day one Lewis accused my Lord Arundel of having offered him money the day before he was committed to kill the King. The Commons yesterday by a message desired the Lords to appoint a day for the trial of my Lord Stafford, and I think their Lordships have appointed Tuesday come fortnight for it.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, November 16. London.—Yesterday was a great day of a debate in the House of Lords concerning the Bill of excluding the Duke. The House sat till ten o'clock at night, and about that time came to the question and carried that the Bill should be rejected. For the reading the Bill the second time there were thirty, for the throwing it out sixty-five, of which number there were fourteen bishops, which was all that were on that Bench. The thirty Lords that were for the Bill this morning entered their protestation, amongst which number was the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Newport, Lord Manchester, Lord Dorset, Earl of Essex and Lord Suffolk. The Earl of Halifax opposed it with great vigour. The House of Commons this day met and adjourned till to-morrow morning without doing anything. The House of Lords were this day upon finding out expedients to prevent or restrain a Popish successor. Several propositions were made: one for an Act of Association like that in Queen Elizabeth's time; another for limitations to a Popish successor, thereby making him incapable of doing prejudice either to religion or property; another for making void the King's marriage with the Queen, and banishing the Duke of York for the King's life; all which proposals were adjourned till to-morrow.

On Sunday in the evening Prince Philip of Savoy, younger brother to the Count Soissons, and Monsieur Sissack fell out at play in the Duchess of Modarine's [? Mazarine's] lodgings,

and Prince Philip in the room wounded Sissack in several places, particularly through the side of his belly, of which he now lies ill without hopes of recovery. The Duchess of Southampton died this morning of the smallpox.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, November 16. London.—I shall trouble your Grace with little this post. The journals of Parliament do contain all that is worth your knowledge. The names of the Lords who were for the Bill of Exclusion I have given my Lord Longford, who is now by me, and will more at large entertain you. I am often alarmed with an impeachment to be brought in against you, but can find no certainty of the matter yet, but I am very confident that you will be attacked; for since the Bill against the Duke was thrown out, all those who are looked upon as friends to him will be struck at, and of that number you are reckoned. I think it therefore worth your considering whether you should not ask the King's leave to come over if you are accused, with power to leave such as he shall approve of until you return either by way of Deputy or Justices. In this I have consulted my Lord Chamberlain.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, November 16. Dublin.—I have for a post or two forbore to write to anybody in England for want of matter to write of, there being at this time three packets at Holyhead in which very important advertisements are reasonably to be expected, the opening of the first session of this Parliament having produced votes that prognosticate high determinations. God send they prove prosperous to the public whoever in particular may suffer by them. Our narrative is at last brought to a conclusion, all to the writing, but the labour of that is great: yet it was necessary to justify all that is affirmed by authentic pieces adjoined. Whether all our pains may not come too late I cannot tell, but sooner it could not be done. Mr. Fitzgerald and Sir Oliver St. George were now of opinion that none should be sent, tho' their own hands were to a former narrative of what had till then passed on the same subject, but why or by what arguments they are prevailed upon to change their opinion did not appear to me.

I hear that one Samuel Rolls (a rich man, they say) is brought into trouble for so cruelly beating a maid servant of his that she died in a short time after. Whether he be really guilty of the fact or others of wrongfully accusing him is like to be determined by law: in the meantime it may not be fit His Majesty should be surprised upon any application for his pardon.

Postscript.—November 18.—Last night I received yours of the 2nd by Sir Robert Hamilton and those of the 6th and 9th by the post. Sir John Davys gives you an account himself of

his preparation for his voyage. I think he will go hence with good attestations from the Council. Of what force they will be, I know not. The several orders you mention when they come shall be put in execution with all the expedition they are capable of. I have not time to say more now.

EARL OF LONGFORD TO ORMOND.

1680, November 16. London.—Though I confess I have not any business now in this place, yet matters being now brought near a crisis, I cannot for my life quit for two or three days till I see how affairs will go. Yesterday the Bill for excluding the Duke from the succession was carried up by my Lord Russell to the Lords, who being then in a debate upon my Lord Peterborough, against whom Dangerfield had given evidence (as he had some time before to the Commons) and upon that evidence motions were made for his being committed to the Black Rod, after the Bill was received by their Lordships the debate was again resumed. My Lord Peterborough made an handsome defence for himself, and in the close of discourse said he hoped their Lordships would not in the case of a peer receive the testimony of Dangerfield, who appeared so notoriously scandalous a person upon record that the Judges of Westminster Hall would not admit his evidence even against Mrs. Cellier, and then he withdrew. The debate upon the question of his commitment lasted two hours, by which time those who were for his commitment perceiving they could not carry it, and consequently might hazard the baffling of Dangerfield's evidence, chose to let fall the debate, and, my Lord Peterborough, was called in again to his place. After this the Bill against the Duke was immediately read, and the debate upon it lasting seven hours in a grand committee, the chief part of the debate and argument was between my Lord Shaftesbury and my Lord Halifax, and in conclusion the question being put at eleven at night the Bill was rejected, upon the division there being only thirty Lords for the Bill who are now Protestors, and whose names I now send your Grace enclosed. The Commons being surprised at this miscarriage of their Bill, as soon as the Speaker took the chair this morning, they immediately adjourned till to-morrow morning.

The Lords this morning fell upon expedients to secure the Protestant religion and supply the place of the Bill which was rejected. My Lord Halifax proposed the banishing of the Duke for five years out of the King's presence, and from his person in case the King lived so long. My Lord Shaftesbury proposed a divorce of the Queen for a reason, and instanced in the old story of the French Ambassador concerning the treaty of a marriage between the French King and her which did not succeed, because she was said to be incapable of bearing children. But I do not find that either of those propositions have yet taken place. But a third proposition

for an association of Lords and Commons for the security of the King's life, etc., is entertained, as your Grace will find by the proceedings in the Lords' House, which Mr. Mulys sends your Grace, to which I refer.

Moyer, Callaghan and Henan are come to town and are in Mr. Hethrington's conduct, and, I hear, do intend to reflect upon your Grace for not using them well, but discouraging them when they were sent for hither to give their testimony, and treating them worse when they were sent back.

THOMAS OTWAY, BISHOP OF OSSORY, to ORMOND.

1680, November 17.—I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace that one Paul Higgin, a priest of the Romish Church, and lately a vicar general in the diocese of Killala, is now with me and hath left that Church and come to ours. I have known him ever since I was in Connaught and have discoursed and disputed with him. He is of an unquestionable conversation and of much more learning than generally their priests are, though I believe not of more than a man may well bear. He is very poor, and if your Grace should think fit to allow him some pension till something might be gotten for him, it might encourage others to come in. I hear, but am not certain of it, that there is a salary in the college for one that can translate into Irish practical books of divinity, Latin or English, adequated to the understanding of the poorer Irish. He would be very fit for that, having a competent knowledge of those three languages and writing a better Irish character than I have else seen.

If your Grace's leisure will permit to read a little further, I shall give your Grace a short account of our past and present scuffles here. No Jews or Turks could have used me worse than the Mayor and Corporation of Kilkenny. They have not carried themselves in it like tolerable heathens, and I might with greater reason think that Socrates and Cato go to heaven than an alderman of Kilkenny. But besides the justice of my cause, which hath been upheld for more than 200 years against them, as I can make good by papers in my own hands, I have this comfort, that I have excellent company, this sort of cattle using their horns against the nobility as well as the clergy. As soon as this affair is over they will as certainly return to their old animosities, as the cold and hot fits of an ague succeed each other. I most humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this. God Almighty preserve your Grace.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN BANKS RELATING TO PAPERS FOUND ON PATRICK FLEMING.

The examination of John Banks, gent., who being sworn and examined saith that he is a horseman in Sir Wm. Tichborn's troop and several years quartered at Ardee, saith that he was on that party that killed Patrick Fleming about

the 14th of February, 1677, near Eniskeen, in the county of Monaghan, being commanded by Quartermaster Thomas Parke, quartermaster of the said troop, where the said Fleming with seven men more of his associates in rebellion were cut off by the said party after the exchange of several shots and hurt done on both sides; that he was present when one John Green, of the said troop, took out of the pocket of the said Fleming, after he was killed, several papers, among which was a letter signed Thomas Cox and superscribed for Mr. Manus O'Quin, bearing date the 31st of January, 1677, which original letter was delivered to the examinant's father, then one of the portreeves of Ardee, by the said Green, and was given by this examinant to Mr. Serjeant Osborne about three weeks after, a copy whereof about eight days since he, this examinant, inclosed in a letter to the said Serjeant Osborne, who had formerly desired the examinant to make search for the same; and further saith that this examinant took an exact copy with his own hand of the said letter, which he last sent as aforesaid to Serjeant Osborne, and the paper now showed unto him is the said copy so by him taken and written with his own hand, which he verily believeth to be an exact copy of the original letter before mentioned, he being present when his father took the first copy thereof and perused and subscribed the same as a true copy; and saith there was among the aforementioned papers taken one that had the shape of a foot, and called the print of our Lady's foot, with this further observation, that whoever had the same about him and should say certain Pater Noster and Ave Mar' should that day be set free, or to that effect; being asked why he so long detained the said letter as three weeks without bringing it to a magistrate, he saith that it was not thought so material until it was by his said father remembered that the titular Primate Oliver Plunkett went by the name of Cox, which was seconded by several of the country, whose names he remembers not. And further saith not.

Jo. Banks.

Taken and sworn before us the 17th of November, 1680.
Hen. Midensis. Ca. Dillon.

EXAMINATION OF SIR WM. TICHBORN RELATING TO PAPERS FOUND ON PATRICK FLEMING.

1680, November 18.—Who being duly sworn and examined saith that when a party of his men about the 14th of February, 1677, had killed Patrick Fleming, a Tory, there were several papers brought unto him by John Greene, one of this examinant's troopers, which, he said, were taken out of the pockets of the said Fleming, and were only loose and inconsiderable notes, one of which said to have the shape of our Lady's foot, and a few days after Mr. Samuel Banks, one of the portreeves of Atherdee, showed this examinant a certain

letter which the said Banks told him was taken out of the pocket of the said Fleming, which letter this examinant saw delivered to Mr. Serjeant Osborne, and verily believeth that the copy now sworn to and subscribed by John Banks is a true copy thereof, for that he, this examinant, read the said original, and further saith that the general vogue of the country was that Oliver Plunkett, titular Primate, sometimes assumed the name of Thomas Cox, which was the reason that the aforesaid letter subscribed by the said Thomas Cox was sent to Serjeant Osborne as aforesaid, and further saith not.

Will. Tichborn.

Taken the day aforesaid before us

Hen. Midensis. Ca. Dillon.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Nov. 19. Dublin.—I think mine of yesterday and of a former date will be overtaken by this, and own the receiving last night of yours of the 13th. The throwing up advised by 932 would conveniently save him the trouble of appearing against an address or the reproach of not doing it. Perhaps he supposes it may prevent an impeachment, having found that one way or another my remove will be attempted. All I can say at present in justification of the proclamation for disarming the Papists is contained in the paper inclosed, saving that it was with the full approbation and advice of a numerous Council at that time assembled. I do not find that by the order of Council it leaves it to me to determine which of the Commissioners of Inspection shall be continued, and I wish it may be done in England. Of six there are but three to continue, and I think the competition must fall betwixt Sir Robert Hamilton, Mr. Gwyn and Mr. Wild. For the present I believe I shall leave Sir Charles Meredith and Sir John Topham in the execution of the trust, suspend four of the six, and stay for His Majesty's declaration who shall be the third. Sir Robert Hamilton was a supernumerary introduced more to gratify him than for the necessity of the service. Mr. Gwyn was one of the first, but never attended the service. Mr. Wild has been often and of late constantly here. The sixth is, I think, Wm. Ellis, and is not to receive any salary till a vacancy. If it prove so 900*l.* a year cannot be saved upon that article unless all the other three be suspended.

I could not imagine but that your brother's body had been buried with the rites of the Church. It is fit it should be done in the manner you propose. I know nothing of the Gent. of the Horse, but they say he was never with my son upon any expedition, and served him but a little while. However, I shall not interpose in the matter. I am loth to give Fitzpatrick's plan away only on a report that he has another. I had forgot Sir John Hanmer was to be one of

the four to be for the present suspended and then let them make their application. I have heard nothing from Sir James Butler concerning Strode or his place. I think it will be best to let that matter rest till a fitter time.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 20. London.—I had on Wednesday last your Grace's letters of the 6th and 7th instant, and am much concerned that you could not understand what I writ in cipher in mine of the 30th of the last month, for I took all the care I could not to commit any mistake, therefore I conclude the cipher is not well copied. You may judge by the little I now write 267 379 734 34 71 59. I confess I cannot so well answer for myself in another particular which is the not keeping copies of my letters, but I shall take the pains to do it hereafter, for I find my letter of the 2nd was not come to your hands, tho' one of the same date from my Lord Longford was, and tho' I remember it was a long one, yet for want of a copy I cannot remember the contents, but because I was informed letters were often opened, I sent mine with my Lord Longford's. I think it worth while to enquire into the matter, for I am confident my letter was not intercepted in this place. I have been and am still ready to make the best use I can of those heads or topics you mention with some others when occasion offers, but your enemies were aware of that and therefore would not bring any accusation before our House. The narrative my Lord Chief Justice sent soon after me will in my judgment serve the turn whenever it will be thought fit to read it better than that Mr. Gascoigne has sent me this post by your order, because it mentions so many enclosed papers which are not to be found, and if they were, a buttress of that length will scarce be perused as the world now goes. My Lord Chamberlain has it now to read and his advice I will take in the matter. I have reason to believe that most of the papers transmitted by the Government were sent by the principal Secretary of State to the Parliament with his perusing them, and by what I can learn his Lordship has not yet acquainted His Majesty or the Board with your letter to him of the 7th. You will find by the journals of our House that Tuesday next is appointed to enquire how those in employment stand affected, and then it is likely you may be brought upon the stage as a friend to the Duke. My Lady Fingall desiring to deliver the letter you sent me, I gave it to her, and the first opportunity I will say what you command.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 20. London.—With great joy I resume my pen, being empowered so to do by your Grace's commission under your own hand of the 7th inst., which coming not to mine till Wednesday night I could not till this post reduce

this my duty into practice. I shall begin with the consideration of your Grace's letter that no important particular may escape unanswered. And in the first place, now I am convinced that your Grace accepts of my service and that my letters get safe to your hands, it is enough to oblige my constant writing without your Grace's undergoing any further trouble, not to answer only to read what I write, unless your Grace shall have any commands to honour me with. As for that unequal overture I once hastily made, I do confess the partial opinion I had for my niece and then the danger her brother was in (since perfectly recovered) betrayed me into that well-meant misguided presumption; I suspect some of her friends are about to betray her into no great happiness by laying out their interest to promote Tom. Thinne's addresses, against which I have with great positiveness bore my testimony, as I had done before (and with better success) against the Hamilton Lord Aran when he fancied himself sure of her. I most heartily wish that young Lord who promises so fair to tread in the upright steps of both grandfather and father amongst all other happiness that of the best wife these dominions will afford, which tempted my pen in one of my letters to mention the new widow Ogle, but wherever your Grace shall think fit to lay that scene and think me worthy of having a part, I shall act with the greatest vigour imaginable, as thinking it the greatest honour imaginable to be owned by your Grace and commanded on so important a service. I cannot deny but I was once alarmed that his little lordship had been too prodigal in disposing his person to the cook or butler's daughter of the college he was of, and that one Spencer was the reporter. I sought diligently, but could never find out this Spencer, nor any provocation for the report, tho' both Sir John Doyly and myself were curiously nice in our scrutiny into the matter. But when we found there was not the least shadow of truth in the thing (for the Bishop himself escaped not our inquiry) I thought it impertinent to trouble your Grace with a false alarm, rather choosing to act my diligence in stopping their mouths who I found opened to repeat it. As for your Grace's numerous guilts I have not yet met with Sir Hen. Ingoldsby, and so do not know his romances, but all others were collected by sham'd inferences from some Irish examinations at the Lords' Bar by such, not who believed them so, but would have had them so whose keen edges are at present blunted. As for my own health I dare not be too bold in boasting of it yet, having had my former hopes so often frustrated by unexpected and unaccountable relapses which have confined me within the walls of my chamber ever since I came into it (which happening, by my Lord Norreys' favour who hath taken the whole house and allows me a room in it, to be in the old palace yard at one Captain Beale's house, the members of both houses are so charitable to me as to divert me with the accounts of the

daily proceedings in both. I must gratefully acknowledge the matter is much mended with me (especially within these two past days) since the time that for three fits together I could neither understand another or express myself, only my compassionate visitors could since tell me my tongue ran apace, often mentioning your Grace, but without any coherence, and very probably the weakness of my head and hand betrayed in one of my letters was the effect of one of those three fits, being eager too soon to pay my duty to your Grace. It is no small comfort to me to read my poor child Gustavus so well thought on by your Grace. I am better pleased that he retains your Grace's favour than if he should obtain preferment. Emboldened by your Grace's mentioning my Lord Arran, I have sent my humble suit to his Lordship that at his best leisure either coming to or going from the House he would do me the honour to call on me, that by his conduct I may be managed in your Grace's service, than which nothing can be more delightful to me. I am commanded by my worthy landlord, my Lord Norreys, to assure your Grace he is your admirer and humble servant.

How furiously this week began I presume is now no news. That my Lord Russell, attended with a crowd of members, handed up the Bill against the D. Y. from the Commons House to the Lords, where it is thought it had longer slept had it not been wakened by an assurance derived from the Duchess of [Portsmouth], Secr. Sund[erland] and Mr. Godol[phin] that it would infallibly pass, fifty-five votes being secured and His Majesty contrived into a passive neutrality. It was no sooner landed in the Lords' House but it had the preference and laid by all other business. And immediately the debate began. The little great champion for it was my back friend; his duellist was my Lord Halifax, who (say some) did so outdo his usual parts (tho' constantly very great) that by the strength of his argument he cleared many eyes (purblinded by prepossession), to vote against the Bill. *Three particulars I have heard repeated as wholly unprovided for by this Bill and yet unanswered.* 1. *The lopping off of the whole kingdom of Scotland, whose fatal consequences wanted not due illustration.* 2dly. *What if the Princess of Orange should refuse to assume her father's seat during his life (no very unreasonable conjecture), who then should be King?* 3. *Should the Princess accept, be crowned Queen and established in the throne, and after the Duke should have a son, what then?* Small circumstances unforeseen and consequently unprovided for; but it seems when the Q. at 9 at night past, 63 were convinced of the improperness, nay impracticallency of the Bill, and only 30 pertinaciously espoused it. Next morning the Commons met and in great formality by their Mace summoned in all their gowned members from the several Bars; but Sir Jo. Hotham moving that a longer time was necessary to recollect themselves from this amazing consternation, they immediately adjourned

till next morning. The Lords spent Tuesday on proposing expedients in lieu of the Bill as effectual and more practicable. Many were brought in then and more since, but Monday next is appointed for them to be debated. To say truth, as many are pertinent so very many are otherwise, rather invented to obstruct than proposed as proper materials for a Bill. I perceive the wisest gape after a prorogation, if but for two days, which will once again bring either the old Bill or a worse on the stage, it being expected that many who were then resolute would now face about. But I neither believe they would find one changeling as to the Bill nor that they will be gratified with such a prorogation, whence an inclination in the King might be too naturally inferred should he administer such an opportunity for its reinforcement. As for the Commons' proceedings since, the printed votes publish them: they hotly ordered two addresses, one in answer to the King's message about Tangier, the other for the removal of my Lord Halifax out of the King's presence and Council, but coolly pursue those votes, which, tho' passed on Wednesday, are not yet perfected; all the allegation against the Lord arises (they own) only from common fame that he advised for dissolutions and prorogations, etc. Nor have the Lords done much since Monday, as if they took time to recover breath again. Public expedients and private trials have spun out most of their morning light; only this morning my Lord Peterborough (who was accused by Mr. Dangerfield's last evidence and that entered) craved his defence might stand entered also. After a long debate it was submitted to the consideration of a Committee. Their Lordships have also referred it to a Committee to exempt Protestant dissenters from the penalties of the Acts calculated against Papists. In the Commons House this day the Bill to inhibit Scotch cattle was carried but by four votes. They have also committed Sir Robert Holt and Mr. Stapley (both gowned men and Justices of Berkshire) for the heinous sin, discouraging petitioners and being abhorrrers. They have also impeached Mr. Seymour (the quondam Speaker) of four articles, chiefly for embezzling and purloining the King's revenue, who hath till Thursday to put in his answer. He seems little startled at it. The foremen of several abhorring juries are sent for up in custody, some as far as Somersetshire and Devonshire. Where 'twill end, God knows.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 20. London.—Since my last to your Grace the House of Commons have voted an address to His Majesty for the removing my Lord Halifax for ever out of his presence and Council. But the address has not yet been presented to his Majesty, nor that against Sir George Jefferyes. This day there were articles of high misdeameanour given into the House by Sir Gilbert Gerard against Mr. Seymour, who is ordered a copy of them and has time till Thursday

next to make answer to them. Those who are his friends say he can make a very good defence for himself and doubt not of his coming off and justifying himself against the accusation.

The obstructors of the petition for the meeting of the Parliament are every day called to an account for their proceedings in that affair, but none yet have had the judgment of the House passed upon them, but Sir George Jefferyes and Sir Francis Wythens. I have reason to fear 579 446 64 725 566 86 27 552 582 59 240 551 736 681 206, our letters to Ormond are opened on that side for I am sure I have taken care to prevent it on this, ever since I have been here, therefore it is worth your Grace's care to look into it. I confess my wife's being now well has encouraged me to stay a few days longer here than I intended, in order to the serving your Grace and my friends there, and having done now all within my poor sphere towards it, I resolve on Wednesday next to set forwards for Ireland.

STATEMENT by Mr. SERGEANT JOHN OSBORNE.

1680, November 20.—When Patrick Fleming, the Tory, was killed, which, to the best of my remembrance, was in the beginning of Lent, 1677, I was in Dublin. Soon after I went to Stacallan, in the county of Meath. There I heard of a letter found in the pocket of the said Fleming at his death which did contain several things very observable, but I remember not at this present from whom I heard the same. I remember that after, but the time I cannot now call to mind, I had discourse with Sir Wm. Tichborne and told him it was fit my Lord Lieutenant should have this letter; that some time after, I being then very shortly to go to Dublin, the letter was brought me to Stacallan by one John Banks, a horseman of Sir Wm. Tichborne's troop, at which time I caused the said John to endorse his name upon it, that suddenly after I went to Dublin, that with the first opportunity after I came there I delivered the said letter to my Lord of Ormond, but neither the time when it was delivered to me nor that in which I gave it to my Lord of Ormond I can by no circumstances yet call to mind. When I gave it my Lord, he seemed to read it and said words to this effect, as I apprehended, that he thought it would have been to the advantage of the country if Fleming had gone out of it, but that there were assurances in that letter he had given no direction for. My Lord gave me back the letter, but before I went out of the room he demanded it again and I returned it, and saw him lay it in a window in his closet in the Castle of Dublin. I never affirmed anything concerning the above related passages materially different from what is here set down.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, November 23.—I am so well settled in my resolutions for Ireland that this day I waited upon His Majesty to kiss

his hand in order to it, and I am now so far advanced in it that I stay now only for a letter which His Majesty promised to write to your Grace, which I hope to receive to-morrow, and on Thursday to begin my journey.

This morning was the first day of the Duke of Buckingham's appearing in the House of Lords, when he moved that a committee of their Lordships might be appointed to meet with a committee of the House of Commons to consider of the expedients proposed and the state of the nation in relation to Popery, which, being debated for at least two hours, upon a division of the House it was carried in the negative, for which were 45, and only 32 for the affirmative. The House of Commons yesterday passed their address against the Earl of Halifax upon a division for the recommitment of it, 101 being for the affirmative and 213 for the negative, but it is not yet presented to His Majesty. I am told this severe proceeding does not abate his Lordship's mettle. This day the House of Commons [sat] where upon the consideration of those Judges who dismissed the Grand Juries were the 14 Lords [who] would have indicted the Duke for a Papist, and 'tis said they have voted them betrayers of the privileges of the people of England. For the rest I must refer your Grace to the journals which are sent your Grace by Mr. Mulys. My Lord Shaftesbury being disabled from attending the House by the gout, which is fallen into his shoulder, the consideration of the Queen's divorce, which was appointed for this day, is put off *sine die*. I suppose by this packet my Lord Chamberlain gives your Grace an account how obligingly His Majesty has this day interposed in the treaty for my Lord Ossory's marriage, and I have another obliging story to tell your Grace when I have the honour to kiss your hands. This day His Majesty had an account from Sir Hen. Goodericke, resident at Madrid, that three boats arriving at Malaga from Tangier brought news of a smart encounter between the English and the Moors, wherein the Moors lost 2,000 men killed upon the place, that we lost only 150, that we had taken nine colours, retaken six guns, got the possession of Monmouth fort, which was rebuilding, and that we had filled up all the Moors' trenches, and were then absolute masters of the field the night after the fight when those boats left Tangier; but there was fresh shooting heard the next morning. This happy victory was effected by the conduct of Col. Edward Sackville, who commanded in chief (Sir Palmes Fairborne having been killed by an accidental shot the day before), and the assistance of some Spanish horse who landed from Spain but a day or two before and behaved themselves with great gallantry in the engagement. But there is no advice of this come yet from Tangier. On Saturday His Majesty had advice that the 1,200 men sent to Tangier under the command of Col. Percy Kirbe sailed on Saturday morning by Plymouth, and the wind being for them it is hoped they will arrive there by the end of this week.

It is believed the Earl of Plymouth is dead there of a bloody flux.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, Nov. 23. Dublin.—It is a good while since I was directed to send over two letters said to be put into my hands, the one by Sir Hans Hamilton sent from a Popish priest or friar in Portugal and found amongst one Dr. Hickey's papers after his death, the other by Mr. Serjeant Osborne; the former by great chance I found and sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry with my letter of the 12th of April last, but the latter I neither could nor can yet find. Both were given me before there was any discovery of the plot. The Portugal letter I made small account of, judging it ridiculous rather than dangerous, and I think it was so esteemed when it was read at Council. Of the other said to be written by Plunkett, the titular Primate, under the name of Cox, to one Quin, found in Fleming, the Tory's, pocket after he was killed, and therefore and for the matter of it conceived to be intended for the said Fleming, I took as little care, supposing it concerned nothing but the sending away of Fleming, who with others his followers and associates did much mischief in those parts they infested. The matter of Fleming's departure by connivance or passport out of the kingdom was in agitation by the means and interposition of Plunkett before I came last into Ireland, and, as I suppose, it was in order thereunto that Fleming himself was brought to my Lord of Essex by the present Lord Chief Baron Hene, but Fleming and seven of his accomplices being killed in February, 1677, there was a good end put to that negotiation, and there seemed to me there was no further use of that letter, yet for the further satisfaction of His Majesty and of my Lords of the Council I have caused all the circumstances of finding and disposing of the letter with an attested copy of it to be set down and sworn by those that had any part in it, all which your Lordship will find herewith enclosed to be disposed of as His Majesty shall command.

Postscript.—I have for two or three posts forgot to acquaint your Lordship that Peter Talbot, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, is dead, and that care was taken to have the body looked upon by some that knew him. I have received His Majesty's command for suspending certain payments for a year, signified in your Lordship's of the 13th instant, as also what my son Arran had order to write to me. In both His Majesty's pleasure shall be obeyed in the best manner I can.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 23. London.—I expected that yesterday and this day would have produced great matters, but my Lord Shaftesbury being ill of the gout, as he apprehends, could not

attend the House this day, and therefore the business relating to the Queen is put off. Our great debate this day was whether a committee of both Houses should be desired as you will see in the journals. 45 and 32 was the division, only one bishop in the affirmative, and that was Bath and Wells. The affairs relating to Ireland stand as they did when I writ on Saturday. You may find by this letter that it is more to show your Grace that I will not spare my pains than anything that I have to say worth your trouble. I think I can assure you now that my Lord Longford will leave this place on Thursday next and he will rectify all that I have writ in cypher if you cannot make it out. I wish I had a better.

Mr. Buck cannot hold out long, and I am afraid by what he told me this day, having sent for me on purpose, that he will leave his children in a very ill condition. He spoke of 400*l.* your Grace owed him this many years ; he really deserves well from you. He will leave three sons and one daughter ; the sons are very ingenious youths, and the daughter a modest young woman.

COL. EDWARD COOKE TO ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 23. London.—Though the Lords had appropriated yesterday merely for the receiving and debating expedients instead of the D. Y. Bill, and in order to so serious an employment had adjourned but till 8 o'clock, yet it so happened that the more diligent members keeping their hour punctually and finding their House too empty for the beginning a work of so great importance, to prevent idleness possessed themselves of a private cause between the widow of Sir Ed. Turner, the late Chief Baron, and his son (on an assurance it would be very short), which lasting till one o'clock, the business of the day was necessitated to be put off till this morning to the great regret of many whose palates were set to relish the discourses of the Queen's insufficiency. His Grace of Buckingham now first appeared, whose miserable looks betray his uncured indispositions. The effect of this disappointment hath antidoted all such removes for the future by an order that all private causes shall only be heard in afternoons. The Lords being met afterwards at the Committee of Examinations had this doubt presented them by the Attorney General. The case thus : upon new evidence old Mrs. Cellier is to be tried anew, the witnesses Mr. Dangerfield and Mr. Lewis (once Sir John Morton's rakehell footman) ; but the former lying under a conviction of perjury, the only crime the King refuses to insert in pardons (as most unqualifying for a credible witness), the Attorney General had not dependence on his testimony, wherefore Lewis brings one Seale to support his testimony, who he had hid in the room to witness the bargain Mrs. Cellier should make with him, which he doth to a tittle of what evidence Lewis had given in, but just before the trial (if I mistake not) when the jury was empannelled, the

Attorney General happening to consider that as Seale was so secretly hid as not to be seen, so neither could he see, and therefore demanding of Seale how he knew it to be Mrs. Cellier, answered, only by her voice and the series of her discourse ; but this not coming up full to a proof satisfactory to a jury to take away one's life he craved their Lordships' direction whether he should proceed to the hazard of Mrs. Cellier's second escape or to respite the trial, but I do not find their Lordships thought it reasonable to take the thorn out of the Attor[ney's] foot to put into their own, so left him to his own discretion, who I hear respites the trial. Upon complaints made against the late changing of Justices, in most cases the abhorrrers ousting the petitioners, the committee (to whom it was referred) have curiously scrutinied into that matter in all counties, but not yet finished their report to be presented to the King. In Lancashire my Lord Macclesfield complained against one Justice for this crime, that he had divided the nation into three parts, knaves, fools and wise men ; that the former made plots, the second believed them, but the third believed them not ; this was more crafty than criminal, but to fill full his measure of iniquity he was rendered an abominable abhorrrer, to which even my black friend could reply, that this was not a tribunal to judge of that crime, they must go somewhere else to do it, which some ill eyes looked on as reflective on those who had been so severe against abhorrrers in the other House.

This day their Lordships began with expedients, that relating to the Q. was with modesty laid by, not to be resumed again, I hope, the King giving no encouragement to it, but much the contrary. What is agreed by way of expediency is contained under these five heads :—1. That an Act of Association such as was in Ed. 3 and Queen Eliz. reigns shall now be passed a part. 2. That all dispensation for the Duke taking the oaths and tests shall be expunged. 3. That he shall be divested of all those trusts and dignities he yet retains, whether relating to Ireland, Tangiers or the Indies. 4. That if any Parliament shall be then in being at the time of the King's demise, or if not, the surviving members of the last Parliament shall resume and sit six months indissolvable to settle the great affairs of the nation. 5. That neither the Duke nor any Popish successor shall ever have so much as any negative voice or be capable of conferring any honour dignity or employment, spiritual or temporal (whether military or civil). This is the furthest they have yet gone, according to my best intelligence, and all their Lordships did this day, saving joined with the Commons in an address to be presented to the King to appoint a public fast.

As for the acts and monuments of the Commons, their printed votes (which, I presume, are constantly transmitted to your Grace, or on the least hint to the contrary I shall (during my uncertain residence in these parts being tempted

by my doctor to the experiment of country air to shake off the loose corns of my distemper) constantly inclose to your Grace, those printed votes (I say) prevent all pens. To which I shall only add these short remarks :—That address against my Lord Halifax cost four hours' debate, the only avowed foundation on which it was built being common fame, and the crime alleged was giving the King evil counsel, which was aggravated by these two expressions,, clandestinely and secretly. Most of the best speakers in the House argued against it ; particularly my Lord Cavendish is reported to have spoken much beyond himself in this business, urging it as mere nonsense that common fame should publish what counsels were clandestinely and secretly delivered. At last those words were left out ; but the address was carried to be presented to the King to remove that evil Councillor both from His Majesty's counsels and presence for ever. This day I take myself to be concerned to be accountable to your Grace for what passed in the House of Commons, because the printed votes appear not till to-morrow. They have all day long been sifting the behaviour of two Judges, Scroggs and Weston. The former they have found to be so chaffey as to be fit to be removed out of all public employments, and accordingly have ordered an address to His Majesty. The latter's crime being only words tending to discountenance petitioning and to encourage abhorring (the nature of this new guilt amounting to that old unintelligible crime of being a betrayer of the liberties of the people,) and not yet fully proved, his doom is respited.

And thus having done with the public affairs in Parliament I shall present your Grace with an account of the great success this day's letters assured us of at Tangier, where the Moors were reëntrenched some 15,000 strong; Sir Pal. Fairbone had the ill luck the day before to be killed with a chain shot, so that Col. Sackville commanded in chief. They entirely routed the Moors, killed 2,000 on the place, took all their cannon, three good pieces, and filled up all their trenches with the loss of 200 men. The Spanish horse (sent for our assistance) are much commended for their forward behaviour in this action. The Earl of Plymouth is dead of a fever in Tangier.

Now to what is more private. If your Grace will part with your interest in Needwood I can help your Grace to a chapman, whose interest when he hath purchased it will equally intitle your Grace to a command there as your own land. If you please to bite at this bait, be pleased to let me know the nature of your Grace's interest, both as to the title and its advantages.

I am importuned beyond my power of denial to recommend the case of a kinsman of mine to your Grace, one Sir Geo. Herbert, Bart., who it seems hath obtained a reference on some petition of his to His Majesty to your Grace. All I shall presume to ask is what I know I need not ask, as speedy a despatch with as much favour as the nature of the thing and the merit of that family will deserve.

My Lord Arran last night did me the favour to give me a visit, but the access of company shortened the visit, and so interrupted our discourse that his Lordship hath promised shortly to repeat that honour and lengthen our conference, that by comparing notes we may the better understand what is to be re[]st and what to be prevented.

I have enclosed the charge against Mr. Seymour, who is to give in his answer next Thursday; he seems to slight his charge, though Miles Fleetwood hath undertaken the proof of two articles and Mr. Vernon, of Derbyshire, the others. I confess I understand not how those two gentlemen come to be inspired with the knowledge of his accounts.

ORMOND TO EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, Nov. 24. Dublin.—Though Geoghegan, otherwise called Dalton has been in this kingdom from the 6th of this month, yet I heard nothing from him nor received your Lordship's letter of the 6th of October sent by him till the 20th, and then your Lordship's letter and passport and the order of Council concerning him were sent me by the Mayor of Waterford, after he had committed Geoghegan upon the information of one White and found those papers about him.

What course has been held by the Council here with the persons accused by Geoghegan and with himself will be transmitted to your Lordship in our joint letter. All I shall in the meantime observe is that Geoghegan has not so punctually as I conceive he ought pursued the orders which he brought, for they seem in the first place to direct him to receive directions, protection and assistance from the Government here, and I am by the order of Council required to cause such as shall be apprehended upon his information to be examined. But he has spent all the time since his landing in accusing of persons before the Mayor of Waterford and other Justices of the Peace in the country, without giving me notice of his landing or of the work he was upon; and how much longer he would have proceeded in that way and kept up your Lordship's letter and the order of Council if they had not been taken from him and sent me by the Mayor of Waterford I cannot tell; and if what he now says be true, namely, that one or two of those that were to have killed the King be near this place, I conceive he should have given the apprehending of them the preference before any other service he had in hand.

This intimation of what hath hitherto been done in relation to Geoghegan I thought necessary to send your Lordship, that it may appear that if he hath not or shall not succeed in his undertaking to the satisfaction of His Majesty and my Lords of the Council he may not impute his want of performance or the delay of it to the want of protection or assistance from this Government, having never applied to it till he was constrained by his imprisonment.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 24. Wednesday.—The Lords did nothing; they met late and rose early on this occasion. After they were bodily setting to the consideration of expedients, my Lord Shaftesbury made a surprising motion to lay them by on the table, it being too late to enter on them, and adjourn. It being a motion from him so zealous for the expedients was unresisted by any, and so both the expedients were deposited on the table and the House adjourned; all the rest of the expedients standing now as that particular one relating to the Q. did formerly, laid by *sine die*, to the amazement of many. I question not ere I conclude this paper (began on Wednesday) I shall be more able to unriddle the matter.

The Commons' votes will till Saturday's proceedings give an account of their transactions in that of their severe scrutiny against the Attorney General this day; he is observed to have contributed something to it by his indirect evasive answers to all their questions; but particularly when they demanded of him whether he drew up the proclamation against petitioning, confessed being newly entered into his employment he wanted experience to do it himself, but for his excuse why he could not mention the person who assisted him offers that it was against his oath, but when called in again and pressed to declare he owned it was my Lord Chief Justice North, though just before he had declared it against his oath to reveal it. Some excuse him by saying that when he was withdrawn he sent for and obtained both the King's and my Lord Chief Justice North's consent to name him. The consequence of that address is in print.

Nor doth Thursday, the 25th, prove a busy day with their Lordships. They resolved to join in that request this afternoon to address to the King for a public fast. They also address to the King for a general pardon for all witnesses against Tuesday next, the day of my Lord Stafford's trial, praying they may be copious enough to comprehend perjuries, which I believe the King will scarce grant, it being as it were to unperjure a witness, though one told me he heard the King say that even the evidence of a perjured person might be accompanied with such pregnant circumstances as to convict a malefactor. But the busiest concern of this day was to make up the Committee of Privileges, not only to regulate and resolve some doubts in cases of privilege, but chiefly to adjust all circumstances in order to my Lord Stafford's trial next Tuesday, when most think it will go hard with him, and that no other expedient (confession excepted) can save his Lordship, which lesson it is believed he hath learnt perfectly.

The Commons spent all this day on Mr. Seymour and his articles (which were inclosed in my last); they say he made an excellent defence, but that there is none against a House of Commons Flayle. The great question was whether he should be impeached without any more ado, taking it for granted that

Mr. Vernon of Derbyshire and Miles Fleetwood (Gustavus' half brother) can make good the articles because they have said they can; or whether they should be referred to the scrutiny of a Committee; the debate lasted so long (the best speakers and most thinking men arguing for that safe way to look before one leaps, and so keeping up the ball) till the hour of three was come (appointed for both Houses to attend the King in the Painted Chamber with the address for a public fast), that so both House and debate were necessitated to be adjourned to the morrow, so that the quondam Speaker is sure to live one day longer.

The 26th.—The Lords spent a whole day on a remnant of a cause between my Lady Dacre's and her grandchild Chute. At last their Lordships have referred those heads for expedients in lieu of the D. Y. bill to have them framed into an Act by the learned Judges; also to them is referred to frame the Bill of Association to resemble the form in Queen Elizabeth's days. I had almost forgot the King's answer to the Commons' address against my Lord Halifax. He advised them not to give too much credit to common fame, that he knew of no unlawful act that he had been guilty of, but if he had he referred him to the law, for he would neither protect him nor anyone else in the breach of any law. If I mistake in this the print will rectify me, as also inform concerning the other addresses and their answers, which if I thought others did not I would constantly enclose.

Nov. 27.—This day the Lords ordered a committee of these five: Salisbury, Essex, Ailesbury, Wharton and Howard of Escrick to meet with ten commoners to make up a committee of both Houses to adjust things in order to Tuesday's trial, though I vehemently suspect that the time is so short that some delay will be put upon the hearing. My Lord Ailesbury came in my Lord Shaftesbury's room, who, to the wonder of many, excused himself, which my Lord Ailesbury had also done, but that he happened to be out of the House for the debate, for the having such a committee of both Houses was not without heat, and my Lord Ailesbury was one of the opponents. This new committee met at three, though created after 12, to show their zeal to serve my Lord Stafford.

The matter of most moment in the House of Commons this day (and that not small) was an address brought in by Mr. Hamden. It is not to be wondered that it consisted of two sheets of paper, when 'tis considered what it contained, all the miscarriages past and grievances present, in its close an assurance to the King that if he pleased to apply remedies not only Tangier but all other His Majesty's necessary wants should be satisfied. I mention not Mr. Seymour's doom, because the printed votes saves that labour, nor have I anything more to add at this time, but that Captain Richard Bertie told me that accidentally meeting with Sir H. Ingoldsby, amongst other discourses he told him when the Parliament

were at leisure he had a pretty story (as he termed it) to relate to them concerning the Duke of Ormond. Incensed Rich. was so nettled to hear his general so very disrespectfully mentioned that had not Sir H. been silenced by the company it had proceeded to a quarrel. This I thought it my duty to insert. I shall be constant in giving the best account I can of all things during my stay here, but Monday sennight I go hence to my Lord Poulett's to a meeting of all the trustees for that young Lord, if I am able, for I cannot yet say I am recovered, but as soon as I return to this city I will also return to the performance of this duty.

ORMOND to SIR L. JENKINS.

1680, Nov. 25. Dublin.—By what comes to us of public affairs it is very possible that when the bearer, Sir John Davys, shall arrive there may not presently be an opportunity given to vindicate himself against the calumnies thrown upon by him by some of the witnesses that went hence and were heard at the bar of the Lords' House. Yet he chooses rather to undergo a very inconvenient voyage than to lie under the ill impressions those persons may have left with the Lords of him. I can assure you upon more than three years' experience that the gentleman is beyond question faithful to the King and very capable of discharging the duties of his place, and that he hath been as diligent in promoting the discovery of the Plot as it was possible for him or anybody in his station to be and when you shall have time to discourse with him, you will receive satisfaction from him in what concerns this kingdom.

ORMOND to THE KING.

1680, Nov. 25. Dublin.—Sir John Davys, Your Majesty's Secretary here, finding it convenient for him to pass into England to justify himself against some very unreasonable reflections cast upon him in the examinations of some discoverers and witnesses that went out of this kingdom, I hold it to be part of my duty to inform your Majesty that to the best of my observation he hath always carried himself with great diligence and ability in such things relating to your service as were incident to his office or required from him, and more particularly I am able to say that in the examination of all things and persons relating to the discovery of the Plot he has been as industrious and faithful as it was possible for any man in his place to be. I must therefore beg leave to believe that those who do or shall prosecute him have some other end than your Majesty's service wherein I think him very faithful and zealous.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 27. London.—I have herein inclosed the votes of the House of Commons yesterday, their address for

removing the Earl of Halifax, the articles of impeachment brought in against Mr. Seymour, and a letter from the Privy Council of Scotland to His Majesty concerning the Duke, which are the most considerable things of news in this age of printing. This afternoon the committee of Lords and Commons met to adjust matters in order to the trial of the Lord Stafford, which is to be on Tuesday next.

We lately received a confirmation of the great success that His Majesty's forces had at Tangier, with some farther particulars, that our men, horse and foot, were not above 1,800 that sallied out, who killed 600 or 700 of the Moors there in their trenches, regained two great guns, and pursued them above a mile into the country. We lost about 70 men on the place, 100 more dangerously wounded, and 100 horses slain and made useless. Sir Palmes Fairbone, the Governor, was killed the day before the engagement, as likewise was Mr. Forbes, son to the Lord Granard. The Earl of Plymouth's body is very shortly expected home, he having died this month agone of a bloody flux.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 27. London.—I have found out since I wrote on Tuesday some of the printed narratives made use of by my brother last Parliament. They give an account of proceedings there down to the 7th of April, 1679, and the narrative sent after me makes out the rest, but there has been no use of them yet. Lt. Col. Kennedy, whom your Grace had so long in gaol, I am informed, is to be a great informer against you and the Government. My Lord Longford has been troubled with a sore throat, which has delayed his journey; but he is already pretty well recovered.

Mr. Ellis is put into the execution of the Baly's place of Westminster, but it has cost him a great deal of money to Stroud; he is to give him a thousand pound, and pay you the 500*l.* due upon Stroud's bond. Sir James Butler having satisfied me that it was no way justifiable or honourable for you to receive money upon this account, made me, on your behalf, refer the matter to the Bishop and my Lord Chancellor. Mr. Thomas Butler will be satisfied also.

You will find by the printed account from Tangier that my Lord Granard's son is killed, and your page that was, Fitzpatrick; Cap. Porce and Lieut. Gilbert Butler wounded.

SIR JOHN DAVYS to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Nov. 28. Mostyn.—I was resolved neither adverse winds nor any other consideration should detain me longer at Dublin, and, therefore, I put to sea the other day to try my fortune, which has proved so good that I landed here the last night late, and this morning Sir Roger Mostin did send one to Chester on purpose to secure the Thursday's

coach there to carry me, my wife and children for London, for that higher power called a wife will not suffer me to go without her and the rest of our appurtenances, she being resolved we shall stand or fall all together. So as your Lordship sees how many of us are coming under your protection, for which confidence I have nothing else to offer besides my innocence and your Lordship's own nobleness, and they, I hope, will be every way as prevailing as they are great. My wife gives your Lordship her service and both of us lay ourselves at my Lady's feet.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Nov. 28. Dublin.—Yours of the 16th and 20th came together, and now we are impatient for those of the 23rd, supposing that every three days must produce something extraordinary. Your former letters said some things by command from the King. The chief was the recruiting of the Scotch Regiment, the intention of sending men hither to supply the place of unserviceable soldiers, and that of ammunition. You know Lieut. Col. Monro is gone for Scotland in order to get recruits, and he is daily expected with them. The men are to be sent hither as promised, as you will see by the copy of the King's letter, but how they shall be raised and conducted to us or when we shall have them is not expressed; and it will be necessary we having warning enough to make room for them, but of that I doubt there is but little fear.

I saw it in a letter from a Parliament man that it was affirmed more than once in the House of Commons that in this army ten of fifteen were Papists. I hope such as take the oaths of supremacy and alléiance and that receive the sacrament after the use of the Church of England go not under that imputation, and then nothing could be more impudently false than such an assertion.

The matter offered by my Lord Chamberlain and you to my consideration is much too hard for me to resolve on. If the King answers addresses to the satisfaction of those that make them in the cases before him, I have little reason to expect an exemption in mine, when the like shall be made concerning me; and against accusations as they may be brought, I know not how to be defended from appearing to answer, so that I think it best to leave myself to God and the King. I cannot so much as suspect upon what ground capital things can be laid to my charge, and of such commonly impeachments are composed.

CLERK OF THE PELL'S CERTIFICATE OF TREASURY RECEIPTS
AND PAYMENTS, 8-29 Nov., 1680.

1680, Nov. 29.—Receipts in His Majesty's Treasury from the 8th of November, 1680, to Monday, the 29th day foll. exd.

The remain in the Vice-Treasurer's hands upon the last certificate ending the said 8 Nov. 303 09 01 $\frac{1}{2}$

Leinster	..New Patent Rents....	471 17 02 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	Rents on Decrees, etc..	086 08 11	
	Old Crown Rents	262 02 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	
	Casualties	051 17 06 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Munster	..New Patent Rents....	101 12 07 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	
	Rents on Decrees, etc..	024 07 06 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Custod Rents	006 18 00	
	Old Crown Rents	006 18 09	
	Quit Rents	000 08 09 $\frac{3}{4}$	
	Casualties	001 05 00	
Connaught	..New Patent Rents....	082 11 04 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	Old Crown Rents	012 07 01 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	Quit Rents	000 10 01 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Casualties	011 14 04	
UlsterNew Patent Rents....	001 03 05	
	Old Crown Rents	055 15 04 $\frac{1}{8}$	
			1177 19 00 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
Farmers	..By money paid into the Treasury..		808 08 00
	By orders of assignments into the country		8975 01 00 $\frac{1}{2}$
			<hr/> 11264 17 02 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$

Payments made within the said time

Civil List..	Court of Exchequer ..	170 00 01	
	Chancery	030 05 00	
	State offices.....	210 00 00	
	Incidents	026 05 00	
	Creation Money	017 10 00	
	Perpetuities	036 03 04	
	Temporary Payments..	569 07 00	
	Concordatums	588 15 02	
			<hr/> 1648 05 07
Military List	Officers of the Ordnance		150 00 00
	List of Pensions.....		263 00 00
Payments made pursuant to His Majesty's letters of the 20th of June, 1679.....			619 15 07 $\frac{1}{2}$
			<hr/> £2681 01 02 $\frac{1}{2}$
So remains in the Vice-Treasurer's hands....			8583 16 00 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
			<hr/> £11264 17 02 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$

Ex. p. Ja. Alexander, Dept. Cler. Pell.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 30. Whitehall.—I received upon Sunday several letters from your Grace and the Council of Ireland of the 19th and 23rd instant, together with several informations, examinations and papers relating to the accusation against

the Earl of Tyrone, and the proceedings and discoveries which have been given or made to the Government of Ireland concerning the horrid Popish Plot, all which were by His Majesty's command yesterday morning sent to the House of Lords, who have transmitted them to the Commons. I must observe to your Grace that amongst the papers relating to the Earl of Tyrone two were wanting, though mentioned in the list sent with them, vizt., the Earl of Tyrone's examination taken before Justice Jones, March 20th, 1678, and the further examination of Laurence Sullivan, dated Novem. 8th, 1679.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 30. London.—The Lords yesterday were so intent on the work of this day (the trial of my Lord Stafford) that they admitted of no divertive debate, but only received reports from the committee of both Houses of agreements in order to the methods and proceedings at the trial, which they having confirmed proceeded to consider what was to be their parts apart. The Commons resolved to sit at the trial in the nature of a committee (not House), not so much out of humility as to have a plausible excuse to sit bare. The Chancellor took public notice in the House that there were thirty-five witnesses to be examined against my Lord Stafford. The Commons, to employ their idle hours till their Committee returned to make their report, read over two Bills, one to repeal a Bill surreptitiously obtained last Parliament very injudiciously to restrain our Severn fishery; the other was a second reading of a Bill for the taking away my Lord Worcester's Ludlow Court for Wales, which I thought would not have passed that House; but I am very sure it will not meet with the concurrence of either King or House of Lords. In the afternoon the Commons attended His Majesty in the banqueting house, with their long address, which had been much more voluminous had not the more moderate party overruled it, to expunge all other miscarriages and grievances, and singly to insist on Popery, its progress and consequence, taking notice of all circumstances that could expose it, so much as Coleman's secretaryship. I presume it will be so soon in print that it will not need description. This being in answer to the King's message about Tangier was sweetened in the close with an assurance that as well the King's other wants as Tangier should be supplied, when the jealous minds of the subject could be secured in that most important particular. Two things many members took great notice of, the one that the King took the paper without giving one word of answer, which he never did before, the other that the Duchess of Portsmouth who used to speed her gracious salutes over all the members, tho' where she used to be, diverted herself with the King's dogs as more preferable, not heeding any one member, tho' expected by many; whether or no she took herself concerned, though not mentioned in the address, or saw further in

relation to what is to be than others, is conjectured variously, but certainly known by none, as it is that this hath exasperated many. But I understand this day her Grace hath endeavoured to reintegrate herself with the members by treating them most bountiful with sweetmeats at the trial, the manner where of was thus.

The Commons met early, and fondness of the show made them moulder away and slip into the hall, that at last the Speaker was left almost all alone, wherefore for decency sake the Mace was sent to remand them, that so in due decorum, though but as a committee, they might descend into the hall. The Lords thought proper to read the High Steward's commission in the House, not hall, which Prince Rupert opposed, for that would intitle the Chancellor to take place of him, going to the trial; the expedient was that the commission should be read in the House, but he should retain his place but as Chancellor till the staff was delivered him in the hall, and so their Lordships proceeded thither, where my Lord Chancellor directed a short speech to the criminal, advised him seriously to consider his condition, which looked very desperate, 1. considering the nature of his accuser, the Commons of all England in their representatives. 2. The heinousness of the accusations to no less than the highest of treasons. 3. The considerableness of his judges, the nobility of England, that it was strongly to be presumed that so great and so wise a body as the House of Commons would not appear there unless they were well assured of making good their charges, but withal assured him he should have fair play, all civility in the proceedings, and justice at the end. Then the managers of the evidence proceeded, Maynard began to open the charge, Winington most eloquently aggravated the circumstances, Treby proposed the six witnesses now to be examined. Their method was first to prove that there was a Popish plot, and that not only to subvert religion, but also to take away the King's life. The six witnesses to make that out were, 1 Smyth, 2 Dugdale, 3 Prance, 4 Oates, 5 Bernard Dennis, who owned himself not only a Papist but also a priest (at which my Lord Chancellor, (Lord High Steward) was uneasy to take his testimony till he understood he was pardoned), 6 Janeson; all six, they say, have cleared it so far. And that was all the work of this day. To-morrow comes on the use of application, the intitling this person of my Lord Stafford to that guilt of those highest treasons, and more of it in my next, for I presume two or three days will end this business. My Lord Norreys commands me in all my letters to repeat him your Grace's most humble servant.

Wednesday, Dec. 1st.—This day, as soon as the Lords met, the Lord High Steward acquainted them that he had received intimation that the Lord Stafford would make his complaint, that though their Lordships had allowed him counsel, he could have no benefit of it, all Counsel were so

terrified by the House of Commons that none durst appear. The Commons at first opposed the motion, but at last yielded it, provided they might be permitted only to speak to points in law, and not to matters of fact, and that they might be kept at such a distance as not to be able to prompt the prisoner, all which being accorded to, the managers called their evidence.

1. Dugdale.—My Lord moved he might look him in the face whilst he was giving his evidence, but according to constant practice he was ordered to turn to the Court, he told of three several times that my Lord Stafford had vehemently pressed him to kill the King, promising great rewards sometimes and once a pardon; it was thought the pardon was to have been granted by the D. Y., which made the Commons much more inquisitive who was to grant it, but he answered the Pope. My Lord Stafford asked many ensnaring questions, but he at least had his lesson so perfectly as not to be ensnared by them, but was very clear in his evidence.

2. Dr. Oates was next, who craved leave to be left to his own method and be uninterrupted; he spoke positively as to my Lord Stafford having received his commission, and his owning and encouraging the killing of the King, with many shrewd circumstances, nor could any cross-questions decompose him.

3. Lastly Turberville was examined, who positively swore his Lordship, after he had exacted secrecy from him and prepared him to expect the most glorious employment in the world, told him in plain terms it was to kill the King. He being asked how long he had known the Plot, said four years, and then why he did not discover it sooner, replied because he durst not for his life, till the time of trial. One thing was remarkable, that as my Lord had disowned the knowledge of the other two, so did he as to this, till he offered to prove that my Lord kept a yacht on purpose to bring him over from France. Then he confessed that when he had cowardly run away from his colours he merely out of charity received him, but Turberville appealed to the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Feversham to justify his behaviour, who did so.

Then my Lord Stafford in a long immethodical speech (for it seems his behaviour did not answer expectation) endeavoured his vindication, and at last moved for copies of all records, and particularly of Turberville's depositions before the Commons, but no such things were owned by that House, who had no power to give an oath; it seems a circumstance of time my Lord Stafford thought to take advantage of. The Lords withdrew to appoint the time for the next appearance which was ordered Thursday morning, and directions given to furnish his Lordship with all records, but as for the depositions in the Commons' House they made no order, but the Commons have consented that the Justices who

took them shall give my Lord copies that he may have fair play in all things. It seems the Lord High Steward on a note he received from my Lord Shaftesbury gave encouragement to the prisoner to insist on Friday, but he not desiring of it when the Lords returned into the Lords' House, my Lord Grey and Lord Lovelace severely arraigned the Lord High Steward for proposing anything without the order of that House till my Lord Shaftesbury owned the crime, and then it ceased to be one.

Thursday, Dec. 2.—My Lord Stafford produced his witnesses to invalidate the testimony of the three had been examined the day before against him. But I hear my Lord's defence was very weak. First he read a long speech, written by his counsel so imperfectly that in many places he made it unintelligible, and then in his counterproofs he had always the ill luck or ill skill to place most emphasis upon things least important, so many were examined that they rose not till after four, and yet his Lordship was sorry to leave four till to-morrow. When the Lords were returned to their House they appointed the next morning to meet again, and when the Commons were returned again to adjourn their House Mr. Secretary Jenkins delivered them this message from the King that one Dr. Lamplew had examined three witnesses on oath and all three gave in evidence that they heard one Pickering (brother to the priest who was executed) swear God damn him, that if the King should suffer any one of the five Lords to be put to death, he himself should not live six months to an end. His Majesty desired their advice what to do in the matter. They returned superabundant humble thanks and appointed early the next morning to meet to consider of it; and then to address to his Majesty.

Friday, Dec. 3.—Both Houses and the prisoner met in the court, where my Lord Stafford's business was to examine the rest of his witnesses, to assert his own innocence and criminate the King's evidence, but his witnesses were so reproached by the managers that they proved ineffectual in either case. One of his witnesses, on which much stress was laid, when he heard the questions were to be demanded of him, ran away out of the court and was never seen since; and another, called a person of quality and learning, a fellow of King's College in Cambridge and a Protestant, but he was detected in open Court to be an arrant Papist, and for eight years last past secretary to my Lord Castlemaine, his name Ledcot. To say truth none of the witnesses did answer expectation, either by reason of the meanness of their quality or their labouring hard some small circumstances not pertinent to the business; besides a cloud of witnesses called by the managers to support the credit and testimony of Dugdale and Turberville. Mr. Treby (chairman of the Committee of Elections) is chose Recorder of London in the room of Sir Geo. Jeffreys, against whom the Commons had addressed

to the King to have had him turned out of all employments. It seems many are disgruntled at it who (if they might be Judges) would give preference to their own merit, Sir Fran. Winington for one and Mr. Trenchard for another, and many others all expecting and desiring it. Last night after eleven these quarters were hotly alarmed by a fire happening in Westminster Hall, which discovered itself by the smoke; the hurt might have been much more than it was, they were so long ere they could overcome the strength of the door; as soon as ever they were got in the fire was soon quenched, it having only burnt down a corner of a shop, kindled by a soldier's lighted match, who, in the hurry of the Courts rising, forgot to take his match with him. The King in person was just coming to the Hall as he met an assurance that the fire was out. The Lieut. of the Tower (Tom Cheeke) had yesterday a severe clash with Dr. Oates, who had so crowded the room that was designed for the witnesses with his own friends, who under his shelter came to see the show that Tom Cheeke took notice of it to him, who bade him cease his prating, that he was but a gaoler. The other seemed to resent it. He then called Tom rogue and rascal, etc., which grew to that height that the Lords overheard them and when Oates was rebuked by the Lord High Steward replied the law was open and Mr. Cheeke might take his remedy. There it stops at present. Pickering, who I mentioned on Thursday, is sent for up.

This day the 4th of December was appointed for my Lord Stafford to finish the examination of his witnesses, he pretending at the rising of the Court last night that he had eight material witnesses, who he could not name, because others had found them out for him. The Court was uneasy to deny his Lordship anything, but desired that his Lordship would weigh the evidence before he offered them to the Court. This morning after the examination of two, who disowned any knowledge of what they were asked, my Lord attended with great symptoms of sadness, resigned up the other six witnesses, and, as it were, his cause with them, for he made a most insipid defence, pretend [ing] he durst boldly look death in the face, and plied his tears on the account of his wife and children. Then Sir Tho. Jones, mighty sweet in words, but sour enough in sense, not leaving anything to be addable by any should speak after. Yet then my Lord Stafford craved to be answered to these four questions and that he might make them by his counsel, being all points in law: 1. Whether two several persons deposing to several actions, though both amount to treason, may be allowed for two lawful witnesses by the act that enacts two witnesses in all treason. The Judges all gave this judgment, which was that both proving the same treason were good enough. 2. Whether an indictment could be valid in this which was brought in the last. It was over-ruled in the affirmative. 3. Whether a Grand Jury

ought not to find the bill proved. Answered his Lordship knew to the contrary. The last article was that the witness swore for reward and had it. Answer, What the King gave was nothing, or any one else unless they could prove the prosecutors gave them anything. So his Lordship is to come on Monday, I presume to receive sentence. The proclamation for a public fast the 22nd of this month, being Wednesday.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 30. London.—Though there came in three packets on Sunday night last, yet I received not yours of the 16th and 19th until late last night, and before I had received them Mr. Bridgeman had given the narrative to the Clerk of the House of Commons without reading or keeping a copy of it. I hope Sir John Davys will bring a copy with him. I shall keep by me the answer to the objections against disarming the Protestants in '63, but I cannot yet with certainty learn what will be laid on your charge. I am told that one article will be that you sent Sir George Lane some years ago to a meeting of Irish clergy and that he sat in council with them by your direction; to which I have no answer, but that I believe it not true.

This day has been taken up upon the trial of my Lord Stafford, which has sufficiently tired me. I shall the first opportunity prepare His Majesty in the business you mention concerning Rolls, and will know his pleasure before the next post in the affair of the Commissioners of Appeal. The managers took up our time in proving a plot in general, and to-morrow they come to the particular charge. I observed that Oates did not mention you in his deposition.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 30. London.—The trial this day begun of the Lord Stafford took up the eyes and minds of all people. The Lord Chancellor sat as High Steward, but without commission. The managers of the House of Commons who this day appeared were Serjeant Maynard, who first opened the matter, Sir Fra. Winington, Mr. Treby, Mr. Hambden, and Sir John Trevor. The method that was taken was to lay open the plot in general, Dr. Oates, Mr. Dugdale, Mr. Smith, Mr. Jenison, Mr. Prance, and Mr. Barnard Dennis (at this time a Dominican Friar of the county of Sligo, in Ireland), upon oath gave an account of a general design of murdering the King and subverting the religion and Government; after which were produced several copies of the records of the convictions and condemnations of Langhorne, Coleman, Pickering, Grove, etc., all which were brought as proofs, and they concluded this day with summing up the evidence that there was a general plot in England, Scotland and Ireland carried on by the Popish faction. The particular proofs against the Lord Stafford was deferred till to-morrow, and his Lordship

hath put off his answer to the general plot as well as to his own particular concern in it till the witnesses against him have ended their evidence.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 1. Dublin.—Yours of the 23rd of November is received, which is all the answer it requires. Upon my motion a new proclamation for disarming of Papists without excepting those that had licences is set forth, but it will be liable to the same exception the other was of giving of warning, no other so good a way being found upon long debate at Council, where this course was unanimously agreed upon. I am sorry that after all I have done for Buck he should be in danger of dying in so ill condition. I am sure he has raised good sums of money upon places he had here, and upon one I gave him in the household, besides above 100*l.* a year he has long made and still makes of a farm he has from me, of which, perhaps, 40*l.* may be the interest of the 400*l.* he speaks of. This is not to avoid the doing all the good I can to his children, for whom I shall be much concerned in consideration of his long and faithful service to me and my family.

MINUTE OF A COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER OF DUBLIN.

3 December, 1680. Present :—

Lord Granard.	Sir Oliver St. George.
Lord Blessington.	Sir Wm. Stewart.
Sir Wm. Flower.	Col. Cary Dillon.
Sir Theoph. Jones.	Capt. Rob. Fitzgerald.
	Capt. Edw. Brabazon.

There are quartered in the province of

Leinster.	Munster.
Horse, 10 Troops; Foot, 15 Companies.	Horse, 5 Troops; Foot, 24 Companies.
Ulster.	Connaught.
Horse, 6 Troops; Foot, 19 Companies.	Horse, 3 Troops; Foot, 12 Companies.

There may be drawn to do duty at Dublin :—

Two troops of horse out of Leinster. One troop of horse out of Ulster. One troop of horse out of Munster. None out of Connaught till all the rest have taken their turns, because there are so few horse there. Two foot companies out of Leinster at present. One company out of Ulster. Two companies out of Munster. One company out of Connaught. To be upon duty two months. To begin immediately or at what time his Grace shall think most convenient.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 4. Dublin.—I had sooner acknowledged the the receipt of the honour of your Grace's letter, but that I

was for some days kept in by the gout, which treated me more favourably than it usually does, and left me just when my Lord Stafford's trial began, which has tied us to such long and strict attendance that we have scarce had time either to eat or rest. Last night the examination of the witnesses on both sides was finished, as this day will be, I believe, the summing of the evidence and then judgment will be pronounced within a day or two after. A weaker defence I have not observed than was made by his Lordship, nor evidence better ordered than was that of the House of Commons, which your Grace will easily believe when Sir William Jones, Serjeant Maynard and Sir Francis Winington were three of the principal managers. Many are of opinion that nothing can save his life but a full discovery of the Plot, since the evidence is so full against him as they conceive it to be, and it was last night affirmed in the House that he was very inclinable to do so, if the importunities of his daughter, the Marquise of Winchester, did not keep him from doing of it, upon which it was moved that she might be kept from him, but that being thought to be an act of so much harshness, that motion was quashed.

I must with great thankfulness acknowledge your Grace's favour to me in the commission you were pleased to grant me lately of the government of the county of Cork, and in making upon my request Lieutenant Supple sheriff of that county, and do wish that I had any occasion to evidence the sense I have both of these and those other favours your Grace has placed upon me.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 4. London.—This day being the fifth of my Lord Stafford's trial was taken up by Sir William Jones, Mr. Powle, and Sir Francis Winington, appointed managers by the House of Commons in summing up the evidence against the prisoner. The method they observed was, as in the beginning of the trial, first to speak to the Plot in general and then to come to the particular proof against the Lord Stafford and to disprove the witnesses produced in his behalf, which by his Lordship's ill management of his evidence he had given them great opportunity to do. My Lord concluded with three points of law, which he desired his counsel, Mr. Wallop and Mr. Hunt might speak to, the first was whether a Bill ought not first to be found by a Grand Jury before a peer came to be tried by his peers, which was over-ruled by the Court by reason that an impeachment of the House of Commons was in the same nature with a Bill found by a Grand Jury, and therefore counsel not allowed to speak in that matter. My Lord Stafford likewise asked the judgment of the Court concerning the method of impeachment, whether one being brought in one Parliament could be tried in a succeeding Parliament, which was affirmed by the Court to be the constant

practice of all Parliaments. The second matter of law the prisoner insisted upon was that there was no overt act of treason proved against him, and that the witnesses speaking to discourses he had with them at several times could not be said to be witnesses to the same fact, and so there were not two witnesses against him. This my Lord Stafford insisted upon, and that his counsel should be heard to that point. Mr. Wallop, his Lordship's counsel assigned, said that he was not prepared to speak to that point, but desired the Court to determine therein. Whereupon the Court rose and went to the House of Lords, where after a very short debate the Lords returned again, and my Lord Steward told the prisoner at the bar that their Lordships had ordered the Judges to give their opinions in that matter. They declared unanimously their opinions that the receiving a commission, the proffering Dugdale money and speaking to Turberville to kill the King was an overt act, and that the witnesses swearing all to a treason of the same nature, though it was at several times and places were sufficient evidence of the treason. After which the Court adjourned till Monday, and then it is believed judgment will be given against my Lord Stafford.

The trial hath so taken up the Lords that there hath been no Council this week, only five or six met on Wednesday last, where Mr. Secretary Jenkins brought a letter just then received by the post from Dr. Lampleigh, a Justice of Peace of Oxford, which gave an account that three sufficient men of the neighbourhood had deposed before him that one Pickering, brother to him that was hanged for designing to shoot the King, had said that if the King tried the Popish Lords in the Tower he should not live half a year after. Mr. Secretary acquainted His Majesty therewith, who ordered it the next morning to be transmitted to the House of Commons. Pickering is in custody, and the House have sent for him up.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 4. London.—Since my last I have your Grace's of the 19th and 28th of the last month, and was very glad to find the latter writ in your own hand for by Mr. Secretary Gascoigne's of the 23rd I had reason to apprehend your being laid up of the gout. Ever since Tuesday last we have sat until night upon the trial of my Lord Stafford, and now all is heard, and upon Monday next sentence is to be given after we have debated some points amongst ourselves. Sir William Jones summed up the evidence and did it with great dexterity, and his Lordship made his defence with very little, yet it is uncertain which way it will go, for though three witnesses have sworn point blank against him as Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville, they are not thought so credible witnesses by some of the Lords as the managers of the evidence would have them pass for. But let this trial go one way or other it must needs be of infinite consequence.

The King, I believe, will determine himself on this side the business of the Commissioners of Inspection, and for what relates to the Scots Regiments recruits I have spoken to the parties most concerned in it long since.

I hear every post of great apprehensions and new discoveries from Munster and that from Lords Essex and Burlington. I wonder your Grace sends me no account of it; and yesterday Lord Shaftesbury informed the House of a titular Bishop that would make great discoveries. I wish you had an abler man than I am upon the place to act in these intricate times and affairs, for I wish with all my heart that I were in some quiet retirement; yet my comfort is that I find many whom you account wise men as much to seek as myself.

I hear from Matt. Anderson that my Lord Tyrone will be here on Wednesday next, and from Sir John Davys, who is now at Mostyn, that he will be here the Saturday following the Thursday's stage coach, being taken up by my Lord Tyrone.

EARL OF LONGFORD TO ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 4. London.—I presume my wife has acquainted your Grace with a sudden indisposition which has detained me here a fortnight longer than I intended, but being (I thank God) now pretty well recovered, if I find no alteration in my health between this and Wednesday next I resolve then to begin my journey, for I have stayed here so long to find that I can be no further useful to your Grace, since the world does not desire to be informed so much of the truth and convinced of the innocency of those upon whom scandals are cast, as it does to have persons of the best quality and most known loyalty represented criminal. This I intimate only with relation to your Grace, against whom your enemies are maliciously industrious to cast all aspersions imaginable to prepare the way for those riff-raff articles are designed to be brought in against you into the House of Commons, who are not yet at leisure to receive them, having for the present work enough upon their hands. I am told, to raise the clamour greater, there is a collection made of all my Lord Meath's articles, of all those libellous reflections Peter Talbot made upon your former Government, as also of what stuff has been gathered together since your Lordship's going into Ireland; and the sum of all is to remove your Grace from the Government, which is not thought secure, but in a confiding hand or with a thorough English Protestant (which is now the phrase in mode).

These four last days have been spent in the evidence against my Lord Stafford and his Lordship's defence, both which are this day concluded, and the Lords have taken time till Monday morning to give sentence, which, 'tis generally believed, will be against his Lordship. But my Lord Arran, who was pre-

sent upon the place, and a witness of the whole transaction, is better able to inform your Grace than I who have been confined to my chamber. My Lord Shaftesbury has got a pardon for a titular Bishop and another ecclesiastic who are to come in as discoverers of the Plot from beyond sea.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 6. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 27th, of the last and hope my Lord Longford will be soon here to help my defect if the gout takes me in my right hand as it threatens. Sir John Davys, I suppose, will be with you before this letter. He carries with him all that this place can furnish for the vindication of the Government, one of the greatest omissions whereof was the not hanging of Kennedy. Sir James Butler's last letter to me concerning the bailiwick of Westminster seemed rather to justify the steward's taking money for the place as a thing practised in all times, but in the present case I know not how it could be since there was not a clear vacancy, but would have been as glad you had told me more particularly what was referred to my Lord Chancellor and the Bishop and what was determined. I send you a printed copy I set forth by advice of a Council of War. The penalties, by whomsoever it shall be incurred, will be strictly inflicted, which it were good might be known to all the officers that are on that side the water.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 7. London.—This day my Lord Stafford was found guilty of treason; the peers were 86 in number, 32 not guilty, 54 guilty. I suppose Mr. Mulys will send your Grace the names of those who voted for and against him. I shall only observe that of five peers in his family or name four found him guilty, and all the gentlemen of His Majesty's bedchamber, but my Lord Bath, were for guilty.

My Lord Suffolk desired me to write to you about the money due from you to Churchill, which I find is assigned to him. It seems I mistook his letter to me when I was in Ireland, for I thought by that he had been satisfied another way.

My Lord Tyrone will be here to-morrow, and I believe he will go the same way my Lord Stafford is like to go, for we are in a way now of making precedents, and following none but such as make for the present purpose.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 7. London.—This morning I begin my tedious western journey to do that young Lord Poulett the best service I can, carrying along with me the remains of this new fever. I hope to be back again next Saturday fortnight. All I can now say is my own conjectures only, that my Lord

Stafford will at length be acquitted, many being dissatisfied at different circumstances. The learned scruple of the legality of an impeachment being turned over from one Parliament to another. Others are not well satisfied how mean words without any overt act should extend to treason, making this nice distinction,—had money been produced and promised to be the reward of him that should kill the King, that had been an overt act, but a mere promise are but words, and many others cannot reconcile themselves to the witnesses, who it seems have been guilty of shrewd mistakes in circumstances of time, and many believe the better of my Lord for his weak management, for never was a poorer defence made. On the whole matter every scruple looks a voice of theirs who make it, so that I foresee his Lordship will this day be acquitted, though I shall not stay to see it, nor the consequence of it. It seems the managers for the House of Commons have three fresh witnesses, but are not willing to make them threadbare, concluding two witnesses to fall in the same particular that they conclude him as good as condemned already, that I apprehend the consequence of this disappointment.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1680, Dec. 9. Oxford.—I missed the opportunity which I desired of kissing your hands at London and welcoming your safe return from your embassy, and therefore am the more concerned to lay hold of the opportunity which your kinsman now gives of addressing to you. Your client my Lord Courcy now grows up towards a man, and is desirous to look abroad into the world; he has few friends, and scarce any one who with so much charity and honour looks upon his broken fortunes; and therefore I must recommend him to your favour, which he has long experimented, that thereby he may either be placed in some military employment or attend my Lord Ossory in his travel, or be some way disposed of as may be for his future advantage; for I perceive he thinks his longer continuance here a disparagement; and when men are once weary of an University life it ceases to be useful. If Sir John Percival be with you I desire you would be pleased to recommend my service to him.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 11. London.—I have your Grace's letter of the 1st inst., and with it one of the proclamations you have lately agreed upon for the disarming anew the Papists, which shall be given about, tho' I know 709 will say he is the occasion of that. Since my Lord Stafford's trial our House has been chiefly taken up with hearing causes upon writs of error and appeals, and the House of Commons with the examining Mr. Secretary Jenkins and examining and punishing Mr. Thomas Sheridan, as you will find by the printed votes.

I cannot learn what is intended to be brought in against you, nor when that which is collected will be delivered, but I am told that something is drawn up, but not intended by way of impeachment. Mr. Mulys has engaged to my Lord Chamberlain to look about, and what charge he may be put to and his pains I have promised shall be considered, for it will be of great use to have a copy early of the charge, and people will not now take pains in another body's business for nothing.

Ned Vernon is in trouble yet about his business. He intends after next term to go over, and then he will plead any way rather than be so troublesome to you as he has been. Mr. Buck is yet alive, but past hope of recovery. He told me when I was last with him that he sold a place at Court you gave him to lend you 400*l.*, but perhaps his memory failed him. I beg your pardon for writing in matters of this kind. I shall only tell you that Ned Fitzharris is in a very low condition. He has been very serviceable to you.

Sir John Davis is just come to town, and I find by him who it was that informed my Lord Shaftesbury that Levallin was not looked after in three days after notice that he was in the country.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1680 Dec. 13. Dublin.—I have yours of the 30th of the last. and 4th and 7th of this month. The last was under my Lord of Longford's cover, and so was one directed to his lady, which I suppose gives an account of his coming away the next day. I know not what can be meant by my sending Sir George Lane to a meeting of the Irish clergy and sitting with them, but sure I am there could be nothing like it this thirty year. All that is yet come to me of discoveries and fears in Munster you will find in the copies of examinations and letters herewith inclosed. The Council do not think that matter driven far enough to be transmitted. What this day's letters out of the country may bring us I do not yet know. If anything material comes before the post goes you shall have notice of it, for I write early in the morning, this fit of the gout being, I hope, over. I thought the heat and frequency of alarms in that province had been much abated since my Lord of Orrery's death, but his sister has correspondents here as zealous as he was, but not so inventive. It is painful to live under the apprehensions the wisest and the best men must have about them. The best remedy is submission to God's pleasure, owning His justice, and dependence on His merciful providence. I have long wished for that retirement you would be pleased with for yourself, as much more suitable to my age, but the importunity of friends and their flattery that I might be of use to the public prevailed against my inclination, and now I am found in suspicious times, in an envied and slippery station which I

cannot quit with honour against the command of my Master, nor hold with safety. My Lord of Longford writes of collections preparing to make up articles against me, but if I knew from whom he has this information some guess might be made of the importance of the design.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 14. London.—I did not give your Grace the trouble of any letters the last two posts, having nothing but public news concerning the Lord Stafford's trial, which I presume your Grace received from better hands, I being at that time engaged in a solicitation to preserve myself from the effects of the late order of suspension in Ireland, which remains as yet undetermined, but with your Grace's favour I may have some hopes of it, though I find myself pressed very hard by my Lord of Essex. This day the House of Commons proceeded upon the inquiry into the matter relating to Sir Robert Peyton and have proceeded to expel him the House. They have not yet made any further progress upon Mr. Secretary Jenkins since the vote on Friday, but it at present stands *sine die*, and in the meantime he refrains coming to the House, as Mr. Seymour likewise hath done ever since the articles of impeachment put in against him. I do not yet hear the day of execution of the Lord Stafford is appointed, though there being a motion made this day in the House of Lords for the expediting it, my Lord Chancellor answered there had been some consideration had of that matter already.

One of the Judge's places being vacant in the Court of Common Pleas by the death of Sir William Ellis (it is said) will be supplied by Sir Creswell Levinge, His Majesty's Attorney General, and it is likewise reported (though I believe not with so much certainty) that Mr. Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons, is to be Attorney General in his room.

I have herewith enclosed the Lord Chancellor's speech upon the condemnation of the Lord Stafford, together with yesterday's votes.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 14. London.—I have nothing to say this post more than what you will find in the prints and journals, but that it's believed the House of Commons will proceed no farther against Sir Lyonel Jenkins and that the King has sent orders for us to be in our robes to-morrow. It is not to prorogue the Parliament, but as I am informed it is to mind the Parliament again of the ill posture of his affairs and of the ill condition Tangier is in. I brought Sir John Davys to His Majesty this morning, and he was very gracious to him. My Lord Sunderland is not so easy to be found, but I will watch a proper time. It is thought best he should not bring

the business upon the carpet himself, but be ready if he should be called upon. My Lord Burlington's talking of a letter he had from his brother Shannon about some arms he seized upon, and saying it at the Committee has made a report about the whole town that Ireland is in rebellion.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 14. London.—Though I cannot say I am quite recovered of my cold, yet (I thank God) I am so well of it that I had begun my journey to-morrow had not my Lord Chamberlain desired me last night so to order my journey that I might meet my Lady Ossory on Monday night at Stony Stratford after she has made her visit at Mr. Bennett's, that from her mouth I might be fully instructed to give your Grace an account of the young lady, which my Lord Arlington thinks so necessary a point for your Grace's satisfaction that he easily persuaded me to it.

Since the severe vote of the House of Commons on Friday last against Sir Leollyn Jenkins there has been nothing further done, though the debate of it was adjourned to yesterday, when it passed *sub silentio*, and it is believed there will be nothing further stirred in it. Mr. Sheridan is still a close prisoner and for aught I can find like to be so while the Parliament sits; for since they cannot make him confess the author of the letter and to whom it was written, they will proceed against him as the only criminal in it. They have also his nephew Mr. Wilson in custody (but not in the same House), who confesses the transcript of the letter to be his handwriting, but knows not by whom or to whom it was written.

This day the Commons have expelled Sir Robert Peyton out of the House, and he not attending to receive his sentence at the Bar, they have ordered him to be taken into custody. Col. Vernon tells me that by the last post he had an account from his agent in Dublin that Peter Reade, your Grace's agent, has orders the next term to prosecute in your Grace's name the suit against him for the lands of Ruskoe, which if true seems somewhat hard, your Grace having by my Lord Arran commanded him from Tydberrye hither and diverted him by that means from his journey into Ireland, whither he was going to defend himself against Mr. Butler of Ruscoe. And to my knowledge he has not been an unuseful servant to your Grace in this conjuncture since his being in town; nay, this very morning he had an occasion of rendering your Grace some service amongst some members of the House of Commons, whom he undeceived in a story they were prepossessed with to your Grace's prejudice. Therefore I hope your Grace will have some regard to your old servant, notwithstanding any importunities may be used there to the contrary. Sir John Davys came to town on Saturday, and this morning was presented by my Lord Arran to the King, who received him

very graciously. I have for some time kept Captain Eastland here to accompany me into Ireland, which I hope your Grace will pardon both to him and me. A story of a letter which my Lord Burlington is said to have received out of Ireland has for these two days filled the town with a report that the Irish are in arms in Ireland.

JOHN VESEY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 17. Tuam.—It would be a very great comfort to me and the few Protestants in this desolate part of the country if your Grace were pleased at this time, when men's minds are possessed with I know not what fears of evils which I hope will never come upon them, to order a foot company to quarter in this town. The security of it would be great to the English that are very thinly and insecurely planted, if any danger (which God forbid) should arise in conveying them to the next place of strength; whereas in the posture they now are in they have no place of refuge between the County of Mayo and Galway in case of a sudden storm, and must consequently perish as many did in the beginning of the late rebellion for want of a timely foresight or just provision. Should your Grace's wisdom think fit to consider what is here humbly offered it would much settle the minds of men here and greatly add to the honours your Grace has already done me in making the enjoyments I have here by your Grace's favour more assured and valuable.

SIR JOHN DAVYS to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 18. London.—I did not reach this place until Saturday night last, neither could I rig myself out fit to appear, and to be able to give your Grace an earlier account of my having delivered the recommendatory letters which your Grace honoured me with hither, and which have caused my affairs here to move very prosperously hitherto, for the King received me most graciously upon them; and they did and still do produce extreme civil treatments from his ministers to me, so as I do every day meet with fresh occasions of acknowledging your Grace's favours for me.

I was told by Mr. Gwyn, the clerk of the Council in waiting, that the letter from your Grace and the Board and your Grace's private one to my Lord Sunderland in my favour were read yesterday in Council, and that they gave such full satisfaction concerning me that there was no room for objection, neither was any other made but that I took a very unnecessary journey, which for my part I think was a necessary one if it were to no other end than to have such a solemn declaration made of me, so as I am amply justified there and don't doubt but by the blessing of God to meet with the like success if I should be summoned before the Parlia-

ment, where my Lord Arran (who next your Grace is the kindest person upon earth to me) and all my friends besides do utterly disadvise my officious producing of myself and entering the list with my little adversary until I am called to it by a greater and better authority than their narrative, which as yet is not; and it is questioned, now I am upon the place and having such materials for my defence with me, if it ever will be done, for there has not yet been the least step made towards it since my coming, and therefore all I have now to do in that particular is to be watchful whether any motion happen to be made against me and, lest there should, to endeavour the softening of some seeming hard hearted people, wherein I have already made a considerable progress.

Neither am I alone vigilant as to myself, but careful also to hear what is said concerning your Grace, for evil tongues do now make bold with the greatest as well as with the meanest of men. All worthy and honest persons I meet with do speak with great honour of your Grace's person, and with great certainty of your Grace's loyalty to the King and sincerity to the Protestant religion and look upon both to be abundantly safe under your Grace's administration, and for those who are differently qualified and evilly inclined as to your Grace, and ready enough to speak, I cannot learn any material things they have to put against your Grace. That which I hear they place the greatest weight upon is the business of Levallin, and your Grace not issuing earlier orders for apprehending of him, and this is mentioned here in the very words that worthy Councillor did use who refused to sign the narrative, so as this arrow did most assuredly come out of that quiver, which your Grace may please to make your own use of without mentioning me in it, and if your Grace would also please certainly to recollect the time when and the manner how your Grace first had the notice of that business of Lavallin and how soon afterwards orders were issued for taking him, and who of the Council were attending your Grace and advising concerning it (for I'm mistaken if the aforesaid Councillor was not one) and transmit a narrative of all this to my Lord Arran, I humbly conceive it would not be inconvenient, especially since such a stress is put upon that matter; neither would it be inconvenient in my humble opinion if your Grace thought fit as any account is sent to authority here either from your Grace alone or from the Council Board that a copy thereof may be at the same time sent also to my Lord Arran, for I find nothing kept more a secret in certain places here than those accounts whereby people abroad do either see nothing of the proceedings in Ireland or understand nothing of them but by the clandestine misrepresentations of some private and false hands, whereas by the other way of proceeding truth will appear and in the end will no doubt prevail and justify itself, your Grace and all the rest of its followers.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1860, Dec. 18. London.—I had on Wednesday last your Grace's letter of the 6th, with a printed order for all the officers of the Irish army to repair to their commands under a severe penalty. I hope peers are excepted, though the order is not clear in that point. I have got Mr. Ellis to acquaint all the officers that are in town of your commands in that matter, and he has writ to those who are out of town, and Sir Cyril Wyche has writ to Col. Butler, whom I find the King much concerned for, but not so much as to give him any more licences to stay from his command, but would have him have leave to sell. If that which I have propounded in behalf of Captain Hayes by Lord Longford is not approved of by your Grace, I desire he may sell to Mr. Foord. Vere Cromwell is ill of the scattick, and Captain Gilbert Talbot of an ague, of which they will have certificates.

As to the business of the bailiwick of Westminster, whatever Sir James may have writ I am sure he told me both that place and yours of High Steward were forfeited if proof could be made that money was paid, and the thing is true. The matter now stands thus. Mr. Ellis has paid or has secured to pay Stroud 1,000*l.* and is to pay Sir William Boreman for your use the 500*l.* due to you from Stroud and Stroud's bond is given up.

My Lord Longford will tell your Grace at large what was done this day in our House concerning my Lord Stafford.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 18. Piccadilly.—I have been so long under an indisposition that I have not been able to pay my accustomed duty to your Grace; neither indeed had I anything that I could take any delight in writing, or you in hearing. My letters have been for some years a little melancholy, but should I write you my mind now they would be desperate. The Government seemeth in a kind of derout; neither can I see how it can well rally again, nor guess what use those that have done it will make of it. The ways to disorder are much easier than to settlement. This nation hath once found it, and I pray God it do not so again. My Lord Longford will give your Grace ample detail of what passeth here both in relation to the public and your private concerns, and when he hath done it I believe you will think my conceptions proceed not barely from the spleen, but I will detain your Grace no longer with my thoughts that have nothing but melancholy, not being able in this mist so much as to see my way, much less make it.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 18. London.—My Lord Chamberlain understanding by Mr. Mulys that my Lady Ossory did not intend to set out from Knowsley till Tuesday last, by which

means she cannot be at Northampton till Monday and consequently cannot call at Mr. Bennett's till Tuesday, when I design to meet her at Stony Stratford and from thence shall hasten to the waterside. My Lord Chamberlain desired me to stay here till Monday, thinking it will be much for your Grace's satisfaction to have a full account of that affair.

This day my Lord Carlisle acquainted the House of Lords that my Lord Stafford begged the favour of their Lordships that he might be once more admitted into their presence to acquaint their Lordships with all that he knew relating to the Plot. Upon which their Lordships sent my Lord Carlisle to fetch him and to tell him beforehand that if he made a full and ingenuous discovery of the Plot they would intercede with His Majesty for his pardon, but if he trifled with them in not making a material discovery they would be so far from interceding for him that they would make it their request to the King that the sentence should be executed upon him with the utmost rigour and severity. His Lordship being brought to the House and called in, he did with tears acknowledge he was guilty of a great crime in endeavouring to overthrow the government of the Church as it was established by law, and in order to it had waited upon the King at Breda before his restoration to solicit him for indulgence to the Catholics; that he had often repeated his solicitations in that particular very frequently since his restoration, and that to incline His Majesty to it he had two years after his restoration laboured to persuade the Papists to raise amongst themselves 100,000*l.* by way of present to His Majesty, which not succeeding by reason of their unwillingness to part with money he was forced to desist; that sometime after the Catholics had a meeting at my Lord of Bristol's house in order to the obtaining from His Majesty a relaxation of the penal laws and had entered into an oath of secrecy, with which he being after dissatisfied came the next day to my Lord Bristol, acquainted him with the dissatisfaction he had to their method of proceeding, and told him he would not be obliged by that oath they had taken, and therefore renounced it. That a little before the late Long Parliament (as it is now styled) was dissolved my Lord Shaftesbury came to him and pressed him to persuade the Duke to effect the dissolution of that Parliament, by which means a Parliament of another genius would probably be chosen who would grant indulgence to Dissenters, and then the Papists might hope for their share of it. Upon this my Lord Shaftesbury moved my Lord Stafford might withdraw, which being done his Lordship told the House that it was evident my Lord Stafford trifled with their Lordships, for instead of making a discovery he justified his own innocency and abused their Lordships, therefore he moved their Lordships would hear him no more, but that he might be carried back to the Tower, which was ordered accordingly.

This day the House of Commons took His Majesty's speech into consideration, and after two hours resolved to supply His Majesty for the support of Tangier, for the setting out his fleet, and for the maintenance of his alliances abroad, upon condition that His Majesty would consent to the cutting off the Duke from the succession to the Crown, that a Bill of Association might pass, and that a Bill might pass for having frequent Parliaments, and this was referred to a Committee to be drawn up into an address to be presented to His Majesty. The Parliament will not meddle with our Irish affairs till after Christmas.

SIR L JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 18. Whitehall.—Mr. Secretary Davys delivered me the letter that your Grace did me the great honour to write to me by him. I should be intolerably vain if I should think myself, especially in the circumstances I am in at this time, capable to render him any service. I cannot imagine he will want any, his case is so clear, and his testimonials so strong. However, I shall not be wanting to the utmost of my power; a common calamity as well as his own worth obliging me to it. This day seems to me a critical day in the House of Commons, for they were upon the speech they had lately made to them by His Majesty. I think there is no more upon their books but a vote for an address to His Majesty in answer to his speech, which is to be prepared by a committee upon the debate of the House. The debate ran:—

1. For the Bill of Exclusion and that it do pass the Royal Assent before other things be taken into consideration.
2. For an Act of Association, without which the other (they say) will be of no effect.
3. The purging and regulating of Westminster Hall and that the Judges have their places, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.
4. For the regulating of Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants, where the Marquess of Worcester was personally named as having too great a trust.
5. For regulating and restoring the Justices of Peace.
6. For putting the Navy into such hands as may be trusted.
7. For taking away standing forces, and inland garrisons, and then they will give money as the necessity of Tanger and the fleet shall require, and if it shall appear upon enquiry that our alliances prove to be useful for the perservation of the Protestant religion and the interest of this Crown, they will encourage such alliances.

Thus your Grace, my Lord, sees what the King is to trust to. I beseech God to direct and preserve him.

SIR HANS HAMILTON to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 18.—About a fortnight ago one Owen Murphy brought me an order from your Grace and the Council requiring all officers, civil and military, to be aiding and assisting

to the said Murphy in apprehending and sending to Dublin all such persons as the said Murphy should think fit to apprehend in order to the discovery of the Popish Plot in Ireland. Having perused the order, he desired my warrant for apprehending all such, and also an order to the several officers and soldiers who are in this country appointed to prosecute the Tories to be aiding and assisting to him in the said service. In your Grace and Council's order was recited an order or letter from the House of Lords in England for giving the said Murphy all assistance, which made me the more cautious how to act in so general a warrant, for by it he might apprehend all persons in the country against whom he had any prejudice as well as those concerned in the discovery of the Plot; but I got him to give me a list of such as he desired to apprehend, being about sixteen in all. He left one McGennis to execute the warrant I gave him, who since brought me several of them, and at his desire I have bound them over to appear in a short time before the Lord Chief Justice in Dublin. I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace with this lest a clamour might come to your Grace's ears of so many being apprehended by my warrant, and perhaps little to be said to them or by them in reference to the Plot or aught else. As I was writing this to your Grace these inclosed came to me, which I trouble your Grace with; if under pretence of discovering the Plot such bloody murderers shall be pardoned, it will be good encouragement for others to turn Tories. These letters* were found in the hands of Redmond O'Hanlon's mother-in-law by one Mullan, who I employed to prosecute the Tories; and having apprehended some of Redmond's receivers in whose hands they found goods robbed from some travellers on the road the said woman was in one of their houses, and seeing Mullan come in she went to hide these letters; he believing it to be money went to her and took them from her; the letters and the receivers he brought to me, but not the woman, and now your Grace sees that a small sum of money of monies given to the son-in-law (for so it is probable to be) will prevail with that B. to procure pardon for so bloody murderers as these are known to be by one means or other.

Copy.

REV. JAMES CALLAGHAN to HENRY GARDNER.

1680, Dec. 18. London.—You may understand that I and the rest of my company are very well, hoping that you are likewise and all the rest of our well-wishers. As for Papists, it was enacted and established by both the Houses of the Lords and Commons that no Papists or suspected may live in the cities of London and Westminster Hall or within twenty miles of the same. My Lord Stafford, who has been a great peer of this realm, is to be executed next Monday for

* See pp. 535, 536 *infra*.

being impeached to have a hand in the plot against His Majesty. There is several other great Lords in the Tower who are like to suffer also, for there are several evidences ready to swear positively against them. Your friend Sir John Davys, who was Secretary of State in Dublin, is here in custody and is impeached with high treason. Moreover inform my loving friend Mr. Denis Raverty that his worthy friend, Oliver Plunkett, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland heretofore so titulated, is upon the Newgate of London to his great woe, and let Mr. Denis be sure not to fear any suborned evidence against the next Assizes of Ardmagh, for there are as many priests, friars and other chief members of the laity out of Munster, Leinster, Connaught, Italy, England and other parts as might hang him and a thousand more if they had been as much concerned as he is. As for our part, notwithstanding our great report in Ireland is nothing in comparison to the rest of his adversaries. Pray be sure to assist my cousin Edmond concerning the business that you know of, and let me understand that you shall be careful of himself and pray do not neglect to forward him the way that you know yourself, which I know you may very well do (and God willing) there is no kindness that you shall shew him, or any other of my friends, but shall be requited ere it be long, if I be a living man; and let my cousin Edmond send to Neale Callaghan who was in trouble concerning the Tories, when I came out of Ireland, and if he or any other of my friends be in any such trouble, let them come to you that you may send me an account of all their businesses, and be sure to direct your letters to Mr. Jones' coffee-house near the Royal Exchange. As for your rent doubt it not, and let my cousin Thomas McDonnell and my curate pay you whatever is behind of the old debt, and if you or my cousin Edmond can have tenants to plough the land now, let them not fear the rent, for if I did continue here in London I might discharge them of all troubles whatsoever, and much more I trust in Jesus Christ that they shall see me in those parts with a merry meeting towards Candlemas next. Pray be pleased to inform Sir Toby Poyntz that I have not forgotten his request of me the time we were together, and let him understand that I did not rest until I got it done to his own desire, and if any of my friends shall occasion for him, let him use them as his accustomed favour was towards myself always. The most part of the gentry of the west parts of Ireland is impeached with the Plot, but none out of the north; as for Red. Laughlin and Ed. Kane their protection is ready drawn, signed and sealed without the least impediment, only expecting some moneys to bear their charges, though with much ado, yet let me beg of you as a trusty friend to keep this very private, until it shall be publicly known unto all others, not only this but several things I did expect to inform you with, but that I am called immediately before King and Parliament. There-

fore I trust all to your own discretion until further liberty, only remembering my dutiful respects to yourself, to all my well wishers and especially to my most noble and worthy parishioners in general. My boy Terence Kelly desires to be remembered to his mother, to his brother, sisters, and all the rest of his friends, and I thank God he is in a better condition now than he was when he parted with them last, for he wants for neither clothes or meat, and has as many books of both English and Latin as he can make use of, studying both day and night in his chamber, but when I am abroad myself then of necessity he must wait upon me, and they shall see him shortly in a better condition than they expected.

Endorsed :—To Henry Gardner, Innkeeper at Newry.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 18. Dublin.—By yours of the 11th I find you had seen Sir John Davys. By this time I suppose you have produced him and he has acquainted you with all he carries with him in paper or in memory. We have since had additional informations taken in the county of Limerick, which seem to corroborate Mr. David Fitzgerald's first information and to make good David Nash his information in spite of his and Lynes retractions and criminations. These new witnesses applied themselves to Captain Odell, who took to his assistance two other Justices of Peace to prevent his being again calumniated for a suborner. His letter to me and the informations he sent with it of Maurice Fitzgerald and Murtagh Dowling are transcribing to be sent to my Lord Sunderland and the two informers are sent for according to their desire. The name of the latter I may mistake, the information not being by me, but, I think, I am near the sound of it. If any notice be sent of this matter and noise made of it before we can send them, this may serve for an account of it as it yet stands. Orders are sent by this night's post to commit eight gentlemen to safe custody and to take bonds of four or five more in the country of Limerick, against which latter the evidence is not so full as against the others. If these eight shall be sent for into England, as the Lord Brittas, Sir John Fitzgerald, Lacy and Brady have been and must go to London on the charge of this revenue, it will be a great burden to it and therefore it may be fit again to mind the King of our former desire that we may be no further charged with sending prisoners than to Chester, for I can see no end of informers, and such as must be taken into custody upon informations. The Lord Brittas is not yet to be found. His fellows are much troubled at his evasion, supposing it may prove an argument of their guilt.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 21. London.—I had yesterday your Grace's of the 13th, but have none of the enclosed papers you mention, but the matter, is not great for the last alarum out of Munster

is grown cool again. I am glad to hear you are in hopes this fit of the gout is over, the exercise your Grace used in the summer has without doubt lessened your fit ; there is an oil to be bought of one that was a servant to Sir Philip Howard which my Lord Suffolk and Lord Shaftesbury commend as a very sovereign thing, both when the gout is upon one and for strengthening the part after the fit is over. I know not whether my Lord Longford has remembered to carry any with him. His Lordship went away early this morning. He will show your Grace some of the heads intended to be put in against you, and your answers to them will come soon enough, for I believe you will not be meddled with, if at all, until Christmas be over, but I believe I can myself answer all the particulars I have yet seen or heard of, if I may affirm Sir George Lane never met with the Popish clergy by your order or approbation since His Majesty's restoration. I have it from two persons severally that the parties who were active in this are Mr. Hayes, Mr. Roberts and one Morley, whom you have had often before you at the Board, and I believe Sir James Shaen, though my informers deny his having any hand in the matter, they being his friends. I forgot in the two or three last letters to assure you of the certainty of Fitzpatrick's having a command at Tangier. My Lord Inchiquin made him an ensign in his regiment before his Lordship's leaving Tangier. Mr. Buck died this morning.

Your Grace will find by the last address from the House of Commons that within a short time we shall know how matters must go.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 21.—Your next will inform us to what purpose robes were put on as yours of the 14th mentioned. Geoghegan, one of the discoverers sent over with ample recommendation from the Council, has carried himself so extravagantly and insolently that it was yesterday resolved at Council he should be stopped in his career and brought hither to answer the many complaints brought against him. You may be sure they were palpable and enormous when we all agreed they were no longer to be endured. I believe one Owen Murphy sent to provide witnesses against Oliver Plunket, titular Primate, will be found faulty also, but there are yet no complaints of him. In a search made for Tories, their stolen goods and harbourers, by warrant from Sir Hans Hamilton, the originals of the enclosed copies were found, with whom and in what manner will appear to you by the copy of Sir Hans, his letter to me. You may guess who the Lord in England is that is depended on to get the pardon of Hanlon and his accomplices, and it appears upon what terms. If you find a fit opportunity it may be fit to show them to the King who can best judge what use may be made of the originals and when ; in the meantime they shall be safely

kept. I know not whether it may be safe to say it, but it is a truth that there seems to be as great a disposition to quietness in this kingdom as ever I observed. Here and in other parts parts of the kingdom I find that arms are brought in very fast upon the proclamation, and some who had leave to have arms but never had any, or not so many as they had leave for, are constrained to buy them and bring them in. I know not of so much ground for the report of this kingdom being in rebellion as the taking of any arms in Munster. Informations upon oath indeed there are of some powder and swords said to be lodged in a house and thence conveyed to O'Sullivan More's who was easily and quietly apprehended and is in custody at Cork to give an account of himself and, what is laid to his charge, tho' the taking of him was represented hither as a service of difficulty and danger. When a man of so great dependance living in a wild mountainous country, and not restored to his estate, is so easily brought in as he and O'Sullivan Bere's eldest son (who is in all circumstances like the other) have been, I know not who else is able to stand out; evade they may as divers have done in England and the Lord Brittas here. Whoever thinks it necessary for the good of England that Ireland should be made and kept poor may wish for a rebellion here, there being nothing but a war that can do it. I can tell who maintained that maxim in the politics, and possibly, so it were done, cares not how many Protestants may be destroyed by it. Neither the order of the House of Lords here or ours here did give so large authority to Owen Murphy as Sir Hans apprehended. [Encloses the two following letters.]

DEBORAH ANNESLEY to MRS. KATHERINE O'HANLON.

1680, Dec. 7.—I am extremely troubled that I cannot give Mr. O'Hanlon no better account of what I was assured to prosper in. My Lord Lieutenant was overruled by the Council, who would not hear of his coming in, but has put 200*l.* on Redman [Redmond] O'Hanlon and 100*l.* on Loling, so that all the arguments could be used by my father could do no good; the proclamation will be out on Saturday against them, but my father is finding out a way in England for all those poor men, of which you shall know more from Mr. Annesley; because letters are opened I can say no more of that, but that way without doubt will secure them and bring them in, of which I desire you to send away immediately to Mr. Annesley who will inform you, and desire to hear from you concerning it and let them know that no means shall be left unsought to do them good, for my father will have them in, and let them not take it ill, for I could do no more if it had been for my own life. I shall stay here till I hear from you concerning what I wrote about them to Mr. Annesley, and no stone shall be left unturned to bring them in, which I question not but we shall find all will be well concerning them.

There is nothing set on Edmond Ban and Hagan.

FRANCIS ANNESLEY to MRS. KATHERINE O'HANLON.

1680, Dec. 9. Clough.—Mrs. Hanlon, I was directed from above to give you this account, that affairs in relation to your friends are in a worse condition than was expected. There is 200*l.* set on the head of one, and a hundred pounds as the price of the other, and a pardon had certainly been obtained for them if in so enormous a case it could have been done without violence to justice. I can tell you (if you come over to me, and possibly it may be worth your while) where the shoe pinches. I have only this to add (for it is not convenient to write my thoughts to you), and I beg your speedy answer to it, that I may return it to my Lord Bishop of Meath, who will acquaint the Council with their resolution in these two points :—

1. Whether Redman O'Hanlon will be a discoverer of the design for the French invasion here, and who in Ireland are the principal abettors ; if he doth this he need not doubt of countenance, pardon and reward also for himself and his two brothers.

2. If he will be at the charge of procuring and passing his own and his brothers with Neill O'Hagan's pardon in England : if so my Lord Bishop of Meath will draw up the petition for them and send it to a sure and honourable hand that will get it done without control. I also will improve my interest with the Earl of Anglesey and other friends there for their advantage.

This I do that they may know their condition here and what is purposed to be done in England for them by my assistance and kindness ; and the consideration of the misery they are in, and the inclination they ought to have to their own interest should prevail with them above all other advice how preferable is a quiet and peaceable life to that which you now lead. Therefore you should resolve to become honest men, and prove firm to the King's interests, and never deviate again from their obedience to the King if you can obtain once more his gracious pardon, which I question not may yet be obtained, though new difficulties are started.

Endorsed :—For Mrs. Katherine O'Hanlon, These

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF T. SAVAGE.

1680, Dec. 24. Dingle.—On the first of this instant parted from Bilbao, in Spain, the ship called *Daniel* of Garcia, now in this harbour laden with fruit, Peter Bally, master, who affirms that the current news in that place was that from Algiers there were ready to set sail thirty Turks men-of-war for the coast of England and Ireland, and that he was much advised to make all the despatch he could for the same reasons ; he further saith that the post brought constant news that the plague was very rife at Algiers ; he saw the comet nine days ago very plain at sea ; these things, pray, if you think fit, communicate to his Grace.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Christmas Day. London.—Tho' the Lords adjourned on Thursday last to the 3rd of next month and acquainted the Commons with their intentions, yet they sat yesterday, and in the afternoon Sampson, Morley, Murphy, Moyer, Macnamara, Burke, and Eustace Comyn petitioned the House against Sir John Davys. The House heard only Sampson and Murphy, whom they could not understand. The former was very sharp upon Sir John, and did not spare my Lord Chancellor. The whole matter is referred to the Committee of Examinations, of which Col. Birch is chairman. I believe they have introduced this accusation only to usher in one against you. I have so laid out that I am confident I shall have a copy of the articles designed against you, and Kennedy is like to get them, for my Lord Barkley, who is his Gideon, has engaged him, and he is ready to swear that he was offered money to be a witness against you, but refused it.

My Lord Conway professes great kindness for you, and is very friendly to me upon all occasions, but he has desired a thing (and I find he sets much stress upon it) which you formerly refused my Lord Granard and me, and that is that Sir George Royden should part with his troop to his son, who, my Lord Conway says, is a very vigorous lusty young man. The denial will very much dissatisfy him, and it is not prudent at this time to lose him. He thinks he could be sure of the King's letter on his behalf, but will not seek for that out of respect to you. He desires me to tell you also that Landy Bolton goes in the next stage coach and hopes you will be favourable to him at his arrival. Cap. Gilbert Talbot is sick of an ague and has been so this great while, as your Grace may see by his physician's certificate. I have just now received your Grace's letter of the 18th and a paper from Mr. Gascoigne, about one Geoghegan, but I have not time to read it nor to go to Court and give you an account afterwards what His Majesty's answer will be about the prisoners you send over, but His Majesty I am sure will take them off your hands at Chester, for I spoke to him about two or three days ago, and he said he would give order in it.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 28. London.—I had last night your Grace's letter of the 21st instant and the enclosed copies of the Bishop of Meath's letter, etc., and I hear the informations mentioned in yours of the 18th are come to my Lord Sunderland's hands, but I am never the wiser for I shall not see them; therefore it were well that duplicates were made and one copy sent over either to Sir John Davys or me, but his head is so full now of his own business that he cannot mind the public's. The Committee were to sit upon him this day. The papers you sent me were too long for His Majesty to

peruse, but I read your letter to him this morning and he was very well pleased with it. I told him also what was contained in the other papers, but he was so much troubled with other business, that he gave no advice in the matter. You will do very well in my opinion to keep the originals safe until use may with prudence be made of them; I think the time not proper yet. I attended all yesterday morning whilst the Council was sitting, in hopes to have got some order about taking the prisoners off your hands at Chester, but they had, it seems, business of greater moment. By Saturday's post I hope it will done.

I find the Irish witnesses do not agree amongst themselves, for they say Hethrington has cheated them of the allowance the King has given him for them, and Mr. David Fitzgerald broke Sampson's head the other day, of which he complained to the House of Commons, but they thought Fitzgerald in the right, he having given Fitzgerald ill language before.

If you have not very enormous things against Geoghegan, you have done a very bold action as the world now goes, for the little great man said not long since at the committee that he thought in his conscience Eustace Comyn was an honest witness; but since you have done it I shall be bold to give the history of his life to some members when you send over the second part, which will contain what his transactions have been since his last journey thither. I leave Sir John himself to give an account of what is done with him. I wish his overmuch concern may do him no hurt at the Committee. I am sure all people without doors to whom he has told his story are very well satisfied with the account he gives in his justification. I have not hitherto interposed in a business you have been transacting, which is of so great concern that I can hold my tongue no longer, and that is the marrying your grandchild. For the friendship I have to my Lord Chamberlain, you being so far engaged before I knew anything of the matter I could not but approve of it and discourse with him in the matter, though I never liked it, and much less the going a-begging for a rich match, tho' of mean education, for it seems the mother flatly refused to let her daughter see my sister Ossory upon the road. You have a good opportunity to take the matter high, and upon that usage to break off the match. I am sure my sister Cavendish is of the same opinion with me, but you know best what is fit to be done. Betty Stanhope is just now come to me, and desires to have her duty presented to you.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 29. Dublin.—I have yours of the 18th and 21st of this month, and shall have all that my Lord Longford can show or say in a few days, if the wind holds as it is, and if he has made no long stay by the way. In a former letter,

I have assured you, that Sir George Lane was never with any congregation, or convocation, or any other meeting of Popish clergy from me, since the King came in ; nor, I think, ever in his life. The meeting that I am charged with, and all the transactions at it, are at large set down in a great book set forth by Peter Walsh. My aim was to work a division among the Romish clergy, and I believe I had compassed it, to the great security of the Government and Protestants, and against the opposition of the Pope and his creatures and Nuncios, if I had not been removed from the Government, and if direct contrary counsels and courses had not been taken and held by my successors, of which some were too indulgent to the whole body of Papists, and others not much acquainted with either of them, nor considering the advantage of the division designed. I confess I have never read over Walsh's book, which is full of a sort of learning I have been little conversant in ; but the doctrine is such as would cost him his life, if he could be found where the Pope has power.

I cannot find any entry of the orders that were sent for the taking of Lavallin, whose escape would seem to be imputed to my negligence. But I remember well that the first and only notice I had of such a man's being charged with being one of the ruffians was in a printed diurnal, and that having heard of Captain Lavallin's dissolute course of life, and of a base and treacherous action of his in Holland, I suspected he might be the man ; and thereupon the orders for his apprehension were sent to persons and places most like to have it done. It is said this was not done time enough ; but if it had not been done at all the omission would not have been very criminal ; considering that there are many Lavallins besides him now taken for the man, and that I had no intimation where to look for him or any other of the four, though three of them are Irishmen. Besides, I find in the late journals that somebody at Bristol is accused of helping them all away, so that either he must be wronged, or else Lavallin made not his escape from hence. But without doubt he went out of this kingdom, and the Bristol man is not guilty of the escape of all of them. Having leisure enough I thought it not amiss to say thus much in those two points.

You have already sent you a part of Mr. Geoghegan's life and achievements till he left Ireland, and was re-converted by the Bishop of Durham under the name of Dalton. His exploits, since he came over with authority from the Council to take plotters, are many and remarkable, and shall be sent to my Lord Sunderland as soon as the story is completed to his committal to Newgate, where he now is. But since he came over armed with such authority, upon such an employment, his commitment to Newgate may be misinterpreted, I send you authentic copies of so many examinations as have yet been taken concerning the abuse of the authority he had

from the Council in England, and pursuant to it, from us here ; which will satisfy anybody that it was not fit to let him go on to plunder, beat, and imprison who he pleased, English and Irish, Papist and Protestant, as his fancy, supported by strong ale and wine, should direct him.

Here is also one Owen Murphy, authorised to search for and carry over witnesses, I suppose, to give evidence against Ol. Plunket. He carries himself with much more modesty ; but he has been as far as the county of Tipperary, and brought thence about a dozen people, not like to say anything material as to Plunket ; so that I believe he takes them upon account of Eustace Comyn's mad narrative. Perhaps before the letters go away I shall say more of him, or Mat. Barry shall, to Sir John Davys, to whom I pray make my excuse for not making any other return than this to his letter of the 18th.

I know not what may become of Tangier or the troops there, so that I am not willing to give Fitzpatrick's certain place till we see the issue. The poor youth was shot through the body and may be dead.

How could anybody imagine Lords in Parliament could be meant in the proclamation calling officers to their duty ? If all the officers of the army were of the House of Commons I hope I have more wit than to call them from that service.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 31. Dublin.—I have yours of Christmas Day and we hope before night my Lord Longford will be landed. If he was at sea last night he had a rough passage. I think by this time Sir John Davys believes his journey well undertaken. I cannot conceive how the petition of those fellows should be an introduction to a complaint against me otherwise than as it brings the affairs of Ireland in play, for they have hitherto made no reflecting mention of me. I do not believe Kennedy refused money to accuse me or any man. He is a notorious thief and liar, so that no belief is to be given to anything he shall say or swear any further than there shall be some other concurring testimony or pregnant circumstance. I had the heads of an accusation sent me, whereof a copy goes with this that you may compare them with any that shall be brought you. I offered Sir George Rawdon by my Lord Granard that he might have 400 guineas for his troop, but his return was that having received that command from the King he was desirous to die with it, but if he thinks he can make more of it I shall refuse no fit man to whom he will resign it ; but if my Lord Conway wishes rather that he should resign it to his Lordship's nephew I will comply with it upon notice from Sir George. It will be a mighty ease to us to have all such as shall be sent for taken at Chester.

EUSTACE COMYN to RICHARD DENISON at Clonmel.

1680-1, Jan. 1st. London.—I must beg of you that you will certify that I was refused a warrant to take John Brenan, titular Bishop of Cashel; Oliver Plunkett, Primate of Armagh, and Robert Power, pretended Deacon of Waterford, in your own house in Clonmel by Robert Lowe and Charles Alcock, in the presence of Mr. Stephen Moore and others, and what you can certify besides for the public good in order for the further detection of the plot I desire you send me by the next post and direct it to me to the Earl of Shaftesbury's in Aldergate Street, otherwise I must summon you hither as a witness.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 1st. London.—I suppose Sir John Davies will give your Grace a more perfect account of the proceedings of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the allegations of Sampson and the rest of the witnesses against him than I am able to do, but I find upon the whole matter they seem resolved on these two points, to vindicate the reputation of the witnesses and receive nothing that shall contradict them, and to throw all the dirt they can gather together upon the Government of Ireland. On the last Council day my Lord Sunderland brought to the Board four letters from your Grace and Council of Ireland; those letters which related to the examinations were ordered together with the examinations to be transmitted to the Committee of Examinations of the House of Lords.

On Sunday last there happened some angry discourse between my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Hyde upon the occasion of the King's receiving and returning no New Year's gifts this year as formerly, and it grew to such a degree that Mr. Hyde the last Council day complained of it to the King in Council. They were both thereupon ordered to withdraw, and after some time called in again, at which time His Majesty acquainted my Lord Chamberlain that what Mr. Hyde had done in that matter was by his order, and therefore he ought not to have given him that occasion of complaint.

The town hath lately been very full of some proposals made in private to His Majesty to explain more particularly the last paragraph of the House of Commons' address concerning the certain sum of money that some of the leading men of the House of Commons would undertake should be given in case the Duke's Bill should be passed and some of themselves put into employments which they desired, and it is said that His Majesty being expected at the Lord St. Albans' lodging on Monday night last at supper, Mr. Ralph Montague and Mr. Will. Herbert came thither with intention to have met the King, but His Majesty came not thither that night. This discourse occasioned the vote of the House of Commons on Friday that no member of that House should

receive anything from the King without leave of the House, and that those who did contrary should be expelled the House. It is said that my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs hath lately surrendered his employment, but I do not know the certainty of it.

SIR JOHN DAVYS to ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 1st.—I am at last brought upon the stage or rather to the stake by the Irish witnesses' petition against me to the House of Commons, which was referred to a Committee where I have been baited for six or seven hours a day these two days last past, committee men and evidences, even Eustace Comyn himself, saying what they listed to me. At last, being demanded immediately to answer, I observed that the examinations against me were diverse, the things charged upon me in them various, the times they were laid in several, and those times far distant, that I was not conscious of any occasion ever given by me for them, so as they were the more surprising upon me, and therefore for the Committee's easier and my certainer method I desired I might be allowed a copy of my full charge and competent time allowed me to put in my answer to it; which being debated among them they at last resolved on this only, that they will upon Monday acquaint the House with my motion, and according to their sense govern themselves in it. Upon the whole matter, considering what sort of committee it is, Col. Birch in the chair, who took occasion in private among them, as I heard, to compare your Grace and me to the Lord Strafford and Sir George Ratcliff; and after what manner they used me, only admitting me to speak when the witnesses would give way to it, and not only suffering them to say what they pleased as they saw occasion by way of invention and addition to their examinations before given in, but leading them and encouraging them to it, and to criminate at their wills your Grace and the whole body of the Government in Ireland as well as me, and all this in the hearing of crowds of people of all sorts that thought fit to come, the doors being laid open for that purpose, I expect little better but that my request will be rejected and the Chairman report *ex parte* against me, and thereupon an impeachment to the Lords, where I confess I had rather be, and where my materials for my justification, I don't question, will be regarded, which in the place I am at present I find would be looked upon but as trash, everything there offered against what the evidences say proving to be no more; and therefore I yet reserve from being blown upon what I have for myself, even the Bishop of Meath's certificate also, until a proper opportunity for producing them. Thus your Grace sees in what a position I am, being here in the hands of false witnesses and the mighty encouragers of them, from whom, Good Lord, deliver me. Edmond Murphy, the priest, took occasion at the Committee

to affirm that when he appeared before your Grace against the Tories he was well used, but when he discovered the plot he was ill treated by your Grace and other reflections of that kind were placed by him and others of the witnesses, from whose hands I am confident mischief is intended your Grace by as wicked but higher people. God preserve your Grace from them, which shall be my daily prayer.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, New Year's Day. London.—Yesterday morning the Council sat and turned out the clerks. What the business was I have not yet learnt, but I suppose it was about an answer to the House of Commons' last address, for His Majesty is to speak to both Houses on Monday.

I have at last got a copy of some of the articles drawn up against you. It is likely they will be mended before they are made use of. I copied them because the hand they were written in might be known if intercepted to the prejudice of the person. Your Grace will easily judge by some of the articles who were the persons that furnished the materials as in 16th article, 20th and 22nd.

Major Hallkett, Toby Purcell and several other officers are come hither from Tangier. They tell me that Fitzpatrick is dead of his wounds. The King told me yesterday that he intended to send home again that part of the forces there that belong to Ireland. Sir John Davys has been twice before the Committee, who, I suppose, will give your Grace an account of their proceedings with him.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Jan. 1. Dublin.—Since mine of yesterday, which I think is not yet gone, I have seen from a better hand than Kennedy's another article that is said to be prepared against me, and that it will be sworn. The article is that I have been seen to receive the sacrament the Romish way at my sister Clancarty's. Now though it may be as truly sworn that I was circumcised at Christ Church, and that few of any brains that know me or have but a superficial account of my life will give credit to so incredible a forgery; yet if it get into a narrative thousands will swallow it as truth; and against this there is no fence. The credulous that trust in prints will never hear or consider, whether it be material or no, that I could have as many masses and sacraments as I had a mind to brought me, and more secretly, into my lodging, than to go anywhere abroad for them; that the laity never have the sacrament given them (unless they are sick) but at Mass; that Masses are never said but in the morning; and I defy anybody to prove that ever I was to see my sister this twenty years but in an afternoon. Above all, let Mr. Oates his depositions be examined, and it will clearly appear that it was designed by the conspirators that I should be killed;

and sure if I had been a Papist it would have been known to them ; and as sure it is that they would not have contrived the death of one that might in such case have been useful to them. I have caused Oates his depositions to that point to be extracted out of a reprinted copy here, which it may be fit for you to have by you. It is not in the same volume of that printed in England, and therefore the directions to pages and sections will not serve.

SAME to SAME.

1680-1, Jan. 3. Dublin.—My Lord of Longford and yours of the 28th of the last arrived here yesterday, but both what you write and what he says leave us under the uncertainty we were and are like for some time to continue in. It is true that the sending of duplicates of what went hence to my Lord Sunderland in confirmation of David Fitzgerald's discovery was omitted. It shall be now supplied, and that course constantly held for the time to come. I am obliged to my Lord Burlington for advice he gives me in a letter of his to my Lord Primate, tho' the matter of fact be mistaken, for my Lord Brittas was not bailed by me but by the Judges, and if he appears at the next Assizes he saves his bail, tho' by evading till then he makes his guilt more probable. Against O'Sullivan More there is not one witness yet appearing, nor was there any order from hence to take bail of him or of O'Sullivan Bere when my Lord's letter was written, nor I think is yet ; so that his information, I mean my Lord Burlington's, is not authentic from whomsoever he had it. The originals of the copies I sent you shall be safely kept, and I am promised more of the kind the next week. You will have a copy of my letter to my Lord Chamberlain, which I mean should import that I give over any further thought of the proposition concerning his kinswoman.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 4. London.—The Committee have made no report yet in Sir John Davys his business, but it is believed they will make one nothing favourable to him, and that the House will vote an impeachment against him. He was so much concerned at the Committee's proceeding with him when he was last before them that he was disordered to such a degree I was afraid he would do his business much prejudice, but he is better settled now. The deposition of Maurice Fitzgerald and Downy were read this day in our House, and Sir John Fitzgerald and Col. Lacy were before us, and denied what was laid to their charge, but we were so satisfied with what was sworn that we passed a vote that there was and is a dangerous plot in Ireland, as your Grace will see by the journals. Your constant friend there happened to say upon this occasion that Papists were better armed in Ireland than the Protestants, but I cleared that point and satisfied the House to the contrary, which he made no reply to.

Sir Thomas Wharton was but a while ago with us. He desires to be remembered to you and promises his endeavours to justify you whenever he meets with anything said against you. There is one Cornet Colt yet here, but he goes away next week. He has made his brother, who is a leading man in the House of Commons, to be Sir John Davys his friend; therefore he desires if he should outstay his furlough a little that you would be favourable to him.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Jan. 6. Dublin.—Mr. Geoghegan's history is brought so far that we have thought it time to transmit it to my Lord Sunderland, and we hope his villainies will appear to be such as will justify his sending to Newgate. Murphy, sent hither to gather witnesses by virtue of an order of the House of Lords of an old date, is ready to embark with those he has picked up. His authority bore no direction to the Government, nor was any address made to the King, as in other cases, to command me anything in that matter. So I have in no degree interposed; only when Murphy complained of want of money I furnished him by the advice of the Council with fifty pounds. In Hetherington's letter produced by Murphy he was advised to good husbandry; and particularly to take none with him but material witnesses; and yet he has taken some from Carrick that profess here that they are able to say nothing of the plot or plotters. So that I should have saved the charge of ten or twelve persons, and prevented the ruin of so many poor men taken from their trade and labour if they had been any man's tenants but my own. In Hetherington's mention is made of a Popish Bishop, who, as it was supposed, might be prevailed with to make a full discovery of the Plot upon assurance of pardon. Murphy persists to be of the opinion still, and says he has fresh reason to be so. Thereupon I have given a safe conduct to the Bishop, and put it into the hand desired by Murphy. If he comes to me upon it, I make no doubt but that he will make such discoveries as will well deserve a pardon and ample reward; which I will in that case undertake to him for. The safe conduct is given since the Council sat; and so I could not have their concurrence, nor did I think it fit to delay a matter of this moment (if it falls out right) till the next meeting. I have not time to write this day to my Lord Sunderland, but you may let him see this letter.

ORMOND TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, January 6. Dublin.—Since my letter to my Lord Chamberlain importing that any further prosecution of any pretence to Mr. Bennet's daughter should be laid aside, Mrs. Brabazon was with my wife and told her that she found by the Duchess of Albemarle that an address in behalf of my grandson for a younger sister of hers would not be displeasing.

I know nothing of the person of the young lady or of any other circumstance considered in such cases, but am abundantly satisfied of the advantage of the alliance in reference to birth and the honour and constant loyalty of the family. Yet in regard to both sides, and that instead of contracting a stricter friendship by an alliance we may not lessen that which is already betwixt us (as it sometimes falls out when a treaty of this kind is entered into and broken off) it were good that some knowledge were had of the fitness of the match as to the persons first and then as to the conditions of marriage, and this I desire you to discourse with the sister of and to make such inquiry as may be proper. I will mix this affair with nothing else.

SIR JOHN DAVYS to ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 8.—Since my last to your Grace all that passed in the House of Commons concerning me was Colonel Birch's reporting the examinations taken against me and making this disingenuous addition, that I had answered at the Committee, as your Grace will find by the printed votes of Thursday, whereas the last thing that passed there was a desire from me of copies of the examinations and time to answer to them according to the account I formerly gave your Grace thereof, a way of proceeding some of my friends who are members and were at the Committee will, I believe, take notice of and rectify that mistake when the business comes to be debated in the House, which is ordered to be upon Monday, and at the same time some things that Sampson and McNamara gave in the other day to involve my Lord Anglesey in my Lord Tyrone's plot are to be considered also to see whether they will bear an impeachment of treason against him. Sir Robert Clayton and some other vassals of my Lord S., and consequently patrons of my accusers, would endeavour to bring me in for treason also, but I don't in my own opinion and by better judgments at all perceive that the matters against me can warrant any such thing, but if they should run them up to so unreasonable a construction in the lower House I am very confident such is the justice of the Lords, before whom the articles must come at last, they will upon hearing of them be of different minds and proceed accordingly as to me, for they have done the like already, and no later than yesterday, in the case of my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, impeached before them by the Commons of high treason upon articles of a higher nature than mine can be, which their Lordships declared to be but misdemeanours and therefore have bailed the Chief Justice, and won't as much as give way to his suspension from his employment until they see reason for it after he has received his trial. The other day Mr. David Fitzgerald and Oates being together and holding a discourse concerning me, wherein the former speaking in my favour the latter took occasion to give him very abusive

language and met with a suitable return, which has produced no good effect, as such garboils seldom do. For to-day a gentleman came to me and told me for certain that Oates the last night carried Bernard Dennis (who your Grace may remember came over hither from Ireland with Moyer and the other priests) with him to my Lord Mayor, where Dennis has given in an examination against Fitzgerald and named therein your Grace, my Lord Chancellor and myself, but to what purposes that gentleman could not tell, but he is a-scouting to learn them, and when I hear what they are I will send your Grace an account of them. Just as I am writing this the gentleman is returned to me and tells me that all that examination was that David Fitzgerald should be endeavouring to persuade some of the witnesses not to prosecute me, which he has denied at a Committee. Though none of the printed votes have yet named me under any ill character, my adversaries have notwithstanding written and scattered intelligences as if I had been voted a notorious stifler of the Plot in Ireland, with other wild and false things which no doubt will be dispersed about in Ireland to blacken me; while I am forced to be patient, until by my innocence and the help of friends who are satisfied of it, I can extricate myself out of my unfortunate circumstances; and since I mention friends I crave leave to acquaint your Grace that here is one Mr. Colt, a member of the House, who appears mightily my friend, though otherwise a hot, disobliged and fierce speaking man against the Court, and therefore of good interest with the contrary party. Him his brother, who is cornet to Captain Aungier, has made for me, and by that means altogether of Launty Bolton, whereby I have free access to and such good credit with him and by him with others as I hope it may not be useful alone to me, but to your Grace also, for the effecting whereof I have been the occasion of detaining the Cornet and Launty Bolton longer indeed than they would otherwise have stayed from their colours since your Grace's last proclamation for recalling officers, and therefore I humbly beseech your Grace's pardon to me, in the first place and in the next to them, and that your Grace will be pleased that no inconvenience may light upon them as to their commands or pay for their staying so necessarily here upon my account hitherto. This week they go from hence over.

EARL OF ARRAN TO ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 8. London.—Our House has sat so late this night that I shall not have time to say so much as I intended, but Sir John Davys will write more at large. My Lord Burlington, upon the account of friendship to your Grace desires me to advise you not to let bail be taken for those persons who are accused of the Plot there, tho' but one witness against them, for he is informed the O'Sullivans, who are, as he says, very dangerous people, are out upon bail.

I am commanded by His Majesty to let you know that by the next post you will have orders to send over Maurice Fitzgerald and Murty Dowling, and he will give directions to have the charges borne here from Chester.

The House of Commons have voted as you will see against four Lords and one Commoner, so that it is to be hoped that they will let Ireland alone for a while, and that Sir John Davys will be safe, they having more considerable work of that nature upon their hands than his.

LORD COURCY to DUKE OF ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 8. Kingsweston.—I have been here keeping my Christmas at Sir Robert Southwell's, and we have often joined our hearty prayers and wishes for your Grace, especially considering how many troubles are spoken of. I am sure I have sorrow enough, not only in gratitude to your Grace for the good that is past, but for fear of the evil which may befall me if any change should be made in that kingdom.

I have been now five years at Oxford, which I esteem my great happiness, not only about my religion but other good things, by the care and goodness of my Lord Bishop. But I am often sorry that I cannot study so hard as he and other friends have desired me, which I acknowledge as my fault or unhappiness. I shall be sixteen year old in May, and my wishes are to travel and if it could be when my Lord of Ossory goes, I should think that a most happy occasion, and I should strive to make good in some other things what I fall short in about my studies. After this the next thing I think of is the getting some employment in the army in Ireland: and besides these two ways I cannot tell what to think of for one in my condition. I would be glad, if I could, to begin with the first of these ways, which is travel, but I fling myself upon your Grace for help and advice.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Jan. 9. Dublin.—Sir Joseph Williamson likes this country so well and has so much interest in it by his lady that he resolves to stay here for some time. I know not perfectly how he and his place of secretary were separated, nor consequently how he stands in the King's opinion. But in all his discourse with me he appears to be zealous for his service. So that I am of opinion his being of the Privy Council in this kingdom may be useful. I am sure I should wish it during my being in the Government if it have no objection on that side. If His Majesty think fit to have him sworn the form of a letter requiring it may easily be found.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Jan. 9. Dublin.—I have yours of the 1st with the inclosed abstract, and am of your opinion that they will

be better polished and put into method before they can with credit to the composers be made use of. But though all that is material in them is utterly false and all that is true wholly impertinent, yet as they may be dressed they may serve for an accusation or impeachment, and produce all the preliminary inconveniences from which I know not who can be exempted. If the speech we have here in print was really spoken in the Lords' House as it is printed, and shall pass without any reprehension, or so much as an explanation, I know not why any subject should wonder at anything said of him or to him. It is plain out of whose shop the articles you marked came, and it is visible here that the merchant has still great credit with his partners.

This westerly wind has carried over Murphy with a number of witnesses; and Geoghegan since his imprisonment has accused my Lord Carlingford, Col. Garret Moore, and one Nugent of treason. That the title of the King's evidence may not only defend him from punishment here but help him into England, where he hopes for more favour than here, where he is best known, and to make his presence there the more necessary, he now desires to be examined against the Lord Molyneux. This is evidently his drift, but how safe it may be to find or affirm it to be so I cannot judge. You have duplicates sent you of all that is transmitted to my Lord Sunderland concerning him, Murphy, Fitzgerald and Dowling, which make a large packet. This shall be all of this letter. Copies of two letters sent from the Board to my Lord Sunderland about Ja. Geoghegan and Murphy, dat. 8 Janry., 1680. Four copies of safe conduct, etc., for Tyrrell, titular Bishop of Clogher, to come in and declare what he knows of the Plot at the instance of Owen Murphy.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 10. London.—I stopped the bearer's journey one day, having notice that the Parliament was to be prorogued this day, which it accordingly was this morning until the 20th instant. The House of Commons took it so high that they have passed several angry votes, and those of the other hand who were against the Bill of Exclusion are afraid this is an expedient to have that Bill brought in again, and those who venture to oppose it to be ruined. I cannot learn whether the King intends that or a dissolution, and therefore I will not stay Poule any longer, my desire in it being that I might write the more freely without troubling your Grace with cypher. I had some discourse the other day with my Lord Essex, and thinking it a convenient opportunity I told him I heard there were articles drawn up against you and that his Lordship was acquainted with them and promoted the thing, which I thought was not very fair play, and that if I would make it my business I could find mis-carriages in his government. He disowned absolutely his

having any hand in such a thing or that he knew of anybody else that had such a design, which put an end to our discourse.

My Lord Chamberlain showed me a letter from your Grace of the 3rd instant, but I have had none since the 21st of the last.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 11. London.—Since I writ yesterday by Poule I had altogether four letters from your Grace, and with them several papers relating to Geogheghan, whose actions, when one compares what was sent here before and came to me yesterday, will in my opinion exceed all that Clancy ever did; yet if the Parliament were now sitting and knew how you have proceeded with him, I am confident they would have resolved it a discouraging of the King's evidence, especially in the humour the House of Commons were yesterday in. *It is believed generally this Parliament will sit no more, and those who are great at Court in a manner declare as much,* and therefore the answers to the articles intended against you may rest awhile; besides, upon comparing together what I hear of all sides, I conclude the House of Commons intended only an address against you, and that for not being vigorous enough against the Papists occasioned by the many relations you have amongst them, for none of the sober men will allow of any article of your being either a Papist or in the Plot. A great part of the extract you sent of Dr. Oates his examinations I had collected out of the narrative that lies entered in our books, which he having sworn to there makes it matter of record, or else the printed narrative if occasion had happened would have done no good, as it was found upon my Lord Stafford's trial, Turbervill's printed deposition and what he swore before the Court differing in a material part. Therefore I was very glad to find what related to you entered there. Upon the whole matter there is scarce anybody that knows you, though never so much your enemy, thinks you guilty of anything criminal, and therefore if you are to be given up to them all that can be said for you or said by you will not avail. What to advise you to in this conjuncture is past my skill. My Lord Chamberlain is of opinion to have you set on foot again the calling of a Parliament in Ireland, and to that purpose will inform you himself of his mind. He is very fond of going on with the match still, though he showed me your letter to him of the 3rd, which I had not then received a copy of, my letters coming later to hand than those at Court. His lady, I suppose, has made my sister Ossory much for it, too, for she seemed very much to approve of the matter two days since.

My Lord Brittas as it happens has played the wisest part, now the Parliament is prorogued, for the other gentlemen being committed for treason by the peers, and my Lord Tyrone

being impeached before the peers, cannot have the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Bill. Cornet Colt, as he was walking in the streets yesterday, was chosen second by Mr. Oglethorp, who killed his man, one Captain Richardson, and the Cornet hurt his man, Captain Churchill, which makes him post away. I find Colt justified by everybody. Lord Hounsden was another, for they fought three to three, he was likewise ill hurt ; he was of the same side with the principal that was killed.

THOMAS FAIRFAX to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-81, Jan. 11. Dublin.—I writ to your Lordship two or three posts about Ensign Muschamp and Ensign Forbes, and therein begged your Lordship's pleasure concerning that affair, and I do now again, if your Lordship thinks fit, desire the same favour. The good company I am often with remember your Lordship continually and ask me almost every post some tidings. Therefore (though I know your Lordship must be very busy in such a hurry of affairs as now are), yet if I may have now and then a line it would not be amiss. My Lord Duke went yesterday to the Exchange and bought a whole cupboard of plate, which cost at least 50*l.*, for Lady Charlotte. Lord Tullow says positive your Lordship has forgot him, and bid me put Papa in mind on't. God be thanked, he is very well and the finest little Lord in Christendom, and my Lord Duke and Lady Duchess are exceedingly fond of him, as they have all the reason in the world ; he is very fond of a match, but it had need be a strong one. We are expecting from you every day what will become of us, God send all go right ; but let it go which way it will I shall for ever be, etc.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 15. London.—I had your Grace's letter of the 6th on Thursday last and one by Mr. Coote of the same date, which I shall answer by him, who tells me he returns within two days. I showed your letter to my Lord Sunderland according to command, but he has now as little interest at Court and is as little regarded as ever any fallen minister was, and seems exceedingly mortified ; yet I think it proper your dispatches should be directed to him until His Majesty order the contrary, though I intend in any matter of moment to speak to the King myself, since his Lordship intends not to peruse any papers relating to Ireland before he send them to the Council.

I find my Lord Conway does still insist much upon his nephew's having the troop resigned to him, and believes him one of the finest gentlemen in Europe, and nobody dares undeceive him. I showed him that paragraph which concerned that matter in yours of 31 December, and he is much satisfied with it, and has upon it writ to his brother, who it

seems writ his Lordship a discontented letter, grounded, I believe, upon some mistake of my Lord Granard's; and it seems there is another mistake amongst the officers there, which is that the King gives leave to any officers of horse to sell their employments. If you have any such letter it is contrary to His Majesty's intentions, and you may choose whether you will conform to it or no. All that His Majesty ordered was that those officers, both horse and foot, who resolved not to make their residence in Ireland chiefly should have leave within three months to sell their employments to such as His Majesty or you approved or else to lose them. I have been twice at the office to see a copy of the letter, but could not find it, matters are so managed there; therefore I shall trouble the office but little. I have been several times with my cousin Hamilton about her son before we could agree upon what was fittest for him to do, and yesterday she is come to a fixed resolution that her son should buy an employment here, so that the colours you intended for him your Grace may dispose of elsewhere. It is my desire that gentlemen of the best quality should supply such vacancies. I have employed one to Col. Russell to deal for my cousin, for I hear he has a command or two to sell, and the price rises and falls as in other markets, for a brother of Mandeville's, of the county of Tipperary, who is a Protestant, and served well abroad, I recommended to him but a fortnight since, and his money could not reach one. I think I writ above six weeks ago on behalf of Mr. Buck, who had sold his Clerk of the Dockets place to Mr. Ellis upon engagement to change the lives. If the matter be not done accordingly Mr. Buck's executors must pay 1,000 guineas back to Ellis, which will be great inconvenience to them. I will not interpose too far lest it may concern your faithful and honest servant Hen. Gascoigne. As I was making up this I had brought me yours of the 9th with all the remaining copies of examinations which should have come last post. These, with what has been sent me before, swell to such a bulk that the perusing them has made my head turn round almost as much as the Commons have made Sir John Davys's. I will next opportunity find how the King stands inclined towards Sir Joseph. My Lord Lanesborough writ upon the same subject to my Lord Chamberlain a pretty while ago, which letter he showed me, but it seems he chose a wrong man, for my Lord thinks he has not behaved himself towards him as he ought in gratitude due have done, and therefore would give Sir George no encouragement in the matter. I doubt not but you have found long ere this that the speech you mention was burnt by the hand of the hangman, and the printer ordered to be proceeded against at law. The Lord who was suspected to have spoke did not say all that was there, but took liberty enough. Toby Purcell is gone from hence in the stage coach, he is very much commended by all the officers

for his diligence and courage, therefore pray be kind to him and do me the favour to let him know I have writ on his behalf, for I promised to write by him, but was not at home when he called for his letter the night before he went away, though I had one for him. I have so much work upon my hands now and have nobody to help me that I hope my Lord Longford will not persecute me with cipher. Hethrington and David Fitzgerald are at open wars before the Board, and I take part as much as I do appear with the latter, whom I am sorry has not all the proofs against that fellow he might be furnished with on that side, but he will prove him rogue enough.

ORMOND to SIR JOHN DAVYS.

1680-81, Jan. 15. Dublin.—I have received two of yours from London; your last of the 28th of December left you in such a condition as gives me much impatience to know what was reported to the House of Commons in your affair, and what resolution it produced. I do not conceive that your case can receive determination in that place, or that there can be matter sufficient alleged and proved against you for either address or impeachment, which are or should be acts of solemnity and well grounded, else they may lose much of their weight. There comes to us every post some new offers of discovery, most of them from the county of Limerick, yet they begin to spread into the county of Galway; as fast as they are brought to any maturity they are and shall be transmitted to my Lord Sunderland and copies of them to my son Arran, who will impart them to you as he finds you at leisure. Our last letters out of England bear date the 1st of January. Much change there may be since then, upon which our peace and proceedings will depend. I know nothing I can do here or write from hence that can be of use to you; if I did you should not want it or anything that may manifest my being, etc.

EARL OF CONWAY to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 15. London.—My Lord of Arran hath acquainted me with your Grace's favour in consenting that my brother Rawdon shall transfer his troop to his son, by which your Grace hath laid the greatest obligation upon me in the world, and I believe my nephew is as hopeful a youth as any in that kingdom, and will be as ready to serve the King and your Grace.

I know your Grace hath heard of the late prorogation and intended dissolution, and what is to be done next. I told my Lord of Arran that I thought nothing so necessary in this juncture for the King's service and the good of Ireland as the present calling a Parliament there. 'Tis certain they will be loyal, though my Lord Shaftesbury and my Lord Essex will influence some, and my Lord Burlington, who hath not

gone with them this session in English affairs, will go with them in Irish affairs. But if the King should call for any of his forces there I do not see how your Grace can keep up an army, which is only capable to secure that kingdom, without a Parliament that must give money, and will certainly provide for the peace and safety of Ireland. I have discourse of this with others who are conversant in the King's affairs, and when the King hath made a regulation in his Court and Council, I believe it will find no difficulty here. In the meantime if I receive any commands from your Grace I shall obey them and as long as I live I shall study by all manner of service to shew your Grace that I esteem myself obliged to be, etc.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680-81, January 15.—It is not forgetfulness of my duty which has withheld me from making frequent addresses to your Excellency, but the fear of being rude and troublesome. At present the King having declared his purpose to meet his Parliament in this place, which is under your Excellency's patronage, I conceive it may not be undecent to give your Excellency an account thereof, and withal to assure you that all possible care shall be taken to do everything that may become us upon the occasion, and suit with our concern that your Honour may not suffer in our miscarriage. My Lord Ossory, I hope, does everything that may give your Excellency satisfaction and alleviate your cares for the public by the comfort which you receive from his virtue and industry, and prospect of your families flourishing in future generations. My Lord Courcy, who has long depended upon your Excellency's charity for his support, is now grown up to be capable of a farther instance of it by being brought into the world. I the rather mention this now, because I understand that he has several Papist relations in the Court, and possibly there may be others whose example may be as pernicious as their opinions. I beg your Excellency's pardon for this freedom.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 16. London.—Mr. Coote informing me this night in the drawing-room that he was to go for Ireland to-morrow, I would not let him go without a letter, though I writ at large last night, and have not much to say in answer to the letter he brought me from you concerning my nephew. I have been with my sister Cavendish since I received it and she tells me that the Duke of Newcastle has four daughters unmarried and none of them tolerably handsome but one; the estate it is likely will be divided amongst his five daughters, but then my Lord Devonshire will think he has hard measure, for there was a promise betwixt the two fathers that their paternal estates for want of heirs males should fall to the surviving heir, and my Lord

Devonshire's is so settled. My Lord Chamberlain, notwithstanding what you writ, will, I am sure, take it ill if any overture should be made until he has spoken with his kinsman, and he says and has satisfied my sister Ossory that advances now will be made of their side. You may be sure of the Duke of Newcastle's daughter when you please. I cannot learn yet whether the Parliament will meet or no, but by Tuesday's post without doubt we shall know.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 18. London.—This day His Majesty, having ordered the calling an extraordinary Council, was pleased to declare his resolution of dissolving this present Parliament and calling another, and thereupon gave order for a proclamation for the immediate dissolving this and for the appointing a new Parliament on the 21st of March next to meet at Oxford. The Earl of Salisbury debating against it was silenced by His Majesty, upon which his Lordship desiring leave to withdraw himself, the King answered he could not make any request that would be more easily granted, and ordered his Lordship's name to be struck out of the Council Book.

This day three letters with several enclosed examinations from your Grace and Council of Ireland were communicated to the Board by the Earl of Sunderland. To that which concerned Geoghegan, alias Dalton, their Lordships have ordered a letter to be writ from the Board to your Grace to proceed against him there for his misdemeanours with the utmost severity of the law, and to the examinations contained in the other two letters they have appointed a day for the Committee of Examinations to meet to consider them. I do propose myself the honour of very speedily kissing your Grace's hands in Ireland

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 18. London.—This day the King has ordered in Council that this Parliament should be dissolved and that another should be called the 28th of March next to meet at Oxford, upon which, as I am informed by a Privy Councillor, my Lord Salisbury has quitted his place in Council. What measures will be taken after this I will learn as well as I can. Sir William Courtenay was at the Council door to prefer a petition to His Majesty for the sitting of the Parliament at the time appointed in behalf of the county of Devon, but the sudden dissolution hindered the delivery of it. I believe I shall send over this post a letter for Sir Joseph Williamson's being of the Council in Ireland, for the King has consented to it with a great deal of kindness to him, and Secretary Jenkins has promised to set His Majesty's hand to the letter this night and have it entered at the Signet Office before the post goes away. The Irish witnesses brought over

lately by Hethrington's orders were this day attending the Board, but were not called in; to-morrow they will be examined, as I am informed by a Committee of the Board., I cannot yet tell what course to steer myself by, but shall follow your directions, though you are at such a distance.

LORD CLARE to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 18. Carrigaholt.—Having lately had some discourse with Mr. Donough O'Brien of Dogh, my cousin german, and one of the most solid and considerable gentlemen of this county, I endeavoured to persuade him to tell me what he knew of the Popish designs these years past, assuring myself that if they had any in our country he must needs know it. But I could find no more from him than what is in the enclosed copy, which, however, I thought fit to send your Grace; in regard I know Brady to be the most eminent, zealous and most knowing man of his order in this kingdom, and that nothing of the Papists' designs here could be hid from him, and that I believe had he not an opinion of my cousin to be a man that loves his quiet and the world as he calls it, he would have told him more, his work being to be carried on only by men elevated in the spirit or desperate fellows. His saying there were Papists in every county to characterize the faithful and the disposition of the people shows plainly there was a Popish design in hand to be executed either at the King's death or before. This being my opinion and that really there was a design to subvert the government, as I intimated to His Majesty about ten year ago, made me send this little information to your Grace, being likewise persuaded that many considerable gentlemen of our country will be ingenious, and discover the particulars of it if the Parliament continues sitting in England, for I am certain nothing dissuades them but the daily hopes they have to hear it is either dissolved or prorogued, and that their Popish favourites will return again to Court, which makes me humbly pray your Grace to move His Majesty for the continuance of this sessions in England, that now or never Popery may be extinguished in this kingdom for good and all.

I am certain that if the course I presumed to propose ten years ago to His Majesty were taken, most of the youth of Ireland had ere now conformed with the Church. I was then well hampered for my pains by the Popish party as your Grace knows, yet I will never cease to urge that matter at all times I see hopes of being heard. It is in vain to think that we and our posterity can live with safety under a Protestant Government in this kingdom, if Popery be not wholly extinguished in it; the doing of it by halves will not secure us, it leaves us exposed to all Popish Princes that quarrels with England. And yet this mischief may in few years be prevented by banishing of their priests, which with the loss

of all hopes of their favourites becoming again great at Court would soon bring them to conform. But while they have such hopes no law or punishment will bring them to it. Nay, few magistrates will be forward to see the law executed, as we find by experience. We are in greater danger than they are in England; yet if they clear the fountain we shall have wholesome streams, which makes me again most humbly beg your Grace to move His Majesty that the Parliament may continue sitting until we find out to the full this infernal Popish conspiracy which hath been in this kingdom, and which doubtless will be made out clearly if the Parliament sits for some reasonable time longer in England.

My Lord, I was hitherto silent like the burnt child that dreads the fire. I despaired of the Parliament's sitting long, and of the suppression of that strong party of Papists I saw in England (I fear them still), and I was glad to draw in my horns and retire to this solitary shell, being very sensible I have not parts to represent the danger I saw and I see still we are in, having had scarce two words of English at the King's restoration; however, my zeal to preserve the interest I profess hath put me long ago upon showing my weakness in writing to His Majesty, as it does now to your Grace. But no man will be more ready to venture his life in the Kings' service than I will be whenever your Grace is pleased to command.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-81, Jan. 18. Dublin.—Three of yours came this day, the last was of the 11th, but Mulys if he went not out of the way to Knowsley rides not fast, else he might have been here with the packets. There is no return to be made to anything you have writ, nor anything new from hence. Some additional account of Geoghegan's extravagances you will soon have; whether credit will be given to them or to him I know not, but truth shall be told; and yet I dare not, though it be manifest, say that most of our new discoverers give more discredit than confirmation to the plot. It is well that I am not like to be charged for a plotter or a Papist. That I have Popish relations is no more my fault than it was the first Reformers that they had so, and I suppose that the vote that there has been and is still a horrid Popish plot on foot is so resolved from the examinations and witnesses I sent over. And when what has been done against the Papists both clergy and laity shall be considered (as possibly it never will), I know not what could be done more. An address is a softer way than an impeachment; but being commonly in general terms it affords no means of vindication, and in that respect is worse than an impeachment, but since I am not to choose I submit to either as it shall please God to order it. I am sorry Cornet Colt makes haste hither upon the account he doth. You may assure Sir John Davys that neither he nor

Bolton shall suffer by their absence. My Lord Sunderland by the King's command hath written for two witnesses, Fitzgerald and Downey, who were well on their way to London before I received the letter; but I yet hear nothing of leaving such as shall be sent for at Chester. It is too early yet to think of, at least to propose what my Lord Chamberlain mentions. The proper season has been unhappily slipt over against all the representations I could make, and I have suffered undeserved mortifications for making them, and that from those that have shown themselves to be unworthy of the credit that was given them. The dispositions of men here are much changed from what they were, and yet I think steadiness on that side would do much towards bringing us here to our former temper. But if the Court, the Papists and the fanatics drive one way he must be mad that stands in their way, and this has been the case. As to the match for my grandson it must come very fairly and with great present advantage, if I entertain any further motion concerning it.

ORMOND to LORD CLARE.

1680-81, Jan. 22. Dublin.—I have received your Lordship's of the 18th inst., and the information of Mr. Donough O'Brien, of Dogh, and though the information would of itself seem to be of small moment, yet in conjunction with other evidence and circumstances and considering the quality of Mr. O'Brien and the temper you say he is of, it may confirm the truth and reality of a plot, and therefore I earnestly desire your lordship to make use of your utmost interest and industry to make a further and more particular discovery of the Papists' designs against His Majesty, his Government and the Protestant religion. In the meantime I shall make the best use I can of the other parts of your Lordship's letter, tho' before you can receive this letter you will have heard that the Parliament is or was prorogued, and that it is probable it is by this time resolved when it shall meet again. Your lordship mentions not whether Brady the Friar be in Ireland or no; if he be it would be of the greatest importance to have him apprehended, and I recommend it to your Lordship's care. I shall represent your zeal and diligence in this conjuncture to His Majesty.

ORMOND to the KING.

1680-81, Jan. 22. Dublin.—Yesterday I received the original of the enclosed copy from my [Lord of] Clare,* together with the information of Mr. Donough O'Brien; the contents of the letter are of such a nature that I hold it my duty to transmit the copy of it immediately to your own hands, supposing it probable that the Lord of Clare may have sent another to somebody else. Your Majesty best knows what use to make of the original (which in the meantime shall

* See p. 556 *supra*.

be safely kept) and what further to command me concerning it. I send your Majesty likewise a copy of the information, and of my answer to that Lord. God direct your Majesty through all the difficulties before you.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 22. London.—I sent your Grace by the last packet Sir Joseph Williamson's letter to be sworn a privy councillor there, but sent it after my other letters were gone, the Signet Office having not dispatched it till after nine at night. The talk about the town is that my Lord Sunderland is to part with his secretary's place; the candidates are Sir William Temple, Mr. Finch and Sir Thomas Littleton, and some say Mr. Seymour. I have spoke to the King several times about recruiting the Scots companies that are in Ireland, and he still promised to send his commands to raise them in Scotland by beat of drum, without which they are not to be had, and it is not certain whether they can be raised that way neither; so that I inclined to have them rather supplied out of the north of Ireland, for the beating drums in this conjuncture may be of bad consequence, and the being without their complement is ill also.

His Majesty has commanded my attendance this next Parliament and continues the same commands to you as he gave me for you at my first coming hither, and sent your Grace since by my Lord Longford. Mr. Gwyn goes next week for Ireland, and my Lord Chamberlain; he and I are to meet the day before he goes to discourse of matters, that he may inform you that by word of mouth which may be difficult for his lordship or me to write. I have thoughts whether I stay the Parliament's meeting or no to take a trip into Ireland if you approve of it; yet whatever you may conclude on that side, matters may so alter when my back is turned as may make those measures you may prudently take impracticable when I return. There came the other day about 25 witnesses out of Ireland under the conduct of Owen Murphy and the messenger Wilks brought Maurice Fitzgerald and Murtagh Dowling; the former, I am told, disowns the printed information upon which we made that brisk vote concerning there being a plot in Ireland.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1 Jan. 25. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 18th and this morning that of the 10th by Mulys. If it was good to dissolve the last Parliament and so soon to call another I think the place of sitting well chosen; but for the present I suppose it determines the question of calling a Parliament here. I desire you to deliver the packet enclosed herewith into the King's hands as soon after you receive it as you can have an opportunity, and let the seals be well

observed, for I find a packet of mine was opened in December last and a ring of 50*l.* taken out of it, for which I am to pay. I think you ought to stay till the Parliament meets, then you may expect fair weather without doors whatever it may be within; but this with submission to the King's pleasure, which you may inform yourself by desiring to know it. If you come away whatever my Lord of Shaftesbury shall say in the House touching Ireland upon the falsest information will pass for current truth, and hasty resolves may be made upon it such as may be of considerable prejudice to the King's service, if my reputation or continuance in this Government be of any importance to it. In case His Majesty would have you stay, if you can have any tolerable conveniency I think you should take your wife with you, Oxford being so far in your way hither. There is time enough to think of the match for James; that my Lord Chamberlain proposed is in a good posture. If it comes on from the other side I will not say but that the advantages may be such as I may close with it.

If the King have a mind to gratify any of the officers of his army here with leave to stay longer in England than my order allows, let it be privately signified to me by one of the secretaries, and it shall be complied with; but a formal public letter will draw importunity upon him and prejudice upon the discipline of the army.

Toby Purcell is not yet come; when he arrives he shall know of your kindness to him. A notorious Tory in Munster being ready to be sent by my lord of Orrery to prison, and at last actually perhaps too hastily sent thither by his lordship, offers at great discoveries and names many persons as guilty of the Plot, but orders will go this night for his setting at liberty and for protecting him in his way hither. The fellow's name is Henaghan, as I think in times past an attorney in the Presidency Court, but since that was suppressed turned robber. He has put his tale as well together as any of this country.

ANONYMOUS to ORMOND.

1680, January 25.—The quality your lordship has in this monarchy and the place you hold in Ireland obliges me to give your Grace a short and true account of our condition here that you may the better know how to take your measures. How the Parliament came to be prorogued and afterwards dissolved I suppose your Grace may be informed by other hands, but it may not be inconvenient to take things a little higher, that your Grace may know as well the foundations wherein our babel was built as the form and figure of the building itself. In the Parliament preceding the last there was a Bill offered for the exclusion of the Duke in the House of Commons which was contrived, managed and prosecuted by the Earl of Shaftesbury and a party of his in that

House, but the dependents of the Duke of Monmouth did so visibly appear in it that a just jealousy was thence taken of him by His R.H., but in that Bill there was an acknowledgment of his highness being the presumptive heir of the Crown, which was innocently inserted by those that knew not the mystery, but the cabal were well enough contented to have that Parliament broke to mend that flaw in another. In the meantime several traverses happened which will take up too much time to repeat. The Duke had heard of some practises set on foot by the Monmouthians to prove a marriage betwixt the King and the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and he unnecessarily thereupon put His Majesty upon declarations against it in Council, which rather animated than discouraged the party, for the people had conceived such a terror of the approaches of Popery, and consequently of the Duke's succeeding to the Crown, that they were apt enough to embrace any title to be secured against them. The Duke of Monmouth was suffered without check to go from place to place and county to county and was met and caressed like an heir apparent, whilst some thought the King by being so passive at it was not therewith displeased. In the meantime the Court became much divided. The Duchess of Portsmouth upon some resentment against the Duchess of York for a conceived slight of her was resolved to ruin the Duke. Godly Godolphin being enamoured and intoxicated with Mrs. Buckley was trusted to manage the intrigue. Sunderland in opinion of the omnipotent power of the Duchess closed in it, and by means of Sir William Temple (the chief statesman of them all) Sir H. Capel was the instrument to beget correspondence betwixt them and Shaftesbury, Montague, Lord Russell, Titus, Sir William Jones, Wil. Herbert and Sir Francis Winnington, who were the chief managers of the Commons in the last Parliament. They had others fell in with them, as Sir Nich. Cary, Boscawen, Vernon of Derbyshire, Hamden, Hotham, and other hot and violent conductors, Garaway, Sacheverill, Clarges, Birch, Hawell [? Stawell] and others, who were men thought warm enough at other times had now no vogue. A Bill was brought in to exclude the Duke, wherein no mention was made of his being presumptive heir of the Crown, nor would it be admitted to be added to it by amendment, nor any salvo to his children by name as was moved and pressed, but all left so ambiguous that the Duke of Monmouth, if the King died before him, might make his pretensions. The Bill passed the Commons with scarce two negatives, not any of those of the Privy Council in that House except Lionel Jenkins and Lory Hyde having courage to oppose it. The Lord Cavendish was for it, but took occasion sometimes to shew his dislike of the violence and virulence of the prosecutors, and once he inveighed against French mistresses, and said he doubted of the success of their endeavours, because they ought not to prosecute any actions

though in themselves just, by unjust means. When the Bill came to the Lords it was there rejected. Sunderland appeared for it and so did Privy Seal, but Halifax withstood all opposition and answered all objections made to support it, and in this conflict Essex, who had hitherto been his friend, went over to Shaftesbury and voted for the Bill, and the Duke of Monmouth contrary to the advice of his friends spoke against it in terms too indecent for his circumstances. This miscarriage of the Bill exasperated the party so much that an insurrection was feared, but the party were encouraged by Portsmouth to persist with assurance of success, and then there was a private bargain struck, Jones was to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Winnington Attorney General, Montague an Earl or Marquis, Lord Russell the Government of Portsmouth, Hamden a Privy Councillor, Titus Secretary of State, Capel restored to the Admiralty, and Holms (?) Secretary to that Commission. Shaftesbury was left out, which made him arraign and protest against the whole business; Halifax and Seymour were no parties to this matter, and to be removed from the Court, the first by an address and sharp votes, the other by an impeachment. These proceedings were aggravated by the daily alarms of the dangers of Popery and the progress of a plot in Ireland to massacre the English and introduce the arms of France. Your Grace had occasionally many reflections on your Government and the Lord Chancellor talked of as a great favourer of the Romish religion. They said that when the King was restored there were but forty Popish priests in Ireland, and these removed to the Islands of Arran and no blood shed to effect it, but only a resolute proclamation to give 5*l.* to any that discovered a priest (which was also the price of a wolf's head) and a strict practise of sending them when discovered to Arran Isles made them all rather quit that kingdom than go thither; but upon your Grace's first admittance to that Government seventeen or eighteen years ago above ten thousand of that brood flocked thither and are still there, which does not only give life to all their plots, but so weakens and impoverishes the people that they are almost in a starving condition. They said moreover that in Cromwell's time, when the priests were put from the people, and Protestant ministers were found out to preach to them in Irish, and the statute of ninepence a Sunday imposed on all that avoided the Church, Popery began so much to decline that in seven years there would have been little of it left in that kingdom, and the like proceedings again would have the like effects. The great heat in the House of Commons made many hope the King would have sent to command the Duke to be informed in the Protestant religion, but it was not done, and some (upon, I hope, groundless opinion) said privately in Court the King had so encouraged him in it and was himself heretofore so well persuaded of that religion that he durst not do it. Friday, the 7th of January, was a hot

day in the House of Commons, the leaders there had purpose to vote the Chancellor, Privy Seal, Radnor, Halifax and Hyde evil counsellors and to be removed from the King's presence. They began with Halifax and Hyde, but others were by accidental motions introduced against the sense of the managers, whereby the three first escaped, but it was pleasant to see how the faction writhed when Portsmouth was named, and Sir William Jones was fain to use more art than honesty to save her; but if it had not been very late at night and the members had been fasting she had been irredeemably routed. This day's debate produced a resolution in the King to prorogue the Parliament on Monday following, which was the 9th, to the 20th. And on the 18th, two days before it was to sit, His Majesty declared in Council that it should be dissolved. The Earl of Salisbury stood up in Council to speak against it, but was not admitted to it, and when he desired to withdraw it was not only permitted to him, but he was struck out of the Council also. Essex muttered and Sir Robert Carr stood up to move, but would not be suffered to speak. Halifax was not there, and the next day all the advice of this counsel was imputed in the city to him, Arlington and Hyde, but the contrary afterwards appeared, and Seymour has the honour to be the sole patron of it, in conjunction, as some think, with Danby, whereby the mediation of old St. Albans is thought to be closed with him. The late leaders of the Commons think Portsmouth betrayed them. Sunderland was yesterday put out of the Council, and Essex and Sir William Temple with him. Conway is made Secretary of State; what will be the fate of Godolphin I know not. I pray God there be no money from France.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Jan. 25. London.—I had yesterday your Grace's of the 18th and thought it proper in this conjuncture to show to the King, who was pleased to say upon the latter clause of it that I might see by what he did and intended to do that the Court should not drive any more that way. My Lord Sunderland is turned out of his employments and my Lord Conway is believed to be the man that will succeed him in his secretary's place. My Lord Essex and Sir William Temple were dismissed the Council; it seems I was much mistaken in my last letter in my intelligence concerning Sir William.

There was this day an address or petition delivered to His Majesty by ten of the peers and signed by fifteen. If I can remember the names I will enclose them. The address was much to the purpose the City's was, only they desired the Parliament might meet at Westminster, or else they could not freely give their advice. It will be in print without doubt before the next post, and then it will be sent you; it is much higher than ever the peers went in the Long

Parliament. Within a few days they say the King will turn out some of his bedchamber, but I cannot write this for a certainty. My Lord Halifax went this day into the country, and said he intended not to leave it until the meeting of the Parliament. Sir James Butler desires me to put you in mind of the business he wrote to you about concerning Sir John Poyntz, for some answer or other will be expected from you this term. I mentioned something of the same business upon the widow's desire above a month since.

ORMOND to the KING.

1680-1, January 28. Dublin.—Sir Robert Walsh has ever since I last came into this kingdom attempted to provoke me to a correspondence with him, but I have still declined it by making no return to very many letters I have received from him. He then betook himself to my secretary, Henry Gascoigne, and many letters he directed to him with desire they might be imparted to me, but neither that way had he any encouragement to give himself that trouble, yet by the last post he directed one to [Gas]coigne, which seems to me to give some light to my Lord [of Clar]re's letter to me, of which I sent Your Majesty a copy with mine of the 22 of this month. If Sir Robert being with Mr. Secretary Jenkins was to inform him of what he came to know I presume the intelligence is or will be driven as far as it is fit it should go. However, I thought it fit for me to send your Majesty a transcript of so much of the letter as relates to my Lord of Clare's correspondence. [Encloses the following letter.]

SIR ROBERT WALSH to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1680-81, Jan. 22—You see I cannot leave still giving you the trouble of my scribbles, yet perhaps the tenents of the enclosed may not be disregarded. The best of your kingdom, I am confident, will not for the most part disallow therein. It's not yet cried, as most prints be. Everything having its time, I only excepted.

Here happened lately an accident : a letter from the country addressed unto Lord Shaftesbury and one therein to Lord Salisbury. The letters dropt in the carriage, and being found and taken up by a porter, being opened they were brought unto a neighbour the next door to me, one that lived in the King's Head in the Budge Row, a cook, in whose house I often in those days waited upon a great good man at the eating of many good leg a mutton. You wonder why I bring this story *sur le tapis* ; but to come to our former chapter. These letters as formerly addressed were brought to be read unto one Dutton, the son of him of the King's Head in Budge Row, who lives right over here against my lodging in the White Friars. He coming to see me and used to receive any letter addressed to me, as sometimes some are to his

house, the Bull Head in White Friars, he comes to communicate unto me these letters writ from Ireland by the Earl of Clare, wherein he declares some things as being plottish, which I touch not now upon; he much wonders how slowly he hears from their lordships projected games are coming into play. I was yesternight, after Dutton's going from me, with Sir Leonell Jenkins, a most civil, well understanding bred man and a person fit to be a State Secretary. If ever I had got the report on the King's reference unto you there I am confident that this secretary would have served me. He knows civility, and when justice is in the case requisite. I cannot say as much of some upstarts, for whom, if I could from that country have but my own or fair dealing from them of that your nation I would not value at a f. some that out of nothing are raised to something, and now would hardly acknowledge him that made them. So God bless his Grace. If you may think of favouring me with a line, address it to Mr. Dutton at the Bull Head, in White Friars, for S.R., Janry. 22th.

Postscript.—The last post day I sent you a packet in which was one for my Lord Ossory, and one for H.G. And a particular little one for yourself in order, as so was superscribed, for His Majesty's Service, which I hope you have observed in a bumper. If you would say by a line I have received yours you would do yourself no wrong, and would do me right, my honest dear Harry, so I bid you good-night. My duty unto her Grace pray present, and service to your good lady. Lord Stafford's trial and circumstances I wish I could as easily send you. It's 40 sheets in folio.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680—1, Jan. 29. London.—It is not yet declared who will succeed my Lord Sunderland in his employment of secretary, but it is still generally believed that my Lord Conway will be the man. He professes the greatest kindness imaginable to your Grace and myself, but most do think that my Lord Ranelagh will have that employment in time thrown up to him. I have nothing worth your trouble this post, but what you will find in the prints. The answer to my Lord Essex's speech and the Lords' petition in my judgment is very well writ. My Lord Burlington desires very much that the Scots Companies should be removed from his town of Youghal; what his quarrel to them is I can't imagine. I told him that the time of year was very improper, so that he does not expect it until spring. Jack St. Leger is the busiest man about the Irish witnesses next to Hethrington in all this town, as I am very credibly informed, and I believe the messengers at their return into Ireland will inform you as much. I desire that you would hereafter order

your letters to me to be directed to Secretary Jenkins his office, for I shall receive them sometimes twenty-four hours sooner that way than the other. When the other secretary is declared I will receive His Majesty's commands to whom your Grace should direct your dispatches.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 29. London.—I intended to have had the honour of kissing your Grace's hands in Ireland instead of this letter, but the uncertainty of affairs here persuaded me (together with my Lord of Arran's opinion) to stop my journey till I might be better enabled to give your Grace an account of the posture we are in; but the more particular reason was the discourse of my Lord of Conway's succeeding my Lord Sunderland in the office of Secretary of State, which though all conclude will be, yet is not yet done. Mr. Weld is upon his journey into Ireland and brings with him the order of Council appointing myself and him the other two commissioners for managing the revenue, who are to be continued with salary upon the establishment, which for my part I should have not so heartily pressed but that I had assurance of your Grace's kind inclinations towards me.

I suppose your Grace hath received an account of my Lord of Essex delivering the petition against the sitting of the Parliament at Oxford, with his Lordship's success therein, which was being removed out of the Lord Lieutenancy of Hertfordshire, and the Lord Bridgewater's being put in his place, his Lordship, the Lord Sunderland and Sir William Temple being before that removed out of the Council, and their places supplied by my Lord Oxford, Lord Chesterfield and Lord Ailesbury. Here is likewise great discourse of the removal of the Earl of Macklesfeld, Earl of Manchester and Earl of Suffolk out of the Bedchamber; but till my Lord Sunderland hath the seals taken from him men seem not to believe it, and in short everybody seems at present more in suspense than they were four days ago. Here hath lately happened a great quarrel between Sir Henry Ingoldsby and Mr. David FitzGerald, which upon complaint of Mr. Justice Warcup was referred to the Lord Ailesbury, executing the place of Earl Marshal, to compose and prevent any further inconvenience.

Mr. Williams, likewise Speaker of the late Parliament, making oath in the King's Bench that Sir Robert Peyton had lately been at his chamber and demanded satisfaction of him in discourse for a paper (which was dispersed abroad in the coffee-houses under the title of Mr. Speaker's speech to Sir Robert Peyton when he was discharged the House), which he did interpret was intended a challenge, and transmitting the said oath to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, who brought it before the Board yesterday. The Council was pleased to send Sir Robert Peyton to the Tower by their warrant

expressing for giving a challenge to Williams, Speaker of the late Parliament.

I do propose to myself as soon as matters are in any settlement here to wait upon your Grace in Ireland, and in the meantime humbly beg your Grace's favour in relation to my employment there.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Jan. 31. Dublin.—Sir Phil. Lloyd gave me notice that upon what was represented hence concerning Geoghegan I should have order to proceed against him with all the severity the law would allow; but though there be a post since arrived I have no such order. I hope their mind is not changed, if it be it were well they would direct how he shall be treated. If the above mentioned order be not sent away inform yourself upon what account it is stopped, for though the fellow be not worth a rope, yet something may be collected from what shall be ordered concerning him. I have hitherto suffered no check to be imposed upon the defective men in the remaining five Scotch companies, intending that by the benefit of allowing it to them they should at their own charge fill up their companies. But I can hear of no progress they have made towards it, though the Lt. Col. has been a good while in Scotland, and I begin to doubt that men will not be had thence with or without beating drums till the rest of the regiment be returned from Tangier, nor yet in the north of Ireland for fear of being sent thither. But it seems hard that when a plot is voted to be here, and whilst out of Munster we are so hotly alarmed, and whilst really the Protestants of this kingdom may be in greater danger than ever from the exasperation of the Papists, and their apprehension that it is intended to extirpate them and their religion, I say it is hard that in such a case and conjuncture we may not have means to fill up the army to the establishment with English or with Scotch Protestants, since if it were filled it is too little to secure all the important places in the kingdom.

As far off as the meeting of the Parliament is, I thought it not amiss to send over authority to some Lords to administer the usual oaths to the members of the House of Commons. You may cause it to be delivered to the Secretary of State or to one of the clerks of the Council, I know not which is most proper. I have recommended a concern not of the Archbishop, but of the Archbishopric of Dublin to my Lord Sunderland, wherein upon occasion I wish you would interest yourself.

EARL OF DERBY to ORMOND.

1680-81, Jan. 31. Knowsley.—Though your Grace has been troubled of late with several letters from me, yet I cannot refrain this time because I must give your Grace my humble thanks for the present of wine you were pleased to

make me, which is extraordinary good, and which I esteem as much as I ought to do, and I hope personally by the next summer to assure your Grace I will always study to deserve your good opinion, for I really intend with my wife to pay you a visit if affairs here will give me leave. I am sure I should be much concerned upon a double account if I am prevented writing upon your Grace not only because we are not so well here as I should wish to be, but that I must be hindered having the honour and the satisfaction of being with your Grace, which I without compliment or affectation do desire, but what is less, yet I hope I may be pardoned if I say I extremely long to see Kilkenny, which I have heard so much of. My wife is now with me as I am writing, she presents her duty to you, and she desires me to assure your Grace from her that she really believes I speak my mind in what I have now said, which though without her assurance I hope I have given your Grace no reason to question, yet I know her assurance will strengthen what I have writ.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 1. London.—I troubled your Grace by the last post with the reason of my not attending your Grace in Ireland myself, instead of that letter in expectation of my Lord Conway's succeeding my Lord Sunderland in the office of secretary, which was last night made an end of; His Majesty then delivering the seals to his Lordship without allowing any recompense to be given to my Lord Sunderland. My attendance at this time on his Lordship will prevent my intended journey at present; but in the meantime I hope I may be more capable of serving your Grace on this side the water, which I shall do with the greatest diligence and sincerity in my power.

Upon my resolution of kissing your Grace's hands in Ireland I received commands from Mr. Seymour which, by reason of the delaying my journey, I will give your Grace an account of here. He doth with the greatest frankness and sincerity desire the continuance of your Grace's friendship, and hath commanded me to assure your Grace that he shall upon all occasions be very ready to obey your Grace's commands whenever you shall please to think it fit to lay them upon him. Upon the prospect of my not going Mr. Seymour was pleased to mention something of the same kind to Sir John Davys, which he will be able to deliver better in discourse when he waits on your Grace than I am able to do in a letter.

His Majesty hath been pleased to order that the former method should be observed in direction of affairs out of Ireland to the senior secretary, but I am assured there will be a concurrence both in Mr. Secretary Jenkins and my Lord Conway for your Grace's service at all times.

Mr. Justice Warcup and three of his brethren, Justices of Middlesex, are ordered to examine the last twenty-three wit-

nesses that came out of Ireland, four other (of whom Morish FitzGerald and Murtagh Downey are two) have been examined by them already and desired leave to return again into Ireland, which is given them with an allowance to bear their charges.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 1. London.—This afternoon I had your Grace's letter of the 25th of the last and the enclosed packet for His Majesty, which I delivered to him within an hour after I received it. He had not time to read over then the enclosed papers, so that if he has any commands for you upon them they must be deferred until the next post, for the letters are sent constantly from this end of the town at nine a clock at night. Yesterday the seals were given to my Lord Conway, and he still professes great service for your Grace and desired me to let you know that Mr. Seymour will serve you faithfully in anything that concerns you or the affairs of that kingdom if you think fit to acquaint him with them, therefore I think you would do well in answer to this letter to make some compliment to this letter to make some compliment to him and give me directions to apply to him, for he is now in great favour at Court. I expected that my Lord would have said something concerning begetting a better understanding betwixt my Lord Ranelagh and you having occasion to discourse of him, but he said as good a friend as he was to him he would not pass his word to your Grace for him. Your dispatches henceforth the King would have you direct to Secretary Jenkins, who is very much your friend, and so is Mr. Cook, who is next in the office, and is a very honest man, therefore I desire you would allow him the 100%. a year you gave before to one Benson, who has deserved very little what has been given him. Secretary Jenkins will take it very kindly, but in modesty will not write himself. Mr. Gwyn will be employed in my Lord Conway's office, and therefore he hopes you will dispense with his coming over as he intended.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-81, Feb. 1. Whitehall.—His Majesty hath been pleased to command me to remove into another province. Though no province at this time affords anything of satisfaction, yet I reckon it as a great comfort I have in my removal that I do thereby enter into your Grace's more immediate service, there being no man living that hath a deeper veneration than I have for your Grace.

You will, my Lord, receive (probably by this post) a petition of the Earl of Sussex to His Majesty with a reference upon it to your Grace. His Majesty recommends it in consideration of the equity of it to your Grace's favourable report. His Majesty hath likewise declared himself very graciously in favour of Mr. George Weld. He would have him have the

next captain of foot's place that shall fall in the army there. My Lord Arran, I doubt not, hath already given you His Majesty's pleasure in this particular. His Majesty commands me to send your Grace the transcript enclosed, 'tis part of a letter writ from Holland and addressed to His Majesty himself. The King says the writer is of no manner of credit with him; however, since he names certain persons and places, His Majesty would have your Grace see what is writ and leaves you to do as you see cause.

Here is a wonderful deal of art and industry used to stir up the seamen, the watermen, the hackney coachmen, the suburbs men, to petition that the Parliament may sit here and not at Oxford. The faction is enraged that the bulky I mean the wealthy part of the city, is not more forward in imitating and writing after the Lords Petitioners.

My Lord, I most humbly beg leave to insert here my humble and thankful acknowledgement of my Lord Arran's nobleness and favour towards me. I shall study to deserve it in some measure by my zeal in every thing wherein I may serve him.

VISCOUNT MASSEREENE to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 2. Antrim.—Out of a deep sense of that duty I owe your Grace and the King's service I presume most humbly to acquaint you that I have been informed since I came out of England that there are many Roman Catholic natives lately crept into the army of Ireland, particularly some of those who were recalled from foreign service. And in regard I understand it hath pleased your Grace and Council to order that such Justices and officers of the militia who give ground of suspicion and have wives of the Romish persuasion should be thereby rendered incapable of places in either of those commissions; I do in the greatest humility mention this to your Grace, whether you will not also please (by your own power as general) to give the same rule concerning the officers and soldiers of His Majesty's army here, and for better discovery of such appoint and command persons in each province and garrison (as you may please to approve) who may as the Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of each county of England usually do from time to time (and now or in a short time by you limited) make inquiry and [] of these and other particulars tending to his Majesty's service, and the truth of the premises, to the end that thereby it may be demonstrated fully that such transgressions are contrary to your Grace's knowledge and special command, so that in all the particular importances of the Government (in this juncture of affairs) you have had a strict regard, which with my humble application for pardon is submitted.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 5. London.—Yesterday at the Council appeared Silvester, Castle and five other, who came out of

Ireland on the account of being witnesses to the Popish plot in Ireland, they all having been examined before by Mr. Justice Warcup and two other Justices of the Peace, declared upon oath they knew nothing of any kind relating to the plot, which they then again swore and desired leave to return again into their own country with money from His Majesty to bear their charges, both which requests are granted them. Two of them likewise deposed that Eustace Comin had told them they should have clothes and money if they would make out what he had sworn, Comin being called in made some excuses and evasions that he only persuaded them to tell all they knew to be truth, but notwithstanding his pretences it did visibly appear he had been tampering with them. Amongst other things this was thought remarkable in the proceedings that Comin producing some letters lately sent out of Ireland to vindicate his reputation, they were all directed to be left for him at Sir Thomas Player's house.

Mr. David Fitzgerald and Mr. Hethrington likewise yesterday brought in their accusations against one another and have copies reciprocally ordered them with time till next Council day to bring in their answers.

A hearing was yesterday intended at the Board between Mr. Edmund Waller (who pretends a promise from the King to succeed Dr. Alestree, lately deceased, in the Provostship of Eton College) and the Fellows of Eton who oppose him as being a layman and not qualified. Counsel appeared on both sides, but neither party being sufficiently prepared with precedents, the cause was put off till Friday sennight next.

My Lord Conway Wednesday last took the oaths of Secretary of State and Privy Councillor, and being at this time both in possession and execution of his office, hath done me the honour to appoint me to attend his lordship, for which reason I humbly beg your Grace's favour to excuse my coming into Ireland to wait upon your Grace according to my intentions and duty and have taken care to prevent any complaints which might be made to your Grace from this side of the water for my absence.

I suppose Mr. George Weld will take care to wait upon your Grace with the order of Council for appointing him and myself to be continued in salary with Sir Charles Meredith, and therefore have not given your Grace the trouble to send my order, it being only a duplicate of that which Mr. Weld hath with him and concerns us both.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT MASSEREENE.

1680-1, Feb. 5. Dublin.—I am obliged to your lordship for the information contained in yours of the 2nd of this month concerning the cre[ep]ing of many Roman Catholic natives into the army, but the obligation would have been more useful if you had been pleased to let me know who gave your lordship that information and instanced at least some

officers or soldiers of that kind who have been received into the army, which I conceive you might the more easily have done for that a considerable part of the army is garrisoned and quartered in that province and in your neighbourhood; nor can I doubt but that when your Lordship received the information you required some instances from the informer, and not receiving satisfaction therein I suppose you would not have given yourself the trouble of the representation you have made, but looked upon it as a calumny cast on the army and Government, as I must believe it to be till instances shall be given. The order of Council mentioned by your lordship concerning Justices of the Peace and militia officers is not yet in writing, and was resolved upon upon occasion of a person then before us, and we were judges of the ground we had to think him unfit to continue a Justice of Peace or a militia officer, and I think we shall reserve that judicature to ourselves, but we shall be always ready to receive any information concerning any man in employment, civil or military, that may tend to the discovery of his disaffection in point of religion, nay we have [long since] encouraged such informations by proclamation, which promises a reward to any whoever shall discover any officer or soldier [of] the army to be a Papist, which we thought might move the Protestants in every troop and company as well as others to detect their officers and fellow soldiers tainted in religion. This is an additional provision in that point to the directions the Commissaries of the Musters have to pass no officer or soldier that shall not produce an authentic certificate of his taking the oath of supremacy and receiving the sacrament within the times required. True it is there may be negligence, collusion, and corruption in the bishop or minister that certifies and in the commissary that musters, but so there may also be in anybody else that shall be employed. In conclusion, I beseech your lordship to make use of your uttermost industry and interest to find out any Papist trusted in the civil or military part of the Government, wherein you will besides serving the King infinitely oblige your lordship's, etc.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-81, February 5. London.—There came in yesterday letters from Ireland dated the 30th of the last, but none from your Grace, which I do not much wonder at since my Lord Longford was forced to pump hard to write a short letter, though the news continues still here of great risings in Munster. I know not what was enclosed in your last letter to His Majesty, but he told me the substance of them is very idle. I thought the seal might have been opened, because there was a little scorching of the paper on one side of the seal, but the seal itself was whole enough. I do intend to stay in this kingdom until I see the issue of this Parliament,

but the charge will be too great to carry my wife to Oxford, for now we live here cheaper than I have done anywhere else, and were it not for the family I am forced to keep in Ireland this journey would do me little hurt as to my purse. I intend to send for my coach horses over, for I find I save nothing by their being there, when I compute the charge of hackney coach and chair, which is not to be avoided by myself and my wife, besides the indecency will appear more in the spring than it does now. The Secretaries will take care hereafter that no licences for officers shall be offered to His Majesty's signing, but it shall be as you desire. They discourse still of alterations in the Bedchamber, but that matter has cooled, so that I believe nothing will be done in it. Captain Murray, of the Scots Regiment, goes from hence on Monday next, and if any thing happen to-morrow you shall hear from me by him, for all persons that relate to Ireland, if they have any command or employment there, will scarce be satisfied without my letter to your Grace by them. Justice Warcop has very friendly given me the copies of the examinations he has taken of the witnesses brought over by Owen Murphy, eight of them swear home against Plunkett and some against one Tyrrell, a titular bishop, and that is the sum of what they have deposed.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Feb. 7. Dublin.—You will judge by the copy I send you of my Lord Massereene's letter to me that it is intended to proceed in aspersing the army here as if it had received many Papists, but I hope the time will come when general and false reflections will not take place. If the matter of his letter shall be spread there, possibly my return to it ought to encounter it in as many places as may be. All the marks we have to know and find out Papists by are the oath of supremacy and the sacrament. If they take them and frequent the Church service it is more than most of my Lord Massereene's neighbours, pastors or family will do, which I was about upon occasion of his letter to put him in mind of, but I considered that recrimination is seldom a convincing defence, and that I had a much better at hand. Our latest letters out of England were of the 22nd of January, so that three packets are due and much expectation there is of what that time has produced in Court and city and country elections. In the meantime many reports are raised and invented by conjecture. It will shortly be time to send James into France, but unless I can have for him an approved governor I had rather keep him with me. Much good I have heard of one that travelled with my Lord of Bath's son; his lordship and Sir C. Wyche can give an account of him.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 7. London.—I have this day your Grace's of the 28th and 31st of the last, and when Col. Hungerford

comes hither I don't doubt but I shall get His Majesty's order for the precedence he desires in behalf of himself and his under officers. The enclosed letter I have delivered to the King, which he slights very much upon the account of the person that informs; but my Lord Conway being near, His Majesty has given the paper to him, and will give him the former also, which it seems he neglected. My Lord Sunderland being out of employment, I have given Mr. Secretary Jenkins the letter directed to him and the warrant for swearing the members of the next Parliament. Your Grace will within a short time have an account of what is done in reference to the Scots recruits, the King's orders being sent about them into Scotland a fortnight since. The King has also by his letter given you directions what post they are to have, being allowed when they were here the next place to the Guards. I spoke this day and several times before to His Majesty about filling up our army there, and he still says it shall be done; but now the two Secretaries have promised to be helping in it, and they shall not want the being put in remembrance of it. The remaining part of the Scots Regiment now at Tangier the King does again say shall be speedily sent for. My Lord Burlington has very alarming letters out of Munster from his brother and nephew, Mr. Boyle, which has occasioned the strange printed papers that are published. He desired me to let you know that the English are in great apprehensions in those parts and want powder. I told him that if they did it was their fault, for they might buy out of the stores what proportion they pleased, the officers of the ordnance having sent for powder from hence for that purpose. It will not be amiss to inquire into that matter. There is a print sold about the town wherein you are chiefly concerned and myself next, but it is so ridiculously false that I intend not to make any noise or use endeavours to find out the printer; but if you have a mind at any time to have any letter put out here in print relating to Ireland or yourself I can get it put into one of those news books by the favour of an active Justice of the Peace here who is much your friend; but he has a handsome youth for his son, which son he expects some employment for in Ireland. He is a very likely young man.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 8. Whitehall.—This serves for a covert to two of His Majesty's letters to your Grace. We (though I had the honour to receive from my Lord of Arran this day your Grace's commission to divers peers) do find the warrant that goes herewith necessary to introduce it. We have also prepared and sent a commission for your Grace's hand. The alteration that you will find in the names of the Commissioners is made by His Majesty's special directions. The other letter is in favour of Mr. George Weld for a company of foot.

I cannot by this post send your Grace the remaining part of the Irish depositions, there being an order made to lodge them in the hands of the Attorney General (who is gone off this day to be a Judge in the Common Pleas, Sir Robert Sawyer succeeding to the place of Attorney) in order to make his report upon them, which are material and which not, that the useful witnesses may be retained and the others sent home. The faction is deliberating how to attack His Majesty's Guards, and yet have the laws of their side. They intend to indict them the latter end of this term, then upon their not answering to apprehend some of them, as they walk singly in the streets, and if they give not bail for their good behaviour as well as appearance to let them lie in jail. 'Twill be assigned for a breach of their good behaviour to ride or go in the head of companies or troops of illegal men that go armed *in terrorem populi*. This is their design, besides many more that they still invent and bring forth.

ANONYMOUS MEMORANDUM ON OFFICERS IN IRELAND.

Undated. I landed in Ireland, 27th Sep., 1679, and first I was in the King's and Queen's Counties, where I am much esteemed and known (but not by my own name). I am deemed and taken here to be a Catholic, all whom I found in a very quiet posture, only much grieved at the persecution in England (as they term it). Then I came back into the counties of Wexford and Waterford, where I am a right Independent and so habited, deemed and taken above these ten years (but they know nothing of my late troubles nor my own name), and I have the intrills of all their actings. Here I found the great ones of them in a very confident posture, and after many a prayer, long grace, feasts and, I think, fuddling, too, Major Dennis, of Wexford, asked me plainly if I'd make one with them. I answered when I knew it they should hear my opinion, but obliged myself before them all to secrecy. I shall here beg Your Majesty's pardon as to all degrees of circumstances to avoid tediousness. But in fine I had an oath given me or mighty like an oath, and find that on Wednesday, the 4th of May, next, all the fanatics, which are Oliver's old breed, and most of them in command (which I much wonder at), are all to rise and by a design (laid on purpose) with some few ignorant Irish to fall upon all the Irish and to give out strange things against them as of theft, idolatry, promiscuous marriages, etc., and then to proclaim themselves the Protestant protectors. Now I much and many times have wondered at one thing, that all the Lieutenants of Ireland have continued or rather confirmed and settled such commands of military forces upon those that were notoriously known to be Oliver's only creatures and his immediate officers. This Major Dennis, of Wexford, has had a company of foot this many years and was a captain in Col. Pierson's Regiment that refused to march with General Monk into

England; saying Monk had a King in his belly. And this Dennis and Col. Scott (son to Scott that was hanged), Capt. Tench, one of Oliver's captains, who now commands the country troop, and one John Mitchell, lately taken in and steward to this Duke of Albemarle, are the ringleaders in this county of Wexford. Then for the county of Waterford there are enough, but the chief of them are the two Olands who said once (as 'tis publicly enough known) that they would wash their hands in the Stuarts' blood; and a most grand one is one Capt. Nicolls, who had a troop of horse under Oliver, who professeth openly he will have t'other bout yet, yet is lately made Justice of the Peace, etc. These are the prime leaders and rulers in that county, who backed with infinite of their sect keep a due correspondence with those of the north of Ireland, who are most Scots and Scotch breed and are the northern Presbyterians and fanatics., lusty, able-bodied, hardy and stout men, where one may see three or four hundred at every meeting-house on Sundays; and all the north of Ireland is inhabited with these, which is the populest place of all Ireland by far. They are very numerous and greedy after land. These things have I traced and complied withal to find out the depth and truth of their designs. And further, too, I would have waded and travailed herein had I not suspected a warrant for my apprehension from Dublin; but whether there was one or no I did not stay many days longer in the country, but taking my leave upon pretended business with promise of a timely return I shipped for France 4th, April, 1680, and going to Rouen found a wonderful number of English Roman Catholics, among whom I was very conversant, but heard not one word of any plot, which I much admired at. And in June I shipped for Holland.

Endorsed :—Information given to the King. Received from Mr. Secretary Jenkins, 9 February, 1680–1.

ORMOND to EARL OF CONWAY.

1680–1, Feb. 11. Dublin.—Having received so many fresh demonstrations of your favour and friendship, you cannot doubt but that I very heartily congratulate your Lordship's entrance into the management of affairs for my own sake, for this kingdom's and for the King's. When anything of more than ordinary moment shall happen here or be sent hence I shall write immediately to your Lordship, and I must ask your leave that things of less importance may also be sent you in copies or duplicates, that you may be ignorant of nothing that passes where you have so much interest and knowledge, I wish your lordship all possible satisfaction in your employment.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, Feb. 11. Dublin.—Yours of the 25th and 29th of the last and 1st of this month came all at once, and a whole

cargo of prints of all sorts are scattered here; the most important and the most extraordinary is the petition of sixteen Lords and the speech made at the delivery of it. Some have taken upon them to write over the substance of the King's verbal answer, but there is yet no written one of His Majesty come to us. I wish they had come together, since I believe there was ground for a good answer and that the opportunity was not lost. By young Buck I received a letter from Sir James Butler, and something wrapt about with greenwax, and the copy of a Bill put into the Court of Exchequer by my Lady Poyntz, to which I am made a party and must answer. After I have consulted some lawyer Sir James shall have a return from me. When my Lord Burlington was here he desired the remove of the Scottish companies from his town of Youghal; the reason, I think, was that the quartering of so many officers and so few soldiers was more troublesome than profitable to his tenants. But though the rent be his lordship's, yet since the town is the King's and that I am answerable for the security of it, I shall neither now nor in the spring leave it without a competent garrison; and methinks his desire to have it without soldiers agrees not well with the danger, I hear, he says that whole province is in of surprise and invasion. Jack St. Leger's assiduity about the Irish witnesses is a stratagem to be too hard for Barret in the House of Lords if the cause should come to determination there. All dispatches of public importance will from henceforth be directed to Sir Lyonell Jenkins and your letters with them, but when any of moment shall be sent my Lord Conway shall have copies, that he may be the better prepared against their being brought to the consideration of of the Council. I write to him myself this post upon occasion of his being secretary, as I remember his grandfather was. The packet I sent the King shows that we also have a Lord of Clare in this kingdom, and that he has set up for a zealous Protestant influenced no doubt from that side, and if he will be loud and violent enough it will not be remembered or taken notice of that since he became Protestant he made his wife a Papist and left her in a nunnery in France, that he has been in Spain and there went to Mass, that his son is or was page to the French King, with whom he treated when he was in the Prince of Orange's service, and shamed me that recommended him. I give you this account of that packet, finding by a letter from Sir Robert Walsh that by accident letters from my Lord of Clare to my Lord Shaftesbury came to his hands or his sight. Whereunto I should not have given credit upon Sir Robert's affirmation if Clare's letter to me had not rendered it more than probable. In short it is marvellous to me that there should be a Popish Plot founded upon French assistance (as no man dares doubt but there was) and that his Lordship should have no hand in it, no knowledge of it. He was in Spain and France if I mistake not about

the time Oates says he was at Salamanca. He left his wife in a nunnery and his son in the French King's domestic service. He came over hither, as I think will appear, just when the design was to be put in execution. He is a man of known courage, conduct and intrigue, of a broken and indeed desperate fortune, burdened with a title very unsuitable to it. He is of a noble family, of great esteem and numerous dependance among the Irish Papists, and he is seated on the county of Clare side, a transplanted country, and therefore full of Irish, upon the mouth of the river of Limerick, the most proper place in Ireland to introduce an enemy and their fleets, who being in that river may choose on which side to land. Let all this be put together and let any reasonable man judge whether a fitter person or a more likely in all qualifications could have been created to enter into such a conspiracy than my Lord of Clare, and whether his present ostentation of zeal to the Protestant religion, when the Plot is discovered and frustrated, can mitigate the just suspicion that may with charity be had of him. Perhaps he is not worth all those remarks. Yet if his letter to me shall come to be made use of in order to asperse the King, these qualifications and transactions of his may not be impertinent. Which, therefore, you may impart to His Majesty at his leisure, and by his permission to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, the matter being so written that it may be severed from the rest of the letter.

LORD CLARE to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 11. Tarbert.—I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 22nd of the last month, and I will not fail to obey your Grace's commands in using my uttermost endeavours to discover the Papists' designs against His Majesty and Government. I find that the friar Brady is yet in this kingdom. I have employed people to apprehend him, and if they do take him I know it will not be to much purpose as to any discoveries he will make, for he will sooner burn than discover anything which may prejudice the interest of the Roman Catholic religion; and to my knowledge they have taught the generality of their people to deny the truth (though upon oath) when the asserting of it may be destructive to the interest of their religion. This doctrine joined with their advantage in concealing what plots they had afoot these years past keeps many of the chiefest among them from making discoveries. They have yet hopes to be the prevailing party, and whilst such hopes do last it is not likely any considerable person of them will discover. I find the people are possessed with an opinion that the King, your Grace, and Council, do issue what proclamations soever to suppress Popery, yet both Papists and most Justices that should put the laws in execution do believe them to be but matter of form. Nothing can undeceive them but His Majesty's appear-

ing to be advised by his Parliament, which will frustrate for ever all hopes of Popery's reigning, and I doubt not but many of their gentry here will immediately thereupon be ingenious and discover what by the threats of their priests and prosperous opinion of their party was kept secret hitherto. I give your Grace with all humility and submission this information, as I can judge of the temper of the people in this part of the kingdom, with whom I converse in all humours. And as I conceive it the interest of all Protestants in Ireland to petition your Grace to move His Majesty for the sitting of the next Parliament in England from the 21st of next month until an effectual course be taken to secure us and our posterity in this kingdom from the designs of Papists, so I make it most humbly my particular petition to your Grace, to whose great wisdom and commands I shall ever submit.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Feb. 11. Dublin.—I have writ to my Lord Conway upon the subject of his access to the Secretary's office to the effect I told you I would, and but that I thought it not proper upon that occasion to intermix anything else I would have desired him to assure Mr. Seymour that as I have long had a great value for him, so I have now as great a desire to entertain a particular friendship and all proper correspondence with him. The times and difficulties we are in require steadiness and industry, and if those qualifications be taught us from those most concerned to have them there may be hope of getting out of the briars. In short assure Mr. Seymour of my concurrence in the service of the Crown and of my service and friendship to him.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 12. Whitehall.—I continue to trouble your Grace with the depositions of the Irish witnesses as they lie before the Council. Sir Robert Sawyer is made Attorney General in the room of Sir Creswell Levinge, who is preferred to be one of the Justices of the Common Pleas. The elections are generally the same that they were last Parliament; where they have changed 'tis for the worse. We expected this day, being the last day of this term, some bloody presentment either against his R.H., or against the King's Guards, but none was made. Sir Gilbert Gerard and some few gents. more did yesterday present themselves to the Grand Jury of Middlesex attending the King's Bench, beseeching them to give the thanks of the gentry and freeholders of the county to the petitioning Lords. The day is not yet set for His Majesty's moving for Oxford.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 12. Whitehall.—Yesterday Mr. David Fitzgerald and Mr. Hethrington brought in their articles against

one another to the Council in due form; the second article against Hethrington being for casting an odium upon His Majesty and Council in not taking notice of a Bull formerly produced by him to the Board, which he reported did discharge some Irish priests from their allegiance to His Majesty, but was not minded either by His Majesty or Council; this was fully proved upon him, to which he endeavoured to make excuses and evasions, but was severely reprimanded by my Lord Chancellor. Barnard Dennis had likewise proved upon him that he had sworn before Justice Warcup, and at several other times with oaths and imprecations, that he knew nothing relating to Her Majesty or the Duke, and after that by an information taken before the Lord Mayor, accused the Queen and Duke with knowledge of the Plot. These were the material things proved, though a great many wrangling and harsh words were used on both sides. Mr. Hethrington would have gone upon the proof of his accusation, but the Board, being tired with their quarrel, it is ordered they shall both answer one another at Westminster Hall. It is referred to Mr. Serjeant Maynard and the rest of the King's Counsel to peruse the informations of the witnesses, prepare the evidence and adjust all things in order to the trial of Oliver Plunket and other gentlemen which came out of Ireland, and to consider whether the raising money with an intent to levy war be an overt act of treason within the Statute of Edward the 3rd, and to report their opinions therein to His Majesty in Council.

Sir Creswell Levintz, Attorney General, hath his writ to be a Serjeant, in order to succeed Sir William Ellis in the place of Judge, and Sir Robert Sawyer is to be Attorney General in his room. The Lord Wooton's patent is under the seal for the title of Earl of Bellamont in Ireland. My Lord Bodmin is likewise to be called up to the House of Peers by writ; some others are named, but I do not find any certainty in it. Sir John Davies acquaints me he is very shortly leaving England, who will give your Grace a more full account of what I mentioned in my late letter concerning Mr. Seymour.

Postscript.—Since the making up my letter to your Grace I received an information that the Grand Jury of Westminster have this day brought in their verdicts upon the persons following for these crimes:

High Treason.—Robert Ely, John Butler, Paul Strange, Lawrence Sulyvane, Wm. Bradley, Sir John Davies, Wm. ffinch, John Shatall.—Witnesses.—Capt. Shirley, Macnamara, Sampson, Ivy, etc.

Misdemeanours.—Da. Fitzgerald.

Ignoramus.—Primate Plunket, Sir John FitzGerald.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 12. London.—All that I have to trouble your Grace with this post is that I was informed by Justice

Warcop that the Grand Jury have found the bills this day against my Lord Tyrone, Plunket, and the others that are in prison upon David Fitzgerald's account. They have also found a bill against Sir John Davys for treason, though all that he is accused of can amount to no more than misdemeanour if proved. It was the intention of the leading men of the jury, Sir William Waller being one, to have indicted you and me together with the Queen and the Duke, but the witnesses would not be prevailed with to swear home to that point, though David Fitzgerald proved yesterday at the Board that they had been tampered with by Hethrington and one Dennis. What to advise Sir John Davys to I am to seek in, and he is much confounded at the proceedings, as I cannot blame him for, the like having never been done to anyone before in his station. I am told there is a committee appointed to take the state of Ireland into consideration. Upon the discourse I had with the secretaries before His Majesty, your Grace will, I hope, make some observations upon what my Lord Anglesey has writ in answer to my Lord Castlehaven's memoirs.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 12.—Your Grace have been so infinitely obliging by that handsome character you have been pleased to recommend Sir Wm. Davys, that I doubt not of its success by the appearance of my Lord Arran. I have, therefore, presumed to send you enclosed draught, if your Grace shall think fit to transmit it to Mr. Secretary Jenkins with your Grace's letter, which I return to your Grace here inclosed.

Directions shall be sent over for the attendance on this business and to discharge the fees.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Feb. 12. Dublin.—Upon the death of Sir Robert Booth I have once more ventured to recommend Sir William Davys his promotion, my Lord Chief Justice Keating declining the preferment, and I have done it in the terms you will find in the inclosed copy of my letter to Mr. Secretary Jenkins. If the letter should come to be imparted further than I mean it should, and that perhaps some I do not mean to reflect upon should take themselves to be concerned, you have liberty to declare that I mean my Lord Privy Seal and my Lord of Essex and no other. My concern for Sir Wm. Davys is out of my steadfast belief of his loyalty and mettle as long as he shall be supported, and he that looks for more from much the greater part of lawyers will be disappointed, and as the world goes it is well if they may be depended upon so far.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 15. London.—I was yesterday and this morning before a Committee of Council appointed to look

into the posture of affairs in Ireland, and was desired to bring along with me such papers as I had by me relating to the condition the army and stores were in. I told them that when I was before them above two months ago I informed them all I knew, which was that the stores were in an ill condition, and that many of the soldiers of the army were unserviceable, all which you had several times represented to the Secretaries and Lords of the Treasury. The report they intend to make to the King is that 1,000℥. barrels of powder should be sent over, and that orders should be sent by His Majesty for your raising in Ireland a thousand men to supply the vacancies of the army, and that you should send over such officers as you think properest for to be employed about such an undertaking, at the cheapest rates you can. The money for that purpose must be had out of the reducements lately made, for there cannot one penny be had from hence, and for the powder it must be paid out of that fund too, but a competent time and instalments will be granted for that. Much fault was found that no authentic account of the stores was to be had. George Legge produced one of the 31st July last left him by my Lord Longford, but signed by nobody. Complaint was also made that the militia was not enough looked after and that they wanted arms, etc. That arose from letters out of Munster. Pray let as brief an account as the matter will bear be sent over in relation to proceedings in that affair; for my Lord Privy Seal is very brisk upon that point, saying that the Irish did pretend there was a massacre intended upon them when they began theirs in '41. It was also observed that you did not answer all the points of the letter His Majesty writ to you (or was writ by his command) when the committee sat last upon those affairs, the proclamation or printed order being all that they know was done upon it.

There are some of the Irish witnesses now that will swear that Mr. Hethrington and Sir William Waller would have tempted them to swear against the Queen, Duke and your Grace and Lord Chancellor, with reflections also upon His Majesty. A great deal of this was proved already at the Board against them, upon which His Majesty has ordered my Lord Chancellor here to look into the matter and give order for the prosecution of them, and I am advised by some to bring an action of conspiracy against them in your name, but I dare not venture upon it, the persons I must deal with to prove this being men that I dare not rely upon, but if the King's Attorney prosecute the matter keenly, it will in my judgment do the business as well, and I will give him a fee if necessary.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 15. Whitehall.—The Committee for the Affairs of Ireland sat this day in order to dispose of the money that will accrue by the suspension made in November last as shall

be best for His Majesty's service. Among other things that lay before my Lords they found a letter of his Majesty's of the 16th of November last directing your Grace to call the military officers to their commands, with several other intimations of His Majesty's intention and pleasure. The letter goes herewith enclosed, and my Lords have commanded me to desire your Grace to let them know with your best convenience what you have done upon it. I was able to tell their lordships that I had seen a proclamation in print relating to the execution of the first part of His Majesty's letter; and that I doubted not but that your Grace had done or was doing your part in the other points of it. I will not anticipate your Grace's answer to any things that my Lords of the Committee are like to lay before you for your advice, as, first, how to make the militia on that side more useful; and, secondly, what you will judge to be the best course for levying the recruits intended, and for conducting and defraying of them till they be got over? Their lordships will desire an authentic account of the remains of stores, we having none perfect since '74. The Commissioners of the Ordnance were present, and are ordered to bring in their proposals for furnishing the stores. They say they have already 9,000*l.* worth of stores in Ireland, and have not reimbursed themselves of above 800*l.* all this while. My Lord of Arran assisted at the debate, and will (I doubt not) give your Grace a more perfect account of it than I can.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT MASSEREENE.

1680-1, Feb. 15. Dublin.—I have received your lordship's of the 9th instant with the enclosed informations of dangerous words spoken at several times by Cormack O'Hagan and other persons. I desire your lordship would either yourself take the examination of the said Cormack and of such others as were said to have been in his company and may be found, or direct the Justices of Peace next adjacent to do it; and, having examined the persons accused, to confront them with the accusers, whereby possibly further discovery may be made, or what is deposed confirmed, and then to send me the examinations and what further information may be given. Particularly I conceive Alexander Brenan and his wife should be examined touching the words spoken by Cormack O'Hagan and such others as there shall be cause to suspect may be secured either in jail or upon good bonds for their appearing at the next assizes, as your lordship or the Justices of Peace shall judge to be most proper. Having again perused your lordship's of the second of this month I conceive the expression you used does not restrain the Roman Catholic natives that were said to have crept into the army to such as were recalled from foreign service, but that Roman Catholic natives in general and particularly some of them that served abroad were gotten into the army, which seems to me to imply that other

Roman Catholic natives were likewise got in beside those that were recalled from foreign service. That all such as served in foreign parts or even in France are disaffected to the Protestant religion may be too hasty a judgment, nor will the suspicion of any city justify it, much less will it follow that because they came in great numbers to Chester that therefore they are received into the army here. The single instance your lordship gives of Marcus O'Conlan, though it be not absolutely convincing, being but the bare assertion of a person accused for a spy, yet that there might be no colour for calumny I would have given order to have him turned out of the army if I had sooner known he had been in it; and I shall be the more careful and strict herein, in regard it appears that Jesuits can get into pulpits in meeting houses and conventicles, and that it may be as easy for Popish lay soldiers to get into armies if great care be not taken to prevent it. It will, therefore, behove your lordship, and it is your proper work to be careful in general as you are a Privy Councillor, and particularly where you have authority to govern and command, to call upon the Commissioners of Array and the officers of the militia to put and keep themselves in a readiness to serve the King and preserve themselves according to their respective commands and instructions, and to be very vigilant that none be of the militia but such as have taken or shall take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and the blessed sacrament according to the use of the Church of Ireland, whilst I and the subordinate officers of the army do the same on our part: these duties being on all hands carefully observed and performed we may by the blessing of God hope to keep the Government in safety and the kingdom in peace, notwithstanding suggestions and general rumours.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 19. Whitehall.—His Majesty's letter that goes herewith enclosed was first intended to come from the Council to your Grace, but upon second thoughts of the importance of it I was commanded to prepare it for His Majesty's hand. The proceedings to contrive an indictment of treason against Sir John Davys begin to appear very enormous. They will come to light in a few days; when the discovery is perfected I shall transmit it to your Grace. In the meanwhile I am extremely concerned that Sir John Davys cannot be relieved against the processes that go out upon such occasions but by a *nolle prosequi*. His Majesty expressed this day a gracious sense of his displeasure at this insolence that was acted upon his servant. Our elections are in a manner the same. I do not find we diminish in that small number of good men we had. Here and there we add to them rather than lose them. One would imagine that the humour does something abate; as it is, and indeed must be, in violent motions, a good hearty reform with us at Court would work a strange turn to a settlement and a security to our religion and the monarchy.

ORMOND to COL. JOHN FITZPATRICK.

1680-1, Feb. 19. Dublin.—I have seen yours of the 8th of this month to my wife, wherein are two particulars most proper for me to say something to. That there have been arts and endeavours sued to raise distrusts and the ill consequences of them betwixt the person you mention and me we have both been sensible of for a good while, and advantage to that end has been sought for from the observation that friends and enemies have not been common to us both, as often it does not fall out that they are to men that have lived so long in the world as we have, and in such changeable times and considerable employments. I am sure the attempt has had no success with me, and I persuade myself not with him. The two persons you named on my part have never yet gone about to give me ill impressions of my friend, discouraged perhaps by a belief that it would be in vain. If they declare themselves unsatisfied with him on their own account I would help it if I could, but it cannot be reasonably expected I should declare war against them, and the same justice and no more I expect on his part. My son Arran forgot to give me any notice of your *éclaircissement* with the other person you mention, but the knowledge of it comes time enough, since having once offered at a good understanding and correspondence betwixt us when he was in a station more proper for me to seek it than he is now, and having received no kind of return, I conceive the repetition at this time would have no better success and therefore I do not desire to be named to him unless he gives the occasion.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1680-1, Feb. 19. Dublin.—Yours of the 15th of the last month came not to my hands till the 18th of this. By what accident it was so long in the way I cannot tell, but so many other things being out of order it is not strange the post office should be so too.

That University has been the residence or retreat of Kings and Parliaments in time of war and pestilence, and tho' (God be praised) neither of those judgments drive them thither at this time, yet I hope their meetings there may tend to the preservation of peace and the establishment of future prosperity. I do not doubt but that their reception will be suitable to the good affection, conduct and renown of the place, your lordship having so much of direction in it.

My grandson improves visibly in his person. He grows taller and leaner, and I keep him to college hours of rising. I can brag little of his proficiency in letters, in exercises he does tolerably well. Till I find a governor to my mind I mean as well as I can to perform some part of the office myself and keep him with me. I am in great care to serve my Lord Courcy ; in times so unsettled, the circumstances of his age and fortune considered, I was inclined to have brought him hither, but here he will find or be found by more and by nearer relations

than at Court ; and in travel, if he had means for it, he will be more exposed to perversion. All the resolution I can for the present come to is that he stay at Oxford till the end of the first session of Parliament, upon the resolution of which much more depends than what concerns him or your Lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, Feb. 19. Dublin.—Yours of the 5th, 7th, and 12th, came all together. There is no doubt but that my Lord of Clare or anything he can say, as he has carried himself in the world, would at any other time signify little, but I am deceived if in this conjuncture some pernicious use be not made of him and of his letters. My Lord Chamberlain knows him well and I wish he might see what he has written. I take it for a good sign that no more is made of it. I suppose the Grand Jury had not before them the examinations taken against O. Plunket ; if they had, sure they would not have returned *Ignoramus* upon his bill. You shall do well to cherish the good inclinations of the Justice. I confess I wonder how my Lord Burlington thinks it his interest to procure and spread abroad such hot and incredible alarms out of Munster, and in the meantime is so ill informed as that the English in those parts cannot furnish themselves with ammunition, for so his intimation implies, or it can signify nothing, when it is well known to his brother that the enclosed proportions have been at Cork above a year and half and were sent thither for the use of the militia and other Protestants. It were good to know if he would tell from whom he had his information, but I doubt he will not.

Capt. Murray is landed but without any letter from you. He has brought a list of officers to be some placed and some advanced in the regiment. I wish there were soldiers in proportion. I will do all I can to have those companies filled. I have read over my Lord of Anglesey's remarks on my Lord Castlehaven's memoirs, and to my thinking never saw antagonists met upon more equal terms for the seasonableness of the argument, the mistakes in matter of fact (to give it a soft name), and for the incoherent deductions. I confess I am afraid to enter into a contest in print with such a man as my Lord of Anglesey, a man I have seen detected in public of misinformation and mean artifices for sordid sums and yet never blush at the matter, but appear the next day as brisk and confident as his favourite Thornhill when convicted of forgery in an open full court. But, since it is the King's sense, something shall be said ; though I can hardly vindicate my own actings but I must reflect upon those of a numerous and considerable party in conjunction with whom he was in rebellion.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 19. London.—I have your Grace's of the 7th with the enclosed copy of a letter from my Lord Massereene

and your answer. Your report of the army's having Papists in it has been here a good while ago and has been sufficiently answered upon all occasions, but I believe that lord was the occasion of the report then, tho' his advice to you is but lately. I am infinitely troubled for Sir John Davys upon a double account, first because he is persecuted chiefly upon your account, next because he thinks that if he had not come over upon my letter the Parliament would have let him alone, and consequently the Bill of Indictment had not been found against him; but I am sure if I had not answered for him in the House that he would come over upon my intimation of what was then moved in the House, he had been sent for by order of their Lordships, and that perhaps in custody. We have some hopes that the indictment against him will be quashed, the King having given direction to his Attorney General and others of his learned counsel to look well into the matter, for his Ministers of State here may be served in the same kind, if indictments of treason be found for the King without any of his learned counsel's prosecution. So many of your nephews and near relations going for France at this time makes a great noise with us here, for what is published in Harris his news book is from a letter writ by Mr. Boyle to his uncle Burlington, though his Lordship never intended, as he says, it should appear in print. I herewith send your Grace a copy of a petition given me yesterday by one of the parties concerned. It is against Sir William Davys and aimed at you in the bottom. My Lord Ward ordered the sending it to me, because he was informed I had somewhat to do in the county palatine. I knew not how better to inform him of the designs against him than by sending this under your cover.

ORMOND to EARL OF CONWAY.

1680-1, Feb. 20. Dublin.—I understand by my son Arran that some letters and papers concerning our Irish Lord of Clare have been by His Majesty put into your lordship's hands. I therefore think it proper for me to send you his last, which is a reply to the answer I sent to his first. Your lordship will observe that he persists in his advice to have me interpose with the King for the sitting of the Parliament in order to those popular ends he mentions. Now tho' he has sufficiently shown that he is a man prepared for any change that he hopes to mend his condition by, and so may of himself put on the zeal he professes, yet I am persuaded he proceeds not at this time without direction out of England, from whence I conclude it is intended that some use shall be made of him and his letters in a fit conjuncture. In this I am confirmed by what Sir Robert Walsh writ to me, not because he writ it, but because what he writ is of itself very probable, and that the persons he speaks of are like to be the correspondents. I have sent my son Arran some remarks upon that lord's

course of life which your lordship may call for; more may be found upon inquiry. If the trouble I have given the King and now your lordship be impertinent let it be imputed to the constitution of the times, when things more frivolous and persons much more inconsiderable have great weight laid upon them, of which the finding of a Bill of indictment of high treason against our Secretary of State, Sir John Davys, is an extraordinary instance. My Lord Granard read a few but very obliging words to me out of a late letter of your lordship's to him. What I have said upon the first notice given me of your access to the employment I can but repeat, what remains being only to make it good, as I shall by all the manifestations I can give of my being your Lordship's, etc.

EARL OF CONWAY to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 22. Whitehall.—I have ever acknowledged myself infinitely obliged to your Grace for your favours upon all occasions, and must now do it particularly for the honour of your letter of the 11th instant. If the King hath placed me in a station that can make me any way serviceable to your Grace I am sure it is one of the chiefest satisfactions I shall receive by it. My inclinations were such in the privatest capacity, and the earliest of my endeavours were to give your Grace assurance of it by my Lord of Arran when I entered upon my present employment. 'Tis true the affairs of Ireland do always pass by the eldest secretary, but the good correspondence that is and ever will be between Mr. Secretary Jenkins and myself will at least give me the opportunity of being your Grace's solicitor in all your affairs and all your commands.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 22. London.—I had late on Saturday night your Grace's letters of the 11th and 12th instant and showed His Majesty that part of your letter which concerned the Irish Lord, a copy of which I have left with Mr. Secretary Jenkins by his order, that when occasion serves proper use may be made of it, for I find the King has no great reverence for that noble peer. My Lord Burlington's desire was to have the Scots companies removed from his town, and any other sent in their room, but he is not fond of having above two companies at most. Mr. Seymour is not yet come to town, but I showed your letter to my Lord Conway, who will bring us together when he arrives. Jack St. Leger, I am afraid, will be found to have tampered farther with the witnesses and Ingoldsby than was necessary for that work he has in hand against Barrett.

The King has complied with your recommendation of Sir William Davys and the warrant is already signed by His Majesty as the Secretary will inform you. I told His Majesty

that he might remember who they were that hindered his preferment before, and that was no small inducement to him to do the matter now with expedition, but your Grace will find by the petition I sent over last post that he will be attacked in Parliament, and this preferment, I believe, will hasten it rather than hinder it; I hope you have your eye upon some able man to succeed him in the County Palatine, for I am much against his keeping both, or having Mr. Herbert in his place.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 22. Whitehall.—I no sooner laid your Grace's recommendation of Sir Wm. Davys before His Majesty, but His Majesty was graciously pleased to declare it was sufficient to satisfy him, and to give order that a letter should be drawn for his Royal signature, which letter was signed the same day (that is Sunday) and goes herewith enclosed. His Majesty, when he was told upon what interest it was that Sir Wm. Davys was not promoted when your Grace recommended him last, was pleased to infer that that was a good reason why he should now be considered and sped.

My Lord, I take leave to forbear addressing myself to His Majesty about the Post Office till I have first spoken with several persons (as my Lord the Earl of Arran, Mr. Hyde and Mr. Frowd) from whom I may possibly learn some particulars that may be fit to propose by way of remedy. I will at the same time inform His Majesty of your Grace's reflexions upon that extract of a letter that had been writ to His Majesty and that I sent you some while since by his command.

Mr. Attorney's report to the King is not yet perfected, the rest of the King's Counsel having not had time enough to attend it, but it seems that it will affect some men (their names I cannot yet tell) with having entered into a down-right conspiracy to impeach the Queen, the Duke and your Grace with high treason. By the stat. of 35th H. VIII. c. 2 the King hath his option in trying treasons committed out of the realm, either to try them at the King's Bench or else by Commission of Oyer and Terminer in any county that he shall limit. It is Mr. Attorney's opinion that the King should in Sir John Davys's case proceed to an option and choose the latter way; that is direct the trial to be before Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer in Surrey, Oxford, or any other county where an impartial jury may be had. This course appears hitherto to be most advisable for Sir John Davys, for whom all good men are very much concerned, and I should think myself very happy if I were able to serve him in this present occasions, nor shall I (as long as I am free myself, which I do not expect should be long) omit any occasion to do right to his innocency. The King's letter for Sir Wm. Davys is

taken up by a person particularly employed to take care of it, so that it comes not (as was intended) in your Grace's packet.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 26. Whitehall.—I am in dispute whether I should beg your Grace's pardon for my not writing oftener, or for troubling your Grace so often with letters that have so little of importance in them, that being my particular case at this time. The last Council day there was a debate concerning the means of giving relief to Sir John Davys in the present persecution that hangs over him, at which time, though His Majesty and the Board were all sensible of the many hardships he lay under in relation to his trial, yet no way could possibly be found out other than to expedite his trial here at the King's Bench the beginning of the next term.

John Moyer, Duffy, and Gormly came to the Council to accuse Hethrington of endeavouring to persuade them and others to swear against the Queen, the Duke, and your Grace. They made oath of it, but coming late the full hearing was put off till the next Council day; His Majesty and the Board inclining after the full hearing the matter to order Mr. Attorney General to prosecute Hethrington upon the said informations. There was likewise a long hearing at the Board between the inhabitants of Bermudas and the company in defence of their Governor, Sir John Heydon, the result of which was a *quo warranto* is ordered to be brought against the charter of the company.

His Majesty hath declared his intention of leaving London on the 14th March, and yesterday in Council had the Justices of Peace of Middlesex before him, to whom he gave in charge to be very careful in his absence of the peace within their limits and to see the laws put in execution, and particularly that of the 15th of his reign, wherein it makes it *præmunire* to say the King is inclined to Popery, with other words which are by that Act made treason, and yet are too often made use of.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 26. London.—Sir John Davys his friends have attempted twice in Council to get His Majesty to do something on his behalf, but I find the Privy Council will not venture the advising any thing extraordinary; so that he must either undergo his trial in the common way or else within two terms will be outlawed of treason, if he submit not himself; and what to advise his lady on his behalf is very difficult, though without doubt if he appeared and were sure of justice the indictment ought to be quashed, for if all that is sworn against him were proved, as we are informed of the matter, it cannot amount to more than misdemeanour, but by law an indictment can't be quashed but by the party's

pleading to it himself. Thus to my great grief stands his business. Sir Robert Stephens has already got such an interest in Hampshire, where he has purchased an estate, that he stands for Parliament man for the town of Portsmouth against George Legge, and Legge is afraid he will carry it. I have sent my Lord Longford a paper concerning Needwood Forest. Pray let me have your commands about the matter, for tho' I find the King has no great reverence for Ned Vernon, yet he deserves well from your Grace. Little Drake has a petition ready to put in to the House of Commons when they meet, complaining of yours and the Board's injustice to him, and arbitrary proceedings in the matter in difference between him and the Farmers. It were necessary a brief of those proceedings should be transmitted.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 26. Whitehall.—I did not make haste to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of Jan. 3rd, because I have met nothing since that you could read or I write with any sort of satisfaction. On the 12th March His Majesty goes to Windsor to pass two nights there, and on the 14th overtakes the Queen upon the road to accompany her into Oxford. What we shall do there or how long we shall stay there God only knows. I am persuaded neither of the parties does, and I think as little whether we shall agree or fall out for a further time, there being reasons and transactions on both sides capable of making either conclusion probable. Things bearing this aspect towards my eyes, your Grace will forgive me if I affirm nothing.

My cousin Bennet was in town this last term, but came not at me, neither would he let Mr. Charlton know where he lay, which is a sign he is yet under correction at home. Our part is to expect what will be said to us the next time, instead of asking or proposing, which if it be worth the considering your Grace shall be troubled with it.

My Lord of Bath tells me Mr. Durel is not desirous to engage in any new governments, but considering the man is very valuable in that capacity I have desired the Dean of Windsor to write to him. When I have that answer we shall know what we have to trust to, and if it be a perfect negative cast about for another.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 26. Whitehall.—I am very much concerned that I can write nothing to your Grace that can be acceptable touching the proceedings relating to Sir John Davys. 'Tis the general opinion that he should undergo his trial, and if the ordinary precautions be used in calling for the sheriff's book, we cannot but have a reasonable jury. The sessions for Middlesex are this day over without presenting either the Guards or His Royal Highness. The King sent for the Justices

of Middlesex to appear before him in Council last night. They were all reckoned upon by the King as very worthy men. The King spoke excellently to them.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, March 1. Dublin.—Yours of the 15th, 19th and 22nd I have not answered. In the enclosed copy of mine to Mr. Secretary Jenkins you will find much of what I can for the present say to the matters spoken of at the committee, and by that time I shall be able to say more, I doubt they will not be at leisure to consider it. However, the best account I am able to give shall be prepared. Your mentioning my Lord of Anglesey's being of the committee puts me in mind to ask whether he may not deny the little book to be his, or say that it was printed without his order or consent, and in the last place whether His Majesty desires it should be answered. If he does it cannot be made so soon nor so short as may be thought, for I had rather say nothing to it than not enough to stop his mouth. Mr. Secretary Jenkins in his last letter tells me the discovery of a conspiracy to accuse the Queen, the Duke and me of high treason was in the hands of the Attorney and others of the King's Counsel, but could not then tell me the names of the conspirators or of those that detect them. I do not expect that credit will be given to it by the prevailing party, much less that justice can be had. If anywhere complaint is to be made I think it should be in the Lords' House, for to expect reparation from a London jury in such a case I take to be vain. I have heard no more from my Lord Massereene upon the old subject since my last to him, of which, I think, there was a copy sent you. But it is now found that many of the common soldiers among the foot have Popish wives, and I believe it to be true. It were better it were not so, but so it has been in all Lieutenants' times, and how now to help it or prevent the clamour it may occasion I know not, unless we had the recruits mentioned, which might do it for a time. But unless there were English women to be had for them it would not last long, for those recruits would get them some women or other in a short time.

It was impossible to foresee what has befallen Sir John Davys. His staying here would not have prevented it, for we see divers that are here are in the same case, and by the way I wonder nothing is said of them from the King and Council, because I am of opinion when the Parliament meets they will not be forgotten. I find the bringing Sir John off is under consideration. I knew only of my nephew John Butler's going out of the kingdom, who, having quit his command in France upon expectation of serving the King against the French, and having nothing to live upon, is gone again to begin his fortune. As I remember it passed into a vote that something should be prepared to banish all considerable Papists

out of England, and sure if it were good for England it is more so for Ireland. There was a good despatch in the promotion of Sir Wm. Davys. His letter came last night, and I signed his warrant this morning. I presume it will not stay long at the Seal. He is in his circuit. I agree that it is not fit he should hold his place in Tipperary, but I cannot put Mr. Herbert by the succession without affronting him in a high degree. I design Mr. Worth to succeed Herbert, and Turner him. I suppose the negotiation managed by Mr. Charlton with Mr. Bennet is wholly mortified, having heard nothing of it, and I am told my Lord of Bath's son and his governor are not yet returned. Till he comes, or till I find one I may upon sight and discourse approve of, I mean to keep James with me and execute the place myself.

Buck's son came hither with a very unreasonable expectation and request. I own his father was a very honest faithful servant, and that I thought so may appear by the enclosed computation of what he got by being so, which I send you that you may satisfy anybody that may doubt it.

PETITION OF GRAND JURY OF CLARE TO LORD LIEUTENANT.

1680-1, March 1.—To his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The humble petition of the Lord Viscount Clare and of the Justices of the Peace and Grand Jury at the Assizes held upon the first of March in the county of Clare in Innish, 1680.

That your petitioners do find the dissolution of the last Parliament in England has encouraged the Papists in Ireland to as great insolence as the sitting of the Parliament gave them terror and reason to submit to the Government.

That whilst there is not a Parliament sitting in England it cannot be expected any great discoveries can be made of the Popish horrid Plot, which was to destroy His Majesty and all His Majesty's subjects of this kingdom as well as in England; the Papists having taken an opinion (how unjustly soever it is) that they are favoured, and that what orders or proclamations are issued to suppress Popery are but matter of form not to be executed, as the world has seen hitherto, and as if the magistrates were likewise of their opinion, for who will be forward to punish those he thinks are favoured or who will leave a party he believes will govern.

Therefore, that our magistrates may be encouraged to do their duty and that all discouragement may be given to Popery, we most humbly pray your Grace to move His Majesty that the Parliament may sit in England upon the 21st of this month and continue until an effectual course be taken to secure the Protestants of this kingdom and their posterity from Popish designs, which will be easy when by that resolution of His Majesty the fountain is made clear, most of the youth in Ireland will undoubtedly receive wholesome streams and soon conform to the Church and laws,

which will secure us and our posterity from the apparent dangers we now are in.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Clare.

W. Hickman, Henry Lee, Hen. Ivers.

Grand Jury.

John Gore, foreman; John Colpoys. Tho. Hickman, Tho. Boucher, Mountyfort Westroppe, Robert Cole, Don O'Bryen, D. O'Bryen, Augustine FitzGerald, Hen. Hickman, Rawley Newdegate, Ja. Fitzgerald, Nicho. Devereux, Ja. McDaniell, Joh. Bennis.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 1. Whitehall.—I have the honour of a letter from your Grace of the 19th past, which His Majesty was pleased this morning to hear distinctly read to him.

It is a Justice of Peace named Mr. Warcup (a very active man) that gave His Majesty the extract I sent your Grace of a letter pretended to be written (by no ill-willer of your Grace) out of Ireland. He received it from one Manning that belongs to the Six Clerks' Office in Chancery, to whom it seems it was addressed from that side. Warcup I know, and by him I'll endeavour to trace it to the writer. However, His Majesty is very well satisfied with the answer you are pleased to give upon the several calumnies. The depositions I took leave to send your Grace were transcripts of what I found in the hands of the Clerks of the Council; seeing the omission I'll endeavour to supply it.

The alarms that come hither out of Ireland are very extravagant and (which makes them less heeded) are very frequent, but whether they come (most part) out of Munster, or from elsewhere, I cannot yet tell; but here is a great family that those alarms are said to come from and that they have it in letters out of Ireland. His Majesty is pleased to leave your Grace wholly to yourself as to the pretensions of Mr. George Weld, and is very well contented those engagements you are under should be complied with in the first place. In the meanwhile Mr. Weld must have patience, but whether he should have notice of this His Majesty's pleasure from your Grace or from me is a matter of form that I must beg your Grace to direct I may be instructed in.

Your Grace's suit that His Majesty's pleasure for the exempting of some particular persons from bearing their share in the suspension intended may be declared and ordered in full Council as the suspension was, is taken by His Majesty to his particular consideration, and so are the cases of the persons named in your letter, but I hope that excellent expression in your Grace's letter will have that weight with it as it deserves in His Majesty's present deliberations. I mean that, that no private person can be in greater need of the King's bounty than the public is of His Majesty's providence at this time.

Fitzharris, a son of Sir Edward, is found to have been tampering with one Everard (formerly a prisoner in the Tower) to embroil the King with his people by seditious libels. They hammered (as it appears by Sir Wm. Waller and Smyth, the convert priest of Durham, whom Everard had so posted in the room they met in as to overhear what passed between him and Fitzharris) a most pernicious black-mouthed libel between them. Everard, Smith and Sir Wm. Waller will prove that Fitzharris gave the first lines by way of instruction for the libel, and made several amendments to it. This will be of extreme danger to Fitzharris's life, yet I am persuaded there are some ingredients of refined malice in it, that I do somewhat doubt they were masters enough of their art to mingle so much venom together with so much skill, so that I think there is some evil spirit behind the curtain that is not yet seen.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE KEATING to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 1.—Being this day assured that His Majesty had signified his royal pleasure for making Sir William Davys Lord Chief Justice of his Court of Chief Place, I conclude thence that Serjeant Osborne will succeed Sir William in his place of Prime Serjeant, and thereupon make bold to mind your Lordship of your servant Sir Richard Stephens to come into the room of Serjeant Osborne.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 1. London.—Though the packet came to town on Saturday last I had your Grace's letter of the 19th of the last month but this day. The enclosed papers will convince the Board and those who have a mind to know the truth that arms and ammunition are to be had in Munster by any that want and are willing to pay what is reasonable, provided they are persons qualified. My Lord Anglesey is at present very ill of the gout, but before he was ill I took notice to him of the letter he had put in print which reflected so much upon you, and he knew to be false. He protested he gave no leave for the printing it, neither did he design to reflect on you, but the contrary. I told him I believed he thought to save himself by aspersing you at this time, but it would do him no good. The papers you sent over relating to my Lord Clare I am afraid are not to be found, they were so little regarded by His Majesty; but if I can retrieve them I will have His Majesty's leave to let my Lord Chamberlain have a sight of them.

CAPTAIN HENRY BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 1. Castlemartyr.—I had the honour of your lordship's last night of the 26th of Feb. and am very glad that together with my most humble acknowledgment

for it I can give your lordship an account that some of the rogues who were guilty of the late robberies have been so well pursued that they are taken, and from them we hope to know the whole gang of them. I am very confident if they be not discovered and taken it will not be the fault of any gentleman in this county either English or Irish, for such villains make no distinction either of religion or countrymen; but the militia of this country, which your lordship is pleased to call so great, tho' they are indeed a considerable body of men, yet bad horses and the want of arms and ammunition renders them less valuable than they might otherwise be. And how to mend these defects without money, and how to get money without a sufficient authority to levy it, which most think cannot be done without an Act of Parliament, is what the Commissioners of Array have often met about, but to no purpose.

There is a report as if complaints should be sent out of this country by letters for England setting forth that the militia of this country had been denied necessaries for their money, and that an account of this is come to Dublin; they must be very ignorant of the condition of this country that do not know arms, etc., have been long lodged at Cork for the militia to buy them at certain rates, and that besides several merchants have by licence from the Lord Lieutenant and Council brought over arms, etc., for the militia, some of which have been sold for that use; and I am confident hardly any man of any sort throughout the whole province but knows we are to be supplied for money either by the store-keeper or by the merchant of sufficient arms for the use of the militia; but we hope at this assizes at Cork to find some expedient if possible to be better provided than now we are.

My cousin Supple's wife died yesterday morning, to his great trouble, and not without reason. She was a very good woman and died with as little concern and as much religion as ever I saw anybody.

My uncle Burlington writes to me that care is taking in England to put Ireland into a good posture, that one thousand young men are raising to recruit the foot companies, and orders coming to mount the great guns in several places and other good things for the advantage of this kingdom, which if it please God to accompany with a good correspondency on all sides in England will end to the great happiness of all people.

PETITION OF THE GRAND JURY OF CO. CLARE TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

1680-1, March 1.—The humble petition of the Grand Jury of the county of Clare held at the assizes the first of March, 1680. Your petitioners being awakened by the votes of both Houses of Parliament in England as well as by our own observations into a sense of our danger by the horrid designs

of the enemy of the Protestant religion by law established, we in the first place think ourselves very happy by your Grace's great care and vigilancy, but since we have not any settled guards of the standing army nor militia yet formed in this county, we humbly beseech your Grace to have that favourable regard for us as to put us into such a posture of defence that if we be at any time assaulted by foreign or domestic enemies we may be always able to give that account that may become His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects.

And we your petitioners shall pray.

John Gore, foreman; John Colpoys, Thomas Hickman, Mountyfort Westroppe, Rawly Newdegate, Robert Cole, James FitzGerald, Don. O'Bryen, D. O'Bryen, Augustine FitzGerald, Hen. Hickman, Thomas Boucher, Nicho. Devereux.

SIR WILLIAM DAVYS to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 2. Clonmel.—Having received a copy of a petition of the Lord Ward and others against me from his Grace the Lord Primate, and finding that the matter thereof relates to your Grace's Court of the Palatinate, I hold myself in duty bound to acquaint your Grace with the true state of that case, which cannot be contradicted, because it is drawn from the several orders from time to time conceived in that case by the Court. The thing mainly desired by the Lord Ward, etc., was the dissolving an injunction which now happens to be granted to them before I received the copy of their petition against me, which yet troubles me lest it may seem on the other side as if gained by threats and menaces; but whether they will be satisfied or not with the last rule of Court my principal aim is your Grace's satisfaction. My Lord, I have now served your Grace near three apprenticeships in that Court, and I do not remember that in all that time any one complaint of me has come before your Grace, as no question the Lord Ward, etc., had complained to your Grace (which they ought to have first done if oppressed in your Grace's Court before they should appeal to any other judicature) had they known me faulty in any arbitrary proceedings or unjust oppressions of any man in your Grace's Courts there.

WILLIAM WORTH, Recorder of Cork, to LORD PRIMATE.

1680-1, March 4. Cork.—This day I received the honour of your Grace's letter about Mr. Sealy's having a militia foot company in this city, and his arming that company at his own charge, which proposal of his, although it is very fair and handsome, yet, my Lord, there is already so many companies and troops raised within the liberties of this city that it is almost impossible to raise more, and so sensible the people of this place are thereof that they intend to petition my Lord Lieutenant to reduce the Militia already raised to five companies of foot and one troop of horse, and these they will arm

very suddenly ; for we have already taken course for the arming most of the militia of this city, and therefore I humbly beg your Grace to desire my Lord Lieutenant that no more militia may be raised in this city, for both the Mayor and several others of this place desired me to write to that purpose to your Grace. Before I received your Grace's letter since my return home I have examined narrowly into the business of Major Hore's, who was likely to be robbed in the west, and the story thereof made a great noise here, but upon strict enquiry I cannot find there was above four men that attempted to rob him, and to break into his castle, one of which is thought to be a serjeant of the Scotch Regiment, and formerly under the command of Sir James Murray, who, when he was commanded to Tangier, ran away from his colours and has ever since been skulking up and down the country ; and some of the rest, if not all, are such kind of fellows as ran from their colours when the Scotch companies were commanded to Tangier, and are this country men, but because they speak French the people of the country will not believe but they are French men sent over to cut their throats. But for the other robbery which was committed on Mr. Murrough near Castlelyons it is found out that those who committed it were all Irishmen and great cow-stealers ; one of them being apprehended has discovered his confederates. I have here enclosed sent your Grace a copy of a petition which was found on ship board by some of the officers of the Custom House of Youghal in search for papers in a ship which lately came from France. Some people here has got it translated into English, but it was found written in Latin, but whether the thing is real I cannot tell. But upon the perusal thereof your Grace will find it agrees pretty near with their common notion of their own affairs, penned in excellent Latin, and a foreign style not usual to this country, but when your Grace has perused it your Grace is best able to judge thereof, and therefore it is humbly submitted to you by, etc.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 5. London.—I have given my Lord Longford an account of proceedings relating to Fitzharris, and my Lord Conway told me to-day he had informed you of the particulars he stands accused of. He has directions from the King to recommend Mr. Henry Progers to your Grace for the reversion of the Serjeant Porter's place, Sir Edward Brett's nephew, who had the reversion before being lately dead I suppose he was father to your page. Mr. Progers is a very honest gentleman, and I promised this morning to write on his behalf but I must do right to everybody, and therefore at Sir Edward's desire I asked the King whether he had not first promised to recommend one Mr. Brett upon my Lord Dorset's application before he gave order to my Lord Conway for the other. His Majesty said it might very well be, but he did

not remember it, but spoke very kindly of Sir Edward. I have heard by several credible persons that the Lords of the Cabal say this letter my Lord Anglesey has printed must either do your work or his, but from whence they ground that opinion I can't guess, for they must go back many years before the Act of Indemnity, and if that be laid aside your adversary will be in a very ill condition himself.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 5. Whitehall.—The King will be on Monday sennight in Oxford. I wish our preparations for that meeting did bear proportion with the diligences of the adverse party. Yorkshire and Wiltshire have had the ordinary instructions obtruded upon them as the act of the gentry by a mere surprise, that is one man handing a paper to be read in a crowd while all was in a hurry and nobody heeded what it was. But at the Assizes at Salisbury the Grand Jury presented the paper as seditious, and the author to deserve punishment. Fitzharris confesseth nothing, tho' 'tis morally impossible but he must know the author of that pestilent libel. The city is quiet at this time, I mean the fermentation ceases working, having spent itself very much. His Royal Highness's youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella, died on Wednesday last.

ORMOND to CAPT. GEORGE MATHEW.

1680-1, March 5. Dublin.—I spoke this day with my nephew Anthony Hamilton concerning Nenagh and I find him ready to comply with my desires. In order to it he tells me he will send for a rent roll of that farm, for he says a part of it is let, but he cannot tell for what, to whom, or for how long. When that is known it will remain only to know and value what is stocked and of all this I suppose you may get some account, that if it be possible we may get into possession by May.

My Lord of Anglesey, in answer to a foolish and unseasonable book of my Lord Castlehaven's, has made many scandalous reflections upon me for my actings in the cessations and peaces. I have caused one of them concerning my acquisitions to be transcribed and send it you because you can best instruct me how to confute him; the rest I am providing for. There is yet come over but one printed copy that I know of, and that I keep by me. If more come one shall be sent you.

LORD CLARE to CHIEF BARON HENE.

1680-1, March 5. Ennis.—Having considered since I parted with your lordship that the Parliament in England is to meet upon the 21st of this month, and that it is to be feared some evil members that wish not well to the Protestant interest might advise His Majesty to prorogue or dissolve it, I thought fit humbly to pray your lordship to send under your lordship's

cover by the next post the petition, which I with some Justices of the Peace and the Grand Jury of this county delivered your lordship for my Lord Lieutenant, if your lordship be not of opinion that it will do as well to deliver it when your lordship goes to Dublin.

Tho' we be very inconsiderable, yet being the first county of the circuit of this province and that we have not a fanatic or factious man a dweller among us (if he be not a Papist) it may show His Majesty the sense of the rest of the kingdom and convince him that the Papists have not that power in it which some persons to my knowledge have endeavoured to persuade him to twelve years past. As for any expressions in the letter, our meaning is good and our condition requires we should speak now somewhat feelingly. There is nothing in it but what I will justify to be most necessary for the preservation of the Protestant interest in this kingdom.

CAPT. HENRY BOYLE to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680-1, March 8. Castlemartyr.—I had the honour of your lordship's of the 5th instant, wherein you are pleased to say that you acquainted my Lord Lieutenant with what I had writ to your lordship concerning the reports spread of the Militia in this county, and that his Excellency was very well pleased to see what I had writ. I most humbly thank your lordship for the trouble you gave yourself in it, but I hope my Lord Lieutenant did not think I was the author of such a report, for if ever it should be my misfortune to be so far engaged in public business as to appear upon the stage, I shall never have cause, I am confident, to complain of the Government, or if I had it should be for what I might be very well able to prove, and not for such things as everybody are able to contradict, which may be done in this case very notoriously. Your lordship is pleased to observe that the Militia of this county is in a very ill condition, and it is very certain they are so, but that which renders them most despicable is their want of arms, which we have hopes to supply them with, and to mend our condition at this next Assizes. My uncle Shannon is now here and has received his Grace my Lord Lieutenant's letters concerning Mr. Dudley Fitzgerald. His lordship tell me he hath another evidence about the business of Macroom, and such as I believe will not be favourable for Mr. Fitzgerald. Since the robbery at Castlelyons we have heard of no other attempt, which makes us hope that those villains being taken such rogueries will cease in these parts.

COL. THEODORE RUSSELL to EARL OF GRANARD.

1680-1, March 8. Galway.—I have in obedience to my Lord Duke of Ormond's command followed the directions of Mr. Robeson, Surveyor General, and sent enclosed to him the value and charge of the necessary repair for the two

citadels. That being done, in one of them will be found lodgements for two companies and four companies in the other. In this nothing is said of the defects of the town walls or gates or drawbridges, which are in no small disorder. The copies of the charge as the workmen have computed it, being the same I sent to Mr. Robeson, is here on the other side set down for your Lordship's view, the cheapest that it is possible to be done, as the workmen do declare to this, if your lordship can hasten the matter it will be of no small consequence to the King's service.

CAPT. JO. FFOLLIOTT to ORMOND.

1680-81, March 6. Cork.—In obedience to your commands (may it please your Grace) I humbly present you with some affairs and passages in this county. At my coming to Cork I found the people under a great consternation, fearing the French invading and the Irish rising, though upon no probable measure I can meet with, but by what they hear from England (I hope 'tis not first transported from hence). For my Lord of Cork and Lord of Winchelsea, young Jack King, my Lord Kingston's brother, being on his travels for France went to receive his lordship's commands, they being together told him that Ireland was inevitably lost past recovery by a combination of the French and Irish, and their lordships often repeated the sense they had and sorrow they lay under for so great and certain a destruction. My Lord Shannon (one that saw it tells me) had lately a letter from his brother Cork dissuading him from his resolution of leaving Ireland for some time. I humbly suppose (my Lord) till after next rent day, for should my Lord Shannon leave this kingdom before, I fear his lordship looks on't as lost, and so my lord no more rent to be paid, which to some it may be were as heavy a burden to sustain as a wounded conscience. I most humbly refer the meaning of these things to your Grace's wisdom. I only beg leave to say that I am of opinion the fathers of some have eaten sour grapes, and their children's teeth are set on edge. My Lord, most of our principal men believe that a settled Militia would much contribute to our present quiet, and preserve us for the future, yet I am assured at the last meeting of our Commissioners of Array some of our grandees opposed the raising money to arm our Militia, for fear of a Parliament. This humour was first broached by the late Lord Orrery and still pursued. My Lord, one Mrs. Townsend wrote a letter to her husband, Col. Townsend, being here, that a priest on his death-bed wrote to her that (being afflicted in mind), by such a day all the Protestants were to be murdered, which did much alarm this country I find, but the day being past and nobody killed and all quiet but a few robberies committed by common thieves, that hubbub is over. The report of two barrels of powder found in a tree is quite false, nothing but old rotten

barrels found in an old rotten tree. I most humbly beg your Grace's for this presumption.

EARL OF CONWAY to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 8 (received).—I have shewed His Majesty your Grace's letter of the 20th past and the copy of my Lord Clare's to your Grace of the 11th. It is the same which His Majesty finds himself surrounded with from all parts by contrivances and are to strike terror into him, as if he were beset on all sides. But His Majesty doth not look upon it as very terrible from my Lord Clare and thinks it would become him better to meddle only with his own business.

Sir John Davys's case is the hardest in the world, and yet His Majesty can give him no relief without great inconvenience. It hath been often debated in Council, considered and reconsidered by Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor, and the result is that they can propose no way but to have him tried by the King's Commission of Oyer and Terminer in some other county, and not in the county of Middlesex. Upon which I said all the witnesses that can come in to clear him were in Ireland, that your Grace, my Lord Granard and the Bishop of Meath were the chief, and that it was impossible your Grace could be there, and great difficulties I thought would be upon others; to which there was no other answer but that as many as could come must come, for they could do nothing else.

We have had no less than eight witnesses before the King and the Council, who have deposed upon oath how they were tampered with to swear against the Queen, the Duke, your Grace and my Lord Chancellor of Ireland as the contrivers and carriers on of the Popish Plot. I suppose your Grace will hear from others the story of Mr. FitzHarris, the son of Sir Edward FitzHarris. It hath given the King the trouble of three Council days extraordinary, and I believe Mr. FitzHarris will go near to be hanged.

I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for troubling you with these affairs, which are foreign to those wherein I desire to serve your Grace, but in all things I shall be ever ambitious to shew my inclinations and my zeal to be esteemed, etc.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 8. London.—I had yesterday your Grace's of the first with the copies of your letters to Sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Secretary Jenkins, and I find you judge very right, for the Court is in such a hurry that there will be no time to mind the affairs of that country, but I put the Secretary in mind to show your letter to the Council before their going to Oxford, towards which place the King sets out on Saturday next, but stays at Windsor on Sunday. I believe His Majesty has not taken the pains to read my Lord Anglesey's book,

and therefore I did not think it proper to know his pleasure whether he would have you answer it or no, but I am of opinion that an answer should be made (tho' not put but during the sitting of Parliament) to vindicate you as to the world, for either of the Houses would be glad to find a fault in one of you, and I think you will do yourself no honour in contending with him. He owns writing the contents of the book, but not the giving way to the printing of it.

Before I received your letter I had discountenanced the prosecuting of the business of the conspiracy so far as it concerned you for the reasons you mention in your letter, and I believe as little good is to be expected in the Parliament as matters now go, or are like to be carried, when we meet. I intend for Oxford with my Lord Chesterfield on Friday sennight and I believe we shall lodge together.

I hear Fitzsharris owns nothing farther of the business he was imprisoned about, but that he will be a farther discoverer of the Plot. I find the prints say nothing farther of him. The first letter you writ on behalf of the Archbishop of Dublin is mislaid, but I have this day given Mr. Cooke a letter I had from his Grace upon that subject, it were well the form of a letter should be sent over from thence, for Mr. Cooke can't tell how to draw one here. The Bishop of Down was to see me this morning and desires for his health sake a longer licence of absence.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680-81, March 8. Whitehall.—The great affair that hath of late taken up the Board hath been the examination of Mr. FitzHarris. The occasion of his being first brought thither (I suppose your Grace hath already heard) for endeavouring to publish a most treasonable libel, and upon his examination it did appear that though he was the compiler and director of it himself, yet he intended to have charged one Everard (who was a very busy man in discovering the Plot) and some of his gang as the contrivers of it, but Everard being beforehand with him discovered first, and the foul draught appearing to be mended in several places with FitzHarris' own hand, and an addition to it all writ by himself, with three witnesses to prove his discourse with Everard, was to press him to print it, and encouraged him by hopes of a reward from the French Ambassador, laid it so close upon FitzHarris that the matter being treason almost in every line, there was no probability but FitzHarris would have incurred the penalty of a traitor. So the matter rested the last time FitzHarris was before the Council, but on Sunday night the Sheriffs of London, who had been in Newgate with him, waited upon His Majesty and acquainted him that FitzHarris had something more to discover. Whereupon His Majesty commanded both the Secretaries and Mr. Attorney Gen. to go to Newgate on Monday morning to re-examine him. When

they came to him they found he then came in with a new discovery concerning the Plot, speaking in general words only, and to-day again upon the Secretaries and Mr. Attorney being with him he says more in relation to the general Plot in England and Ireland, much of the same nature with some of the witnesses that went before him. What will be the consequence of it I submit to your Grace. His Majesty intends to remove on Saturday next to Windsor and on Monday to Oxford.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1680-1, Tuesday, March 8. St. James's Square.—I think myself extremely happy in the opinion your Grace is pleased to express of me in yours of the 1st instant upon your hearing I am one of this Parliament, and I must needs say this for myself, that were it in my power as well as it is in my prayers there should be that perfect good understanding between the King and his Parliament that no artifices on any hand should be able to diminish. But what is in no man's single power to effect is not only in every man's, but every one's duty too to endeavour, and in my humble station I will do my utmost to promote it. I am very sensible that we live in a time when 'tis almost impossible to preserve the character of an honest man, and the most exact circumspection that can be used is seldom able to preserve one from very hard censures on one hand or other, and sometimes on both. It was therefore against my sense and intention to have come yet upon the stage again, but to have waited a time when moderate counsels had been more likely to have succeeded; but having submitted my judgment to that of my friends, I have resolved too not to quit those principles of loyalty and honesty and zeal to the true Protestant religion, which I have hitherto preserved and will carry to my grave, for any fear of being misconstrued or misrepresented. If my utmost diligence can be of any use to your Grace, 'twill be my honour to be found doing you service. If you shall be pleased to send me any particular instructions I will carefully follow them; if not, I will in general do what is in my mean capacity to vindicate your Grace from those aspersions which none but very dis-tempered times could cast upon your actions.

SENTENCE OF COURT MARTIAL UPON CAPTAIN THOMAS
BRIDGES, MARCH 8, 1680-1, DUBLIN.

At a court marshal held in Dublin the 8th of March, 1680.
Arthur Lord Viscount Granard, Field Marshal. President.

Sir Wm. Flower, Sir Tho. Newcomen, Sir Cha. Feilding,
Maj. Rupt. Billingsley, Capt. Oliver Long, Capt. Rich.
Coote, Sir Oliver St. George, Col. Carey Dillon, Capt.
Robt. FitzGerald, Lord Viscount Blessington, Sir John
Peyton, Capt. Cha. Murray.

Assistants.

Upon information given by the Advocate General against Capt. Thomas Bridges, capt. of a foot company in His Majesty's Army, that the said Capt. Bridges having made deductions from several of the soldiers in his company of a considerable sum of money due for their quarters at Ballymoney in the county of Antrim some years since, which was not paid to the inhabitants, notwithstanding he had received several positive orders to discharge the same from his superior officer; and that the said captain had used great fraud, practice and deceit in procuring counterfeited a certificate that many of his company had received the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, when in truth the whole certificate was forged in order to deceive the Mustermaster and his commissaries. And upon examination of several witnesses and perusing the muster rolls and certificates aforesaid, and upon hearing of all that can be offered by all parties, it was ordered and adjudged by the Court aforesaid that the said captain shall satisfy and pay unto the inhabitants of Ballymoney aforesaid what shall appear to be deducted by him or his clerks from the soldiers towards the discharge of the quarters aforesaid, and that he shall likewise pay unto the officers and soldiers of his company such sums of money as by a report delivered to the said Court by Capt. Oliver Long and Capt. Richard Coote doth appear, and it was likewise ordered and adjudged that the said Capt. Bridges for his disobedience, neglect and practice aforesaid should be cashiered his command in His Majesty's army aforesaid. And the said captain was cashiered accordingly.—Jo. Topham, Advocate General.

CAPT. RICHARD EUSTACE to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 9. Lisburn.—Since my return to my quarters I find the people more decent in their expressions of the Government and Governors. I wish it were as sincere as they would have it thought, but the contrary appears with their presumption, for on Sunday last was seven night one of their preachers, Streton by name, and a stranger in this country, preached in a barn near this town, to whom many of the inhabitants resorted, a thing never before attempted in my Lord Conway's town nor country of Kilulta, for he always vigorously suppressed them upon their first appearance. Sir G. Rawdon sent my ensign with a party to the place, who (after the parson had done) brought him to Sir George, who thought fit to reprove, but not commit, him; which soft usage gave him encouragement to make application to Sir George to build a meeting house in this town, which he, Mr. Adare the Presbyterian preacher of Belfast, and Mr. Hutchinson another preacher (but esteemed a moderate man) pressed with so great importunity that nothing would satisfy them but a compliance, which they missing of went away dissatisfied, but was heard to declare that they did not doubt in a little time

to establish their desires by authority. Their presbytery has of late enjoined a general fast, which on Thursday last was kept with great strictness and abstinence from all labour (though on Christmas Day they'll plow), the whole day being employed in preaching, fasting and praying for deliverance from all Papists and their adherents, of which number they declare our Church in general. I have this week put myself in the way of several gentlemen at their landing from Scotland, as Lieutenant Colonel Monro and others, who say that his Royal Highness his behaviour (in appearance) pleases most of the nobility and gentry, but all agree that the fiery dispositions of the kirk and people is rather smothered than extinguished. The most loyal of that nation amongst us here are of that opinion. I dare not venture to recommend any man in our parts for the purpose your Grace mentioned, but if your Grace will be pleased to honour me with any trust I do promise all the faith that can be expected from a loyal subject, a true Churchman and a passionate lover of your Grace and family which firmly binds me to seek all occasions of proving myself, etc.

Postscript.—It will never be known to nor suspected by any that I am sent, for I have often declared my resolution (if I could get leave and a licence) to wait on His Royal Highness. I will not presume to trouble your Grace any further, but do humbly offer myself with all willingness and sincerity to your Grace's disposal.

JOHN ROAN, BISHOP OF KILLALOE, to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680-1, March 10. Limerick.—When I was last in Dublin I had some discourse with my Lord Lieutenant concerning Bishop Moloney, whom his Grace believed was in France, whereas I then was and am still of opinion he is in this kingdom, besides other I have this reason that in the beginning of November last the parish priest of Tullagh died and the parishioners chose of themselves one Grady to succeed; where he had scarce continued three weeks, but there came an order from Bishop Molony under his own hand for the induction of one White. The original order I expect this week to be brought me, so that it is evident he could not be in France.

I thought fit to acquaint your Grace of what I presume your Grace may have some notice of before this can arrive at Dublin, which is concerning a petition of our grand jury at Innish [Ennis]. The Archbishop of Tuam (who had a trial for some lands, and now knows what discouragement a Bishop hath to be tried by a Popish jury, that is the common jury in that county), he with myself lay at the house of Mr. Gore, the foreman of the jury, who, on Friday night at 11 a'clock, was pleased to impart first to me, and we both to the Archbishop, what a petition was presented to the jury, the Lord Clare being the chief promoter. I told them my sense, which

the Archbishop did likewise, that it was a petition scandalous to the Government, and of such a nature as could not be well resented, etc., therefore advised them (for besides the foreman there was another of the jury with him) to suppress that petition that it might never see light, and truly those two persons, Mr. Gore and Mr. Thomas Hickman, were convinced, and promised they would endeavour to suppress it, at least never to promote or join in it. But they told me they now being so far engaged must needs have some petition to offer, that they may stop the mouths of their fellows, and therefore desired I would dictate one for them, which I was loth to be known in such matters. One of them took pen and paper, and I confess the Archbishop and myself did help them to draw a petition (a copy of which is endorsed on the back of this) and those persons early the next morning got it engrossed and presented it to their fellows, who all but three were convinced of their folly in the former, and adhered to present this, which accordingly was done by the foreman. But the Lord Clare and the other dissenters were earnest for the presenting the Lord Clare's petition, for he was foreman in that, and would not cease their clamour till that petition was also presented to the judge, which the foreman at last did, but with this reserve declaring to the Judge that he did not present it as from the grand jury, and desired his Lordship not so to receive it, but only to satisfy the others' importunity, and for his Lordship's own satisfaction in the nature of the thing it was delivered, which his Lordship might make what use of he pleased. After our coming to this place I found that there were many copies of that factious petition dispersed abroad and, as I understand, by the Lord Clare. I there-upon demanded of my Lord Chief Baron whether he had given any copies of it, he replied he had not nor shewed it to any but his brother Judge, so that I am satisfied my Lord Clare hath dispersed them, and I hear that my Lord Lieutenant hath one sent him. I was therefore the more willing to satisfy your Grace in the whole proceeding, in regard my Lord Chief Baron will not be in Dublin to give an account for some weeks longer. The petition endorsed on the back of this letter runs as follows :—

“To his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The humble petition of the Grand Jury for the County of Clare, held the first of March, 1680, Your petitioners being awakened by the votes of both Houses of Parliament in England as well as by our own observations into a sense of our danger by the horrid designs of the enemies of the Protestant religion by law established, We in the first place think ourselves very happy by your Grace's great care and vigilance, but since we have not any settled guards of the standing army, nor militia yet formed in this county, we humbly beseech your Grace to have that favourable regard for us as to put us in such a posture of defence that if we be at any time assaulted by foreign or domestic enemies we may be always able to give

such account as may become His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects."

ORMOND TO EARL OF ARRAN.

1680-1, March 12. Dublin.—I think I have made no return to yours of the 26th of the last or 1st and 5th or this month, and possibly this may find you at Oxford or ready to go thither. Something I have said to each of the Secretaries upon the case of Sir John Davys, as it may affect any of the King's servants and in consequence himself if the edge of those laws that ought to protect his person and prerogative may be turned against both by perversion and combination. Sir John Davys carried with him, as Mat Barry tells me, the papers that relate to the proceedings against Drake, and since he may not appear before there may be use of them, it may be fit to get them into your hands, but I believe the Parliament will not begin so low as with his complaint.

What I now send Mr. Secretary Jenkins will not only shew that there was no ground for the suggestion that arms and ammunition could not be had in Munster for the Protestants, but that Mr. Boyle gave no countenance to the report, and by the extract of another it will appear what the opinion of sober Protestants is of the danger of that province from a single Irish insurrection. I have made some progress in an answer to my Lord of Anglesey's foolish libel, which would be short if I intended only his confutation, but the occasion being given I am advised to enlarge to other purposes.

I cannot imagine why my Lord of Clare is so much despised, when we have experience that every little insect that will be a villain has power to sting. I send my Lord Conway by this post the copies of two addresses gotten by him to be presented to the Judge in the County of Clare, praying that I would interpose with the King for the sitting of the Parliament, and I believe copies of these addresses are sent into England and to other counties here. The petitions are not so come to me as that I need to take any notice of them, but when they do I shall not know what to say to them. I know what should be said and done, but cannot judge of the season; you shall do well to look out my letters concerning that Lord and impart it to my Lord Conway. I have given his Lordship my sense concerning the reversion of Sir Edward Brett's place, but have received none from him or any other of particulars concerning Fitzharris, but I wonder to find him a libeller against the King and Sir Wm. Waller a discoverer. My Lord of Longford tells me you had the ill fortune to dine with him the day he was apprehended. I, without further information, cannot judge of the consequence; but whatever it can be, if it produce what you say it shall I cannot wish it had not happened. I suppose order will be taken that the posts shall pass by Oxford as long as the King is there. I have received a letter from the Lords

Commissioners of the Treasury concerning the revenue, but it is too hard to understand what is driven at by it, and it is so perplexed, contrary to their style in other matters, that it is impossible anybody could contrive it but Sir James Shaen. All I can collect out of it is that he would make show as if the Farmers were more ready to pay the Civil List than the Army are to receive, and then to hook in a permission, whilst they are in arrear, to pay Rider's and other debts, and maintain themselves out of the growing revenue.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 12. London.—The King went early this morning to Windsor and last night he had Fitzharris before him in Council. He owns the plot in general, but will not come to all particulars until he is assured of his pardon, which the King says he will not give him tho' twenty Parliaments should address for him, but it is likely his mind may alter. He accuses Father Patrick and Col. Richard Hamilton with most of the officers of his regiment; he was sent to the Tower after his examination at the Board, but the night before he was examined by the Sheriffs and Sir Robert Clayton, which, I suppose, will be given to the House of Commons. In that examination I believe he enlarges more than in his others. My Lord Burlington has still, as he says, more alarming news out of Munster, that a Castle was taken by force, and that the Irish continue in a great body in arms.

Sir Edward Brett desired me to send his petition and reference to you. I need say nothing on his behalf, for you know him better than I do. There is an ensign here who is of the army of Ireland or rather an ancient who is afraid he shall not overtake the muster. His name is Banting, as I take it an ensign to Beversham; he could not get a recommendation from the Secretary because the Court was in such a hurry, but I desire he may not suffer. I believe I shall have nothing to write until I go to Oxford.

ORMOND to EARL OF CONWAY.

1680-1, March 12. Dublin.—I have two of your Lordship's to answer, one without date, the other of the 5th of this month. It is certain that in calm and settled times my Lord of Clare's interest and contrivances would have little effect, but in this conjuncture men of less quality and industry have been able to contribute much to our disquiet. By the papers I send your Lordship you will find how busy he has been in the county he lives in, and that it is suspected copies of the petition of the grand jury there are dispersed, that some of them may be sent into England and others into other counties, in hope that the example will be followed. How to carry myself upon so surprising an occasion I am to seek. The Judge, I think with more prudence than he received the address, keeps it in his hands till his return hither, which will not be till the

Parliament has sate some days, and by that time I hope by your Lordship to receive the King's directions how to receive and what answer to give it.

I have great kindness for Sir John Davys and compassion for his sufferings, but I look upon the King's part in the case with greatest trouble, in that he cannot find a way to protect his servants from danger and disgrace when they are attacked by palpable contrivance and conspiracy by very incredible witnesses and accused of a more incredible crime. My Lord Primate and I could do him little service if we were upon the place, because we were not by when he is said to have discouraged the witnesses and undervalued their information. It is not strange that his Grace and I should be accused for contriving and carrying on the Popish Plot there, that amongst the shoal of witnesses that went hence none could be found that would swear it.

The reversion of the serjeant porter's place is most humbly laid at His Majesty's feet without dispute, but if the doctrine be true that he should in this case grant a reversion, His Majesty will infallibly be importuned to grant reversions of all places, and what then signifies the steward's privilege of giving places in the household when they shall be void. It was at my suit that the King granted Sir Edward Brett's kinsman, that is now dead, the reversion of his place, and I did it for nothing but to oblige a gentleman that had served His Majesty and his father long and gallantly, and if reversions come to be given at the instance of any other he so far puts himself into my office.

QUAERES.

[Undated.] Whether the Irish Parliament, which in my Lord of Strafford's time gave His Majesty with so much cheerfulness ten subsidies, were not the same which was in being when the rebellion broke out and so loyally declared against the rebels? And whether it did not consist of more Catholic than Protestant members?

Whether the army raised by my Lord of Strafford with those subsidies did not consist of more Protestants than Catholic officers and soldiers?

Whether His Majesty's consent to the disbanding of that army were not extorted from him by the Long Parliament in England? And whether he received not the Lords Justices' advice from Ireland to do it?

Whether was Sir Henry Tichborne joined in commission with Parsons and Borlase, Lords Justices?

What party did they all take when their Commission was superseded? Or what became of them?

Whether was Sir John R[ead,] whom they put to the rack, a Protestant or a Catholic?

Whether the now Earl of Anglesey were not a member of the Long Parliament and of the Committee for Irish Affairs,

when the insurrection happened in 1641, and whether he did not constantly attend the House in England from their first meeting until he was amongst the 40 members excluded in 1648 ?

Whether he took the covenant or any other oath against the Government and religion established in England by law ?

Whether the Protestants which fought under the Duke of Ormond's Commission from the year 1646 to the year 1648, and from 1648 to 1650 were equal in number with those who with arms opposed him in those times and would not acknowledge the King's authority ?

Why did not the Earl of Castlehaven engage with his Grace at Kilrush ? and if under suspicion of disloyalty why was he not secured ?

What authority had Glamorgan to treat about a peace with the Irish ? and what peace did he make ? and with whom ? and when ?

What advice is that which the Earl of Anglesey insinuates to have been given by the Earl of Castlehaven to his Grace when he asked which of his enemies he should treat with ? *vide* page 69 of the Letter from the Person of Honor &c.

ORMOND to LORD DERBY.

1680-1, March 13. Dublin.—I have two of your Lop's and one from your wife since I writ to you. That from Chester was brought me by a servant of mine. I suppose you were in that place upon the election of Parliament men, and that you have contributed towards the choice of men of moderation and temper, true lovers of their religion, King and country. I am sure there was never more need of men so disposed. If it please God to give good success to the meeting at Oxford, it will produce many advantages to all honest men and I may hope to see your Lop. here to my great satisfaction, being with great reality, my Lord, your Lop's most affectionate grandfather and most humble servant.

ORMOND to EARL OF CONWAY.

1680-1, March 14. Dublin.—The Lord Primate received this morning an account of the county of Clare petition in a letter from the Bishop of Killaloe. Some of the subscribing persons by their names I suspect to be Papists, or at the best such Protestants as the Lord of Clare, who is said to have gone to Mass in Spain since his conversion, whose lady is in a nunnery in France, and his eldest son page to the French King. If it be true that the Bishop Molony be still in Ireland I cannot but suspect a correspondence betwixt the Lord of Clare and him, for all his Lordship's pretended zeal for the Protestant religion and to suppress Popery, since nothing in my opinion can more conduce to the Papists' ends than dividing of Protestants, which is endeavoured by that petition. When I had written thus far I received from the judges of

that circuit a copy of the Lord of Clare's letter to the Chief Baron, of which I send your Lordship a transcript. It no way lessens the suspicion I had before. Your Lordship by the second short and more dutiful petition will observe that most of the gentlemen, Justices of the Peace and of the jury, would have retracted the first, but my Lord of Clare having engaged them was able to hold them to it.

DONOGH O'BRYEN to LORD BLESSINTON.

1680-1, March 15. Limerick.—Although I presume your Lordship has an account before now of the Lord Clare with some other Justices of the Peace and the juries' proceedings on a petition at the late assizes held at Ennis, yet I hope it is not too late for me to acquaint your Lordship that I was not only against it, but that I am not any of the Donoghs O'Bryen among the subscribers to the petition, the one of them being the grandson of Bryen of Newtowne, whom his Grace your father knew, and now to be married to Ivers' daughter, that is Lord Clare's steward, by whose influence and his own ignorance, this being the first jury he was ever upon, he assented to that rude and unparralleled petition. The other Donogh O'Bryen so called, though I know not why, because he is not of any family known amongst us, and in himself a poor mean man, having no other calling or subsistence but a minister's proctor for gathering and setting his tithes and other dues; and although these two to the scandal of the name of O'Bryen, and the rest of the jury-men, may be thought to be the authors of this petition, yet from my own observation I can assure your Lordship that they were ignorant of the design till that unfortunate Lord brought the petition to them, and by frequent importunities and ill grounded suggestions prevailed upon most of them to agree to it; some of them I will not say by my persuasion being to this day dissenters to it. This I will not affirm for them who signed to it as justices and not jury-men with him, because by their forwardness in the matter and going with him to persuade the jury to join in the address I am induced to believe they were privy to his design, which by some remarks I took before assizes I observed did put him upon having such a jury impanelled as would join with him in this matter, and now that I have troubled your Lordship with an account of the truth of this affair, I entreat your Lordship to acquaint my Lord Lieutenant and his Grace your father with it, that I may not fall under their displeasure, nor by any misrepresentation be deprived of the character of a true and loyal subject to my King in their esteem.

Since my Lady Catherine hath told your Lordship that she will refer our difference I am very free to it, and that your Lordship shall be the sole judge of it, and shall wait upon you the next term or sooner if you appoint it.

Annexed to this I send you the copy of the petition.

SIR WILLIAM KING to WM. ELLIS.

1680-1, March 15. Limerick.—In obedience to his Grace's commands I ordered the officers commanding the several companies here to inquire after and make return to me of the names of such soldiers in their respective companies as are now married to women of the Popish Communion, a list of which I here enclosed send to you to be presented to his Grace. Some of the soldiers contained in this list are so old that I fear if they be dismissed before some other provision be made for them they will starve, they not being now able to betake themselves to any other way of livelihood, and many of them married before the companies were under our commands, and being withal men of English birth and extraction, and are fit objects of his Grace's mercy and consideration. The Tories I formerly acquainted his Grace I hoped I had got set twixt the counties of Limerick and Tipperary could not be found, though I had full assurances they should, but instead of them the officer brought me two persons suspected for harbouring such, but their being no proof against them, and I on the whole examination finding many faults in my informer, I thought it not fit to put the poor men to unnecessary troubles. Some of those lately suspected for robberies committed near this place being apprehended and tried, were found guilty and executed, and among them that soldier of mine I formerly gave his Grace an account of, which is all that offers at present.

Encloses a "List of Soldiers within the Garrison of Limerick that are married to women of the Popish Communion."

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 17.—The bearer, Mr. Hamilton, happening to be at Ennis when my Lord Clare and the Grand Jury delivered their petition to the Judges (a copy whereof his Lordship gave him), I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace with it and to let your Grace know that his Lordship values himself much upon this exploit, having in discourse with the bearer told him that while the Parliament was sitting there were several gentlemen in that country ready to make further discoveries of the Plot, who since the dissolution of it have been discouraged to do it. How far your Grace will think fit to take notice of his Lordship's proceeding before the return of my Lord Chief Baron I most humbly submit it to your Grace's judgment. But if my Lord Primate pursue his resolution of turning all those out of the Commission for the Peace who have Popish wives and breed their children Papists, I hope his Grace in that general rule will not make an exception of his Lordship, who takes such liberties of reflecting upon the Government. The bearer knows nothing of the intimation I have given your Grace of this whole matter.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE KEATING TO ORMOND.

1680-1, March 18. Longford.—On my arrival at this place I understood from the Earl of Longford and Lord Granard that the Lord of Clare (which I thought almost impossible) had to his many former indiscretions added one folly more. But neither of their Lordships could tell me certainly what the substance of his Lordship's desires are ; however, it brought fresh into my thoughts a complaint which the Lord Clare made the last time I saw his Lordship, when pointing out the causes of his misfortunes he ascribed them all to this, that he having offered to His Majesty in a long letter which he took the boldness to write unto him his advice for settling this kingdom in a firm and lasting peace ; amongst many other expedients conducing in his judgment to that end he proposed the seizing of all the Popish clergy as well regular as secular, this to be done in one night, which he undertook should be done in that part of the country and to ship them all for Spain. This letter he saith the King gave the Lord Arlington and the Lord Arlington to Father Patrick, who took a copy, and shewed the original to his Royal Highness, and from thence he dates all his misfortunes, and told me (as I remember) that he had written to the Lord Arlington to demand reparation or that he must acquaint the Parliament with the whole proceeding. I was immediately on my guard, and discoursed the matter but very slenderly with his Lordship, being then bound for Court, but I now plainly perceive that his design is to make a noise with that matter, which ought to alarm Lord Arlington for his defence. This may it please your Grace is what I thought my duty to let your Grace know.

SIR L. JENKINS TO ORMOND.

1680-1, March 18. Oxford.—The hurry of my removing to this place hath hindered me these two last posts from giving your Grace an accompt of your commands in your two letters of the first of this month, which are the last yet come to hand.

Both those letters were read in Council, and His Majesty was pleased to approve of what your Grace hath already done, and is now doing, in execution of His Majesty's orders of the 16th of November last relating to the army there.

His Majesty likes well of your Grace's admitting such officers of foot as are past service or otherwise cannot attend to part with their commands ; so he does your Grace's thoughts of drawing into the field as soon as the season is proper for it. The way you are in, my Lord, for recruiting the Scotch Regiment is to His Majesty's liking, tho' some thought the officers have too good a bargain to be in full pay till they do fill up their companies, which they will be in no great haste to do. However, it was His Majesty's judgment that the course taken by your Grace was the best. My Lord of Longford's state of the stores was ordered to be sent (as it is)

to the Commissioners of the Ordnance, and the arrears that the Revenue there is in to the Establishment was referred to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. As to the prosecuting of the Earl of Ranelagh, His Majesty's pleasure was that the suspension should be taken off, only his accompts are now depending before the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; and my Lord of Ranelagh begins now to be in that good condition of health as to be able (in a short time) to attend them, in order to have a state and a report made of his accompt, and then proceedings may and will be had at law as cause shall require.

Your Grace's other letter of St. David's Day consisted of two points, the one for a letter to your Grace to issue out a commission for taking the Vice-Treasurer's annual accompts, the other about the fast indicted by the Scotch Presbyterians in that kingdom. When the clause about the letter was read it was moved by the Lords of the Treasury that they might have a sight of that letter, and leave to alter it if need were before it should be presented to His Majesty. Your Grace will find they have added a clause in the latter end, which being presented to His Majesty he was pleased to approve of and to sign. The draught that your Grace sent us was upon the ancient forms; if this addition happen not to be to liking I suppose your Grace will not proceed to issue out the commission till His Majesty's pleasure be further known. That letter comes to your Grace by Mr. Cooke's packet, who sent me the Lords Commissioners' amendment.

As to the Presbyterian fast His Majesty is pleased so far to take notice of it as to direct your Grace and the Council to do what may lawfully be done to prevent for the future and to suppress such meetings, and to send for the ring-leader Alexander to answer for his part in the offence, His Majesty being resolved not to suffer this encroachment upon his regal authority, since it is in order to some further insolencies. I must beg your Grace's pardon for that His Majesty's letter to that effect does not come by this post, His Majesty being now out of this town at Cornbury, and not expected back till this day's post be gone.

I have a third letter to account for to your Grace, that came by the same ordinary with the two former, though this be dated the 19th February. It is in favour of the see of Dublin. His Majesty was graciously pleased to say that no grant should pass of Russell's lands but to my Lord Archbishop of Dublin and his successors, and this is the scope of your Grace's letter. My Lord Archbishop, in a letter to my Lord of Arran, desires that a letter to this effect may be procured from His Majesty. It is my humble opinion that the draught must necessarily come from that side, for it does not appear (to me at least) that the King hath such an estate in the land hitherto as he can convey legally and validly to that see, and possibly the seals on that side will not move to convey

the estate when it shall fall to the King, upon a letter hence that is writ before the estate come to be the King's. For this difficulty I have not brought either your Grace's letter or the business itself before the Council or the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, where certainly it must go, and therefore I humbly conceive it would not be amiss that there were a petition drawn by my Lord Archbishop that might be referred if His Majesty should so please to the Lords Commissioners here, and from them, if need should be, to your Grace, but all this I submit.

His Majesty hath been here ever since Monday; only went out yesterday to a horse-race near Burford, lay last night at Cornbury, and is expected here this evening. We have no Lords of the Parliament (those that followed the Court excepted) come to town, and but very few Commoners, nor is it known what the angry men will begin with. I pray God to make the session calm and healing.

CAPT. A. DOUGLAS to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 21. *Tanger*.—There is no doubt but you have heard by the public letters what hath passed betwixt us and the Moors, who are very well satisfied to make peace, which we believe will be shortly concluded. The ambassador was very well received by the King at Meckenez, who promiseth us the same freedom and liberty of the country as the Moors have. I would write to your Grace more particularly of the circumstances of our affairs here, but I refer it to the bearer, Ensign Power, who hath carried himself very civilly amongst his comrades, and in the King's service with all the conduct and courage could be desired. We hope to return shortly to our old station in Ireland, for we have no pleasure here in time of peace and without money, and our agents have never written to us. I hope your Grace will pardon the freedom I have taken to assure you that we all here are with greatest respect imaginable, etc.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, March 22. *Oxford*.—I got here on Saturday last, but had not your Grace's of the 12th instant until yesterday in the afternoon. I was so lame with a fall that I got at tennis the day before I left London that I could not stir abroad before this morning. In my last I gave an account of Sir John Davys, who, I suppose, is by this time in Ireland; he has carried along with him the papers relating to Drake's business.

My Lord Burlington is much concerned at the report that he should have said the Militia could not be furnished with powder and arms and denies he ever said so, and desires me to set him right with you as to that particular. My Lord Conway told me this morning in the House that he sends you directions to turn out my Lord Clare from the Commission of

the Peace and his militia troop. I had not time to have any long discourse with him. The post goes from hence every day at one of the clock in the afternoon. The King's speech I conclude will be sent you by other hands, but lest it might be omitted for want of our being settled yet, I send you one. It's believed the House of Commons will be very high upon it when they are a House; this afternoon at three they present their Speaker. This is all I have to say or have time to write, therefore pray excuse me to my Lord Longford for not answering his of the 13th.

LORD LIEUTENANT ORDER to the MUSTER MASTER-GENERAL.

1680-1, March 23.—Whereas by the sixty-fifth Article of the Laws and Ordinances of War published by us for the good conduct of His Majesty's Army in this kingdom it is provided that the Mustermaster General or his deputies shall not suffer any officer or soldier in any troop or foot company to pass muster, unless he shall produce a sufficient certificate under the hand of the Bishop of the diocese, upon a certificate made to him under the hand and seal of the lawful minister of the parish wherein they were quartered or garrisoned that they had received the blessed Sacrament of the Communion, according to the discipline of the Church of Ireland, the Easter or the Christmas next preceding the said muster. And whereas divers officers and soldiers of the army do frequently neglect the due observance of the said article and occasion thereby the stop of their pay, when the same would otherwise issue of course with the pay of the troop or company to which they belong, and afterwards make application to us for the removal of such stop and further time to perform the duty by the said article required, we have thought fit for the prevention of the like neglect in future and the trouble given us by petitions on that account hereby to declare that if any officer or soldier shall hereafter omit receiving the Holy Communion once every year at Easter, Whitsuntide or Christmas, and producing certificate thereof according to the said article, his pay at any time stopped on that account shall stand checked without remission, and such officer or soldier shall lose the same. And we hereby require you or your deputies at the next muster of the troops and companies of the army to make known this our pleasure at the hand of each troop and company, and you are to give it as an instruction to the Commissaries of the muster at least once a year in their several circuits to do the like at the head of each troop and company they shall muster, that all concerned may take notice thereof and return certificate as aforesaid by the last day of Sept.

And for so doing this shall be a warrant given at His Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 23rd of March, 1680-61.

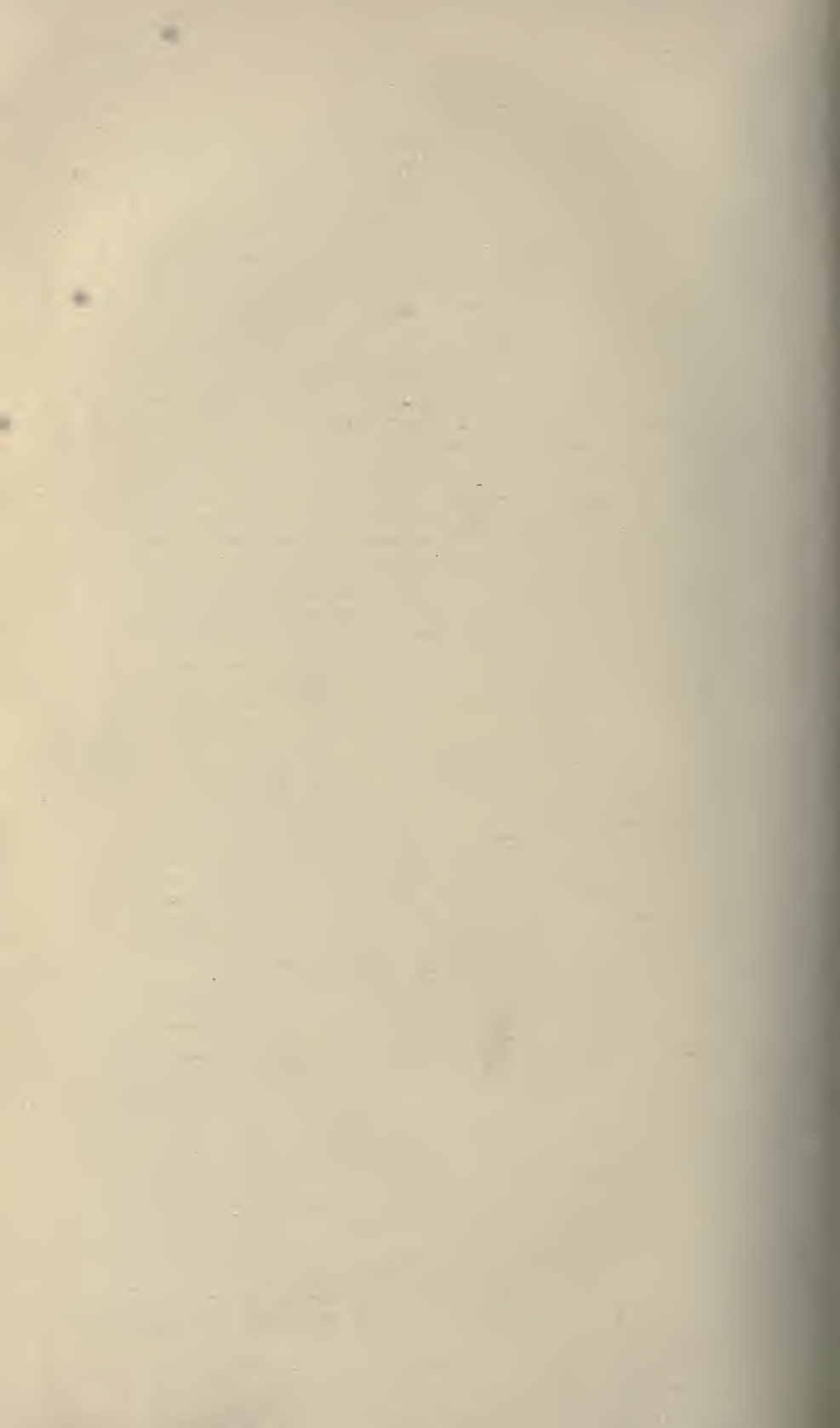
To our trusty and wellbeloved Abraham Yarnar, Esq., Muster Master General.

[Endorsed] Draught of an Order to the Muster Master.

COL. EDWARD COOKE TO ORMOND.

1680-1, March 24. Oxford.—The 14th the King came hither. His handsome reception, first by the Lord Norreys as Lord Lieutenant of this county (and one perfectly your Grace's servant), next by this Corporation, and lastly by the University, hath been so amply gazetted that I shall decline repetition. Tuesday and Wednesday following His Majesty graciously spent in receiving the addresses of all gentry presented by the Lord Lieutenant, knighting two, Sir George Pudsey and Sir Rich. Crooke, this City's Recorder, and a very loyal person (tho' brother to Upton Crooke, once in Ireland), and in tiring the courtiers in trying all the walks in and about this city, and early on Thursday morning took coach for Burford, where His Majesty's Plate (formerly given to Newmarket) was removed, and that day to be run for. At the park at Witney Townes End, once Lenthall's (your Grace's quondam landlord) now my Lord Clarendon's, Will Chiffinch met His Majesty with his little devil black beagles (slower than your Grace's were) and his hawks; but to show His Majesty's partiality to the latter, tho' the former brought their new started hare into his view, he cried let them go and went a hawking. His Majesty deemed the heats worse than Newmarket, but the hawking hunting country much better. As he came into that town he was met by the reverend magistrates, welcomed with a hearty speech and a rich saddle, and so eat his own dinner at your Grace's old quarters. That ended, he hastened to the course, where he saw these four horses dispute for the two silver salvers he gave. A bay horse of Sir Ralph Dutton's, rode by Mr. Viner, His Majesty's 'querry, who having just saved his distance the first heat in despair ran no more. The next a famous black gelding of Mr. Wharton's (eldest son to the Lord of that name). A bay horse of Mr. Rowe's called *Bullethead*, bought by him of my Lord Suffolk for 150 guineas, designed to win all the plates, he offered to bet six to four he won the place against all the horses in the field, and my Lord Secretary Conway offered him for his horse and his share in the plate 300 guineas, but was refused. He rode his own horse, but the winning horse was Mr. Gristin's roan bred by my Lord Exeter and rode by Nick Baynton. There being money laid between the black gelding and roan they tied for the first heat, whilst *Bullethead* saved himself by only saving his distance. But *Roan* at ease won that heat. The second *Bullethead* strove for, but in vain, *Roan* having feld him ere half the course was run over, so that by the laws of the course two heats being won, nothing less than a distance the third heat could win the plate from him. It was resigned to him. And the King that night supped and lay at Cornbury, and dined there next day, being splendidly treated by its worthy proprietor. In the Friday afternoon it fell to my share to guide His Majesty hawking towards Oxford, at which he had very satisfactory sport, tho' quite

tired with it, on Campsfield took coach and returned to Oxford. Monday both Houses met ; His Majesty's speech I presume your Grace hath. The Chancellor's was only directions to the Commons to go choose their Speaker and present him at three in the afternoon on Tuesday. Williams, the former Speaker, was unanimously chosen and approved by His Majesty. I found the character of His Majesty's speech different in the Commons' mouths. Many allowed it to be an excellent gracious one, all the rest a subtle crafty one, and so unexpected that they should be put upon taking new measures. Their Lordships have only possessed themselves of a Bill for repealing that Act made in Queen Elizabeth's reign calculated chiefly against Popish recusants, but since most severely extended against Protestant Dissenters, who one party would fain greatly indulge ; but if I miscalculate not they are weakened since last Parliament in that House, and I believe this Bill will scarce pass there, because so hotly pursued. Their Lordships have also read several addresses on appeals (one from Jack St. Leger) and appointed days for hearing. The Commons have burnt all their daylight in taking the oaths hitherto, a task will take up part if not all of this day. So that I have nothing more to be accountable for at this present.



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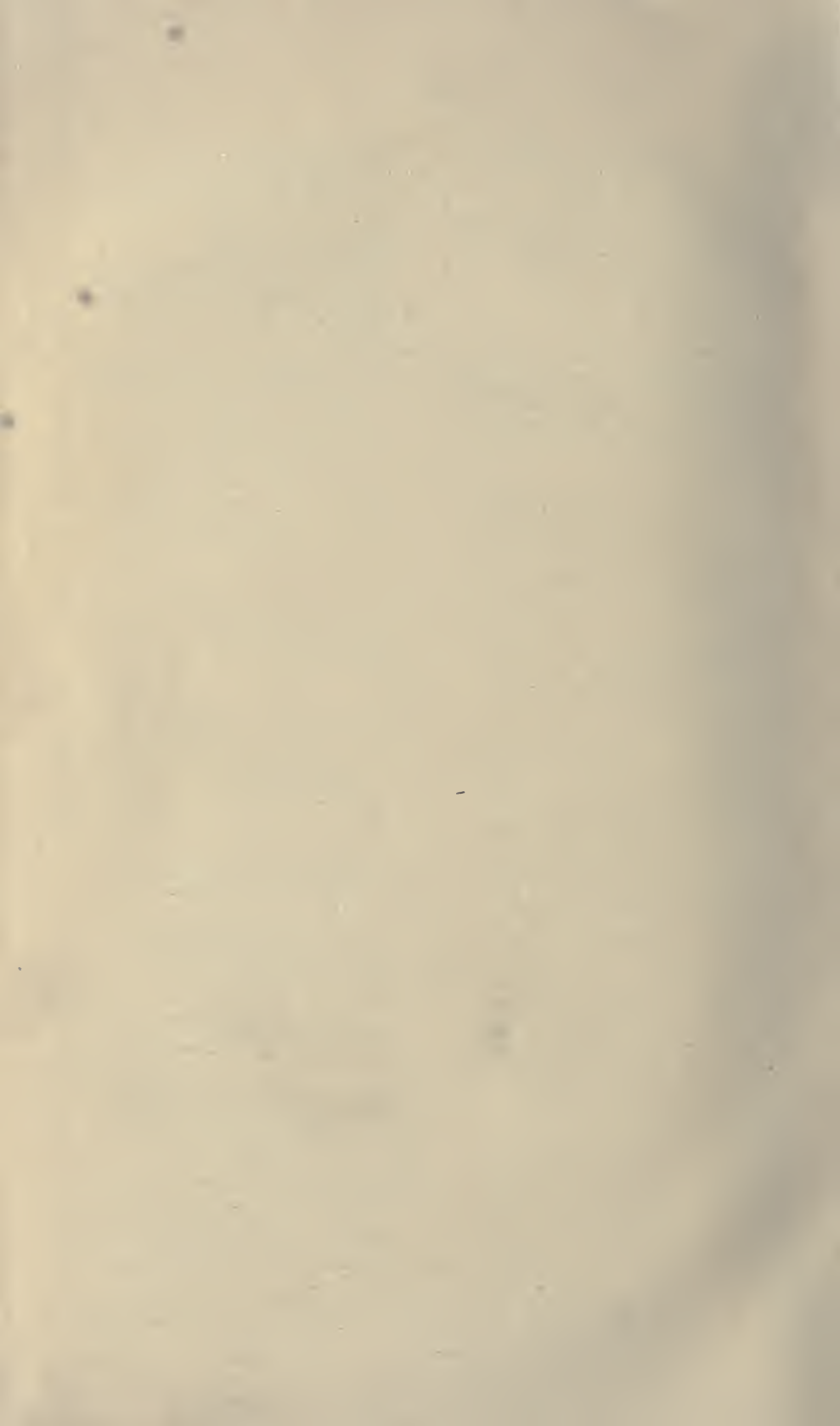
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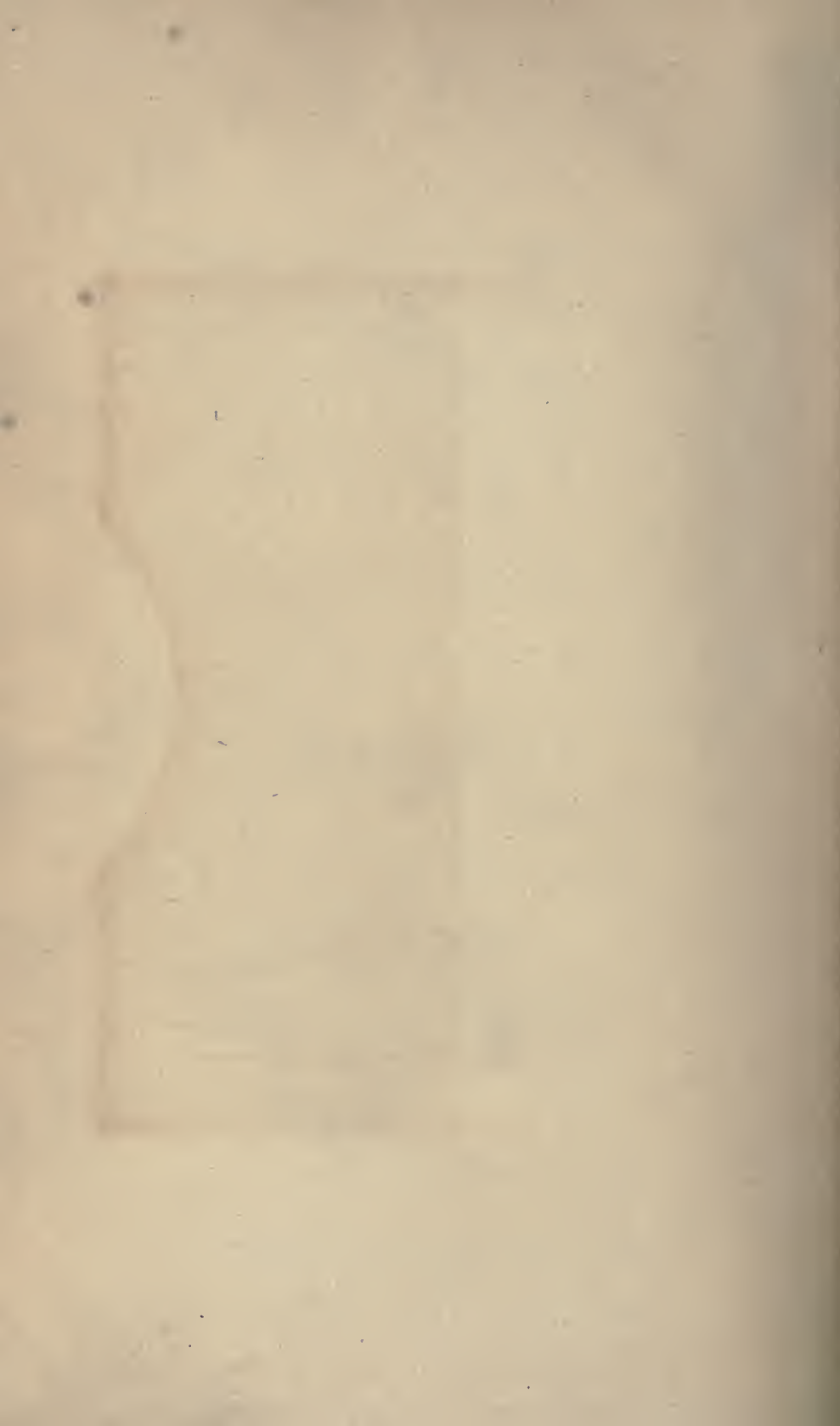
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NAME OF BORROWER.

89 Candiano Jr

